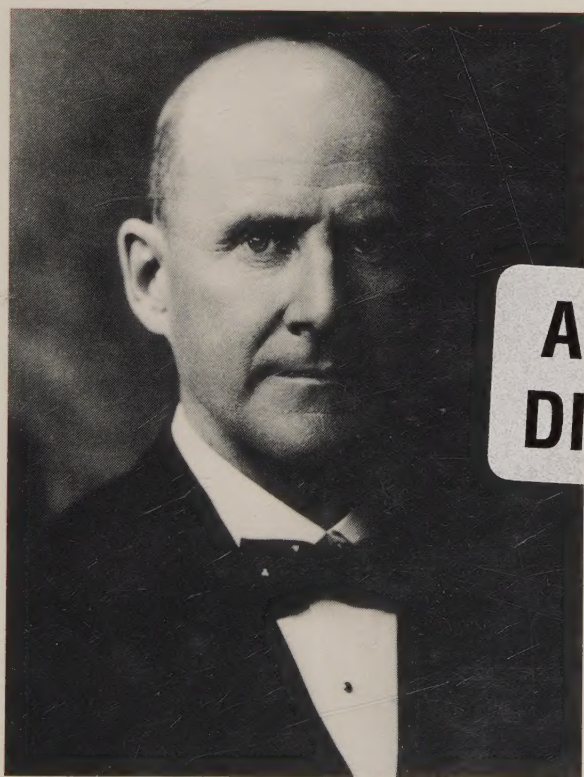


Letters of

EUGENE V. DEBS



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VOLUME 1 1874-1912

Edited by J. Robert Constantine

Letters of Eugene V. Debs

VOLUME 1 1874-1912

Edited by J. Robert Constantine

Eugene V. Debs's journey from the Hoosier conservatism of his youth to the committed radicalism for which he is best remembered is chronicled in his extensive correspondence. Volume 1 includes a biography of Debs and illuminates his early years as a trade union official and Democratic party politician, and his acceptance of socialism. Debs's first four campaigns as the Socialist candidate for the presidency of the United States are covered here.

The three volumes of Debs's correspondence contain more than 1,500 of the 10,000 extant letters to and from Debs during his controversial lifetime. J. Robert Constantine spent more than a dozen years compiling, editing, and annotating this collection. Reading Debs's correspondence with the leaders and foot soldiers of the major social movements of his time helps trace the progress of such struggles as woman suffrage, prison reform, abolition of child labor, early attacks on Jim Crow laws, and opposition to war.

"With these volumes, Constantine has given scholars and the reading public an opportunity to directly engage the complex politics and personality of Eugene Debs and, through Debs, the world of industrializing America. Constantine's selections are intelligent; his editorial comment informative yet not overwhelming; and throughout, the focus remains on Debs—his life, politics, and involvement with the world about him. A fine job!" — Nick Salvatore, author of *Eugene V. Debs: Citizen and Socialist*

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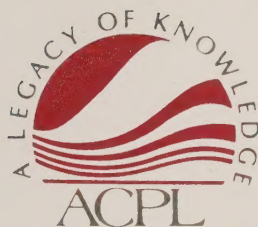
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Letters of
EUGENE V. DEBS

VOLUME 1 1874-1912

Edited by
J. Robert Constantine

University of Illinois Press

Urbana and Chicago

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This book is printed on acid-free paper.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Debs, Eugene V. (Eugene Victor), 1855-1926.

Letters of Eugene V. Debs / edited by J. Robert Constantine.
p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references.

Contents: v. 1. 1874-1912—v. 2. 1913-1919—v. 3. 1919-1926

1. Debs, Eugene V. (Eugene Victor), 1855-1926—Correspondence.
2. Socialists—United States—Correspondence. 3. Socialism—United
States—History—Sources. 4. United States—Politics and
government—1865-1933—Sources. I. Constantine, J. Robert.
II. Title.

HX84.D3A4 1990

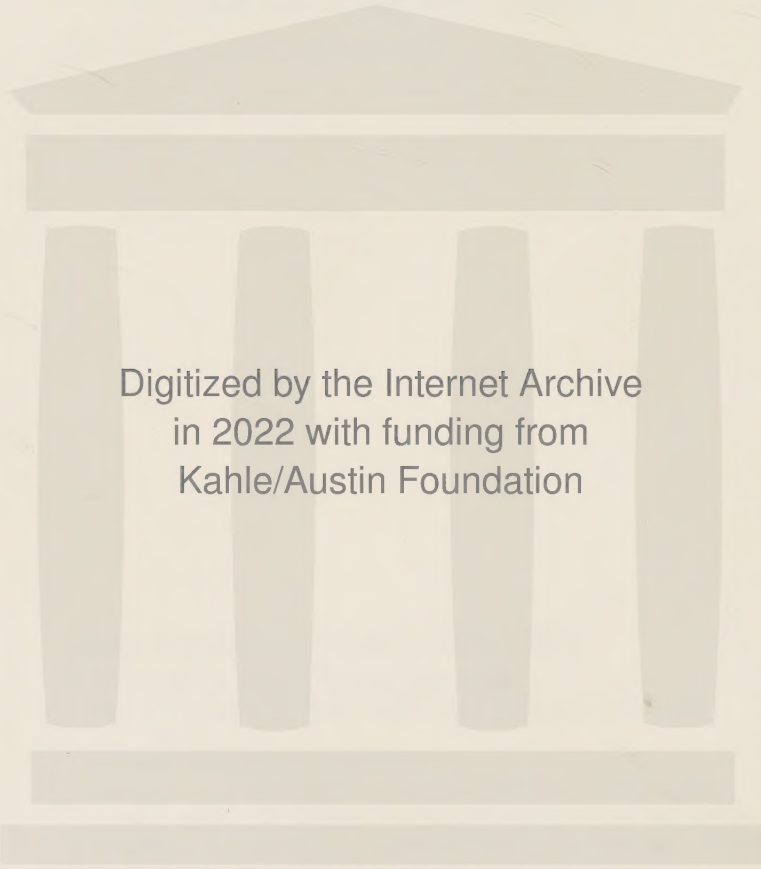
335'.3'092—dc20

ISBN 0-252-01742-0 (set : alk. paper)

89-5135

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To Vel
And Cassie and Mitzi
And Aaron and Bryan and Bobby



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Editorial Practice

IN THE YEARS following Eugene V. Debs's death in 1926, his brother, Theodore, received numerous inquiries concerning the disposition of Debs's correspondence. Often such inquiries came from men or women who were interested in writing a biography of Debs or in editing his correspondence for publication, or they were doing research in areas in which Debs's correspondence was seen to be of significance. Theodore Debs's responses to such inquiries made it clear that much of Debs's correspondence had been systematically and periodically destroyed. In a letter dated August 30, 1934, Theodore wrote, "Periodically our files were cleaned as we had not the office room to care for the volume of letters that came to my brother, especially during the three years he was in prison. However, not all correspondence was destroyed. Letters, fine and beautiful, were transferred to our private files." Theodore Debs preserved the private files until his death in 1945, at which time they became the property of his daughter, Marguerite Debs Cooper, who donated them to Indiana State University in 1967.

The letters donated by Mrs. Cooper became the nucleus of the Debs Collection in the Cunningham Memorial Library at Indiana State University. The selection of roughly 1,500 letters for inclusion in this edition of Debs's correspondence was made chiefly from the Cunningham Memorial Library holdings, but important and essential letters came from other public libraries and universities and from private collections. The provenance for each letter is given at the end of the letter, before the numbered footnotes. Many letters mentioned in Debs's correspondence have not been found, in part, no doubt, the result of the disposal practice described by Theodore Debs. For the most complete collection of Debs's correspondence, readers are referred to *The Papers of Eugene V. Debs 1834-1945* (Microfilm edition with *Guide*, Microfilming Corporation of America, 1983), which contains thousands of letters not included in this edition.

In selecting the letters included in this edition of Debs's correspondence, we have been guided by a desire to illuminate his public

career and private life, the variety of interests and issues in which he was engaged, and his relationship with the many prominent and obscure men and women (and children) of his time. Thus, there are letters that deal principally with his roles as labor agitator, Socialist party leader and presidential candidate, social critic and reformer, and antiwar dissident, and other letters that shed light on his most personal relationships. It was essential to include a number of letters signed by or written to Theodore Debs during Debs's lifetime because, as Debs's secretary, Theodore commonly wrote and received letters that should be considered Eugene Debs's correspondence. A small number of letters written by Debs's wife, Katherine Metzel Debs, are included, in part because they were written on behalf of Debs or because of their value in understanding Debs's personal life. Throughout the correspondence there are references to Debs's editorials, essays, articles, pamphlets, and letters to the editor, which may be found in the microfilm edition of *The Papers of Eugene V. Debs*.

The level of annotation adopted for this edition is intended to be helpful but not burdensome to readers. A number of factual errors are probably inevitable in the identification of the hundreds of men and women (and children) who were Debs's correspondents and the great number of issues, movements, and organizations mentioned in his letters, but one hopes that the number of such errors will not detract from the overall reliability of the work. In some instances, it was not considered necessary to identify a person (e.g., Woodrow Wilson) or an organization (e.g., the American Federation of Labor) or an issue (e.g., Prohibition), but, more often, it was simply not possible to provide such data. The obscurity of many of Debs's correspondents or those mentioned in his letters defied the best efforts of the editor and dozens of fine librarians throughout the country to locate them in obituary indexes, biographical files, or other sources. It is an unfortunate fact that, for many men and women who were active and often prominent in the labor and socialist movements, biographical information is scarce. The problem was compounded by the fact that Debs often referred to Terre Haute friends, fellow prisoners, and others by only a first or last name. As noted, the loss or destruction of many of Debs's incoming letters makes an understanding of his replies more difficult. When incoming letters are referred to by Debs and have been found but are not included in this edition, they are usually summarized in a footnote and their provenance given. Perhaps most serious and disappointing is the paucity of letters dating from the early years of Debs's career until the time of the Pullman Strike of 1894, by which time Debs was nearly forty years old. Scholars and others may, however, supplement the letters from Debs's early

career by recourse to the large volume of his printed works, particularly the hundreds of editorials and essays that appeared in the *Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen Magazine* and are reproduced in the microfilm edition of Debs's *Papers*. It is our hope that the inability to identify all the people mentioned in the letters and the failure to locate certain letters will not fatally flaw the work and that some compensation will be found in the fact that the edition will make available to scholars for the first time hundreds of Debs's letters.

We considered the annotation of the correspondence to be no more important than the accurate transcription of the letters for publication. As a general principle we have tried to reproduce the original text of each letter as accurately as possible. All the letters are transcribed in full, and idiosyncratic spelling, punctuation, and usage have been preserved. The heading of each letter is not transcribed from the text, but is entered in standardized form: name of correspondent; date; and place of origin. Dates, names, and places supplied by the editor are included in square brackets, with or without a question mark. Places are identified by city name and state, or foreign country written out in full ("Chicago, Illinois"; "Colmar, France"); the only exceptions are "New York City" and "Washington, D.C." Letterhead information is not transcribed, but is often cited for identification purposes in a footnote. Miscellaneous headings that are part of the original text of the letter but are not included in the standardized heading have been transcribed (e.g., "Personal," "Treasurer's Report," "10 P.M. Thanksgiving Eve").

Underlinings and marginal notations have been included only if they are judged to be written by the author of the letter. Random underlinings by the recipient of the letter and later notations by the recipient, by Debs's relatives, or by archivists, librarians, or others have been excluded. Marginal notes are placed at the end of the letter, treated as postscripts are. When there are several marginal notes (as there often are in EVD letters), they are listed at the end, in order, beginning at the top of the letter. If a marginal note relates to a specific paragraph of a letter, it has been inserted into the text at that point, as a new paragraph introduced by "[in margin]." Frequently, especially during Debs's imprisonment from 1919 to 1921, Debs wrote notes on letters he had received and sent them to his brother, Theodore, in Terre Haute, to be answered or otherwise disposed of. Debs's notes on such letters are preceded by [Debs's note to Theodore] or [Debs's reply to Theodore].

Errors in spelling, punctuation, etc. have been left in the text except in cases where it is judged that they are the result of a typographical error or a slip of a pen. In cases where a word has obviously been

left out the word is supplied in brackets, with a question mark if the judgment is uncertain. For illegible words the transcriber has written "[illegible]" or "[two words illegible]," etc. Where a version of the text has been crossed out and rewritten but is still legible, the transcriber has included the crossed-out version, followed by the corrected version. Illegible crossouts, or errors crossed out and rewritten, have been omitted. Words inserted above the line are indicated in the transcription by curved brackets.

When a writer used a symbol for "and" (or a plus sign), as EVD often did, the transcriber has used an ampersand. When a writer used a dash in place of a period, as EVD often did, the transcriber has used a period. Hyphens and dashes have been standardized in the transcription: - indicates a hyphen, and — indicates a dash, regardless of the usage of the letter writer.

While the common form of a correspondent's name is used in the heading of the letter, e.g., Claude Bowers, the full name (when possible) is used in footnote identification, e.g., Claude Gernade Bowers. For women, a maiden name or married name has been used, as appropriate for each letter, e.g., "Josephine Conger" in early letters, "Josephine Conger Kaneko" in later letters. Eugene Victor Debs's name is abbreviated as EVD throughout.

Symbols and Abbreviations

Repository Symbols

CaOOA	Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa, Labour Archives
CLobs	California State University, Long Beach
CLSU	University of Southern California, Los Angeles
CLU	University of California, Los Angeles
CSmH	Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif.
CSt	Stanford University, Archives
CSt-H	Stanford University, Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace
CtU	University of Connecticut, Storrs
CtY	Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
CU	University of California, Berkeley
DCU	Catholic University of America
DLC	Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
DNA	National Archives, Washington, D.C.
DebsH	Debs Foundation, Debs Home, Terre Haute, Ind.
IaH	State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City
IaU	University of Iowa, Iowa City
ICarbS	Southern Illinois University, Carbondale
ICIU	University of Illinois, Chicago
ICN	Newberry Library, Chicago
IHi	Illinois State Historical Library, Springfield
ILGWU	International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, Archives, New York City
In	Indiana State Library, Indianapolis
InGrD	DePauw University, Greencastle, Ind.
InH	Indiana Historical Society, Indianapolis
InTI	Indiana State University, Terre Haute
InU	Indiana University, Bloomington, Lilly Library
IGR	Knox College, Galesburg, Ill.
IU	University of Illinois, Champaign
KPT	Pittsburg State University, Pittsburg, Kans.
KU	University of Kansas, Lawrence

MH	Harvard University, Houghton Library, Cambridge, Mass.
MHi	Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston
MiDW	Wayne State University, Detroit, Mich., Reuther Library
MiU	University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
MnHi	Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul
MoH	Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis
MoU	University of Missouri, Columbia
NcD	Duke University, Durham, N.C.
NhD	Dartmouth College, Hanover, N.H.
NIC	Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y., Labor-Management Documentation Center
NjP	Princeton University, Princeton, N.J., Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript Library
NN Kars	New York Public Library, Karsner Collection
NNC	Columbia University, New York City
NNU Tam	New York University, Tamiment Library
NNWML	Wagner College, Staten Island, N.Y.
NRAB	American Baptist Historical Society, Rochester, N.Y.
NNYI	YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, New York City
NRU	University of Rochester, Rochester, N.Y.
NSyU	Syracuse University, Syracuse, N.Y.
OT	Toledo-Lucas County Public Library
OCIWHI	Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, Ohio
PHi	Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia
PST	Pennsylvania State University, University Park
PU	University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia
TxArU	University of Texas, Arlington
TxLT	Texas Tech University, Lubbock
TxU	University of Texas, Austin, Barker Texas History Center
WHi	Wisconsin State Historical Society, Madison
WM	Milwaukee Public Library

Document Symbols

A	Autograph
AL	Autograph letter, not signed or signature missing
ALc	Autograph letter, copy
ALS	Autograph letter, signed
AN	Autograph note, not signed
ANS	Autograph note, signed
AS	Autograph, signed
EVD	Eugene Victor Debs

MS(S)	Manuscript(s)
PLS	Printed form letter, signed
T	Typed
Tc	Transcript copy
TDc	Typed document, copy
TDS	Typed document, signed
TL	Typed letter, not signed
TLc	Typed letter, copy
TLS	Typed letter, signed
TLSc	Typed letter, signed copy
TS	Typed, signed
(Y)	Initial of Bart Young, Debs's secretary

Acknowledgments

THE COLLECTION and preparation for publication of Eugene V. Debs's correspondence has been a cooperative enterprise from its inception to its conclusion. Debs's letters were found in private holdings, government archives, and public and university libraries in the United States and abroad. Annotation materials were generously supplied by countless librarians who searched their holdings in their efforts to track down the often obscure men and women who wrote to Debs or were mentioned in his letters. It became nearly impossible to list all of the people, organizations, and institutions whose cooperation and support have made possible the completion of this edition of Debs's correspondence, but it is nonetheless necessary to recognize the most important of them. The Eugene V. Debs Foundation of Terre Haute, Indiana, made available to the editor the large collection of Debs's printed works, correspondence, and memorabilia housed in the Debs Home, a national historic landmark in Terre Haute. Similarly, the Cunningham Memorial Library of Indiana State University, also in Terre Haute, granted permission to publish selected letters from the large (7,000 letters) collection of correspondence housed in its Special Collections Division. We are particularly grateful for the help given by Ronald Leach, dean of the Cunningham Memorial Library; by Robert Carter, Larry McCrank, and Anton Masin of the library's Special Collections Division; by Mary Ann Phillips of the Interlibrary Loan Division; by G. Eileen Tryon of the Special Services Division; and by Gene Norman, Jack Lyle, and Tsokan Huang of the Reference Division.

Our colleagues throughout Indiana State University have been equally cooperative and supportive. Grants from the university's research committee and from the College of Arts and Sciences helped cover the sizable photocopying expenses involved in reproducing Debs's letters. My colleagues in the history department, particularly Peter Murray, Donald Layton and Robert Clouse, and in other departments of the university generously shared their expertise with me in the annotation process. The project would have been impossible, of course,

without the encouragement in the form of released time, secretarial help, student assistance, office space, supplies and equipment, and so on provided by Herbert Rissler, chairman of the history department, Richard Clokey, vice president for academic affairs, and Richard Landini, president of Indiana State University. In the preparation of grant proposals and accounting for grant funds, I have had the absolutely essential guidance of Richard Barton, the university's government contracts officer. I cannot overstate my debt to Daryl Hopple, graduate assistant in the history department who served as a research assistant and who carefully provided a word-processor transcription of the letters and their annotation. At various times Stephen Cox served as a research assistant on the project and Gail Malmgreen worked on the transcription of the first volume and set down the format followed in the transcription of the letters. Fred Case, graduate student in the history department during the 1985-86 academic year, provided valuable assistance in annotation research and in proofing the transcription of the letters. The seemingly endless correspondence with librarians, archivists, and others was cheerfully and efficiently typed by Virginia Banfield and Janet Foster, history department secretaries. Velva Hoffman Constantine spent countless hours of volunteer work in typing and filing for the project.

The project has had similar encouragement and cooperation from scholars and colleagues from all parts of the country. Leo Solt, dean of the graduate school at Indiana University; David Shannon, professor of history at the University of Virginia; and Paul Glad, Merrick Professor of History at the University of Oklahoma, encouraged the editor in the initial search for financing and provided valuable help and guidance in the preparation of grant applications. Extremely valuable bibliographical information, biographical material, and leads to the location of Debs correspondence were generously shared by Bernard Brommel of Northeastern Illinois State University; Nick Salvatore of the New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations at Cornell University; Arthur Lipow of the political science department at Leeds University in England; James D. Young of the history department at Stirling University in Scotland; Neil Basen of the School for Workers at the University of Wisconsin; Mary Giunta, Anne Harris Henry, Sarah Dunlap Jackson, Donald Singer, Richard Sheldon, and Timothy Connely of the National Historical Publications and Records Commission staff in Washington, D.C.; Eugene De Gruson of the Leonard H. Axe Library at Pittsburg State University at Pittsburg, Kansas; Dorothy Swanson of the Tamiment Library at New York University; Neda M. Westlake of the University of Pennsylvania Library; Candace Falk of the Emma Goldman Papers Project at the

University of California, Berkeley; Peter Albert of the Gompers Papers Project at the University of Maryland; Errol Stevens of the Indiana Historical Society; Fiona Fuhri of the Kansas City Public Library; Agnes A. Harris of the West Monroe, Louisiana, Public Library; Paul Woehrmann of the Milwaukee Public Library; Robert G. Carroon of the Milwaukee County Public Library; Donald E. Spritzer of the Missoula, Montana, City-County Library; Sharon Neet of the University of North Dakota; Betty Ellison of Attalla-Etowah County, Alabama, Public Library; Dunlap W. Oleson of Auburn, Alabama; Robert Boots of the Indiana State Library in Indianapolis; Tom Owen and Mary S. Pratt of the Los Angeles Public Library; Danny Moore of the Public Archives of Canada; Kenneth A. Lohf of the Butler Library at Columbia University; Richard H. Schimmelpfeng of the University of Connecticut Library at Storrs; Richard Strassberg of the Catherwood Library at Cornell University; Archie Motley of the Chicago Historical Society; Sarah Cooper of the Southern California Library for Social Studies and Research; Noreen Stringfellow of the Pueblo, Colorado, Public Library; Ren Boxerman of the Kern County, California, Public Library; William W. Sturm of the Oakland, California, Public Library; Shirley Olson of the Pomona, California, Public Library; Vivian Reed of the Long Beach, California, Public Library; Heddy A. Richter of the University of Southern California Library; Margaret Beckman of the University of Guelph Library; Daniel Luckenbill of the University of California, Los Angeles Library; William Jankos of the University of Southern California Library; Eleanor M. Genres of the Denver Public Library; Virginia C. Brann of the DePauw University Library; Sharon E. Knapp of the Perkins Library at Duke University; Ruth B. Vann of the Elmhurst, Illinois, Public Library; C. H. Harris of the Jacksonville, Florida, Public Library; Mrs. Wrisley Oleson of Sarasota, Florida; Kaye Lenning of the Troup County, Georgia, Archives; Erika Chadbourn of the Harvard Law School Library; Rodney G. Dennis of the Houghton Library at Harvard University; Laurel G. Bowen of the Illinois State Historical Library; Mary Ceibert of the University of Illinois Library at Urbana-Champaign; Sandra Taylor of the Lilly Library at Indiana University; Linda Sharp and Gayle Thornbrough of the Indiana Historical Society Library; Marjorie Sohl of the Hammond, Indiana, Public Library; Richard L. Popp of the University of Chicago Library; Frances R. Burdette of the South Bend, Indiana, Public Library; Elizabeth P. Jacox of the Idaho State Historical Society; Patricia A. Michaelis of the Kansas State Historical Society; Jean Skipp of the University of Kansas Library; Jacqueline Haring of Knox College; Robert K. O'Neill of the Indiana Historical Society Library; Meridel Le Sueur of St.

Paul, Minnesota; Eleanor Loewenthal of Kensington, Maryland; Agnes A. Harris of the Ouachita Parish, Louisiana, Public Library; Lois C. McLean of Beckley, West Virginia; Charles B. Elston of the Marquette University Library; Edward C. Weber of the University of Michigan Library; Dorothy M. Burke of the Minneapolis Public Library; Anne R. Kenney of the University of Missouri Library; W. Thomas White of the James Jerome Hill Reference Library; Dave Walter of the Montana Historical Society Library; Beverly D. Bishop and Alma Vaughan of the Missouri Historical Society; Rosann M. Sanders of the Brainerd, Minnesota, Public Library; Murella Hebert Powell of the Biloxi, Mississippi, Public Library; Noel C. Holobeck of the St. Louis Public Library; Don Johnson of the Duluth, Minnesota, Public Library; Pat Maus of the Northeast Minnesota Historical Center; Emily T. Cosby of the Pascagoula, Mississippi, Public Library; Catherine A. Larson of the Kalamazoo, Michigan, Public Library; Wesley L. Wilson of the Enoch Pratt Free Library in Baltimore; Lois C. Wagner of the Auburn, New York, Public Library; Barbara Gorely Teller of the Wellesley, Massachusetts, Historical Society; Guy Louis Rocha of the Nevada Historical Society; Robert Sink of the New York Public Library; Mary-Jo Kline, editor of the papers of Aaron Burr at the New York Historical Society; Mary Braaten of the North Dakota State Library; Gregory S. Camp of the North Dakota State Historical Society; Elizabeth S. Manion of the Marlboro, New York, Free Library; Nancy Bressler of the Seeley Mudd Library at Princeton University; Susan M. Eltscher of the American Baptist Historical Society; Dr. Carl Raushenbush of New York City; Elizabeth A. Davis of the Akron, Ohio, Art Museum; Pamela R. Daubenspeck of the Warren-Trumbull County, Ohio, Public Library; Oscar Edelman of Dayton, Ohio; Gary Arnold of the Ohio Historical Society; Nancy Sadek of the University of Guelph; Roselyn Stephens of the Salem, Ohio, Public Library; Alberta Y. Haught of the Altoona, Pennsylvania, Public Library; Maria Zini of the Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh; Anita A. Kosinski of the Scranton, Pennsylvania, Public Library; Lawrence Naukum of the Rochester, New York, Public Library; Benjamin H. Davis of the United States Department of the Interior; Penny McJunkin of the Carl Sandburg Oral History Project; Elliot Shore of the Samuel Paley Library at Temple University; Hilary Cummings of the Southern Illinois University Library; Edward M. Steel, Jr., of West Virginia University; Carolyn A. Davis of the George Arents Research Library at Syracuse University; Ann D. Gordon and Patricia G. Holland of the Stanton-Anthony Papers Project at the University of Massachusetts; Charles G. Palm of the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace at Stanford University; Frances Rogers and William H. Richter of the

Barker Texas History Center at the University of Texas; Michael O. Hooks and Cindy Martin of Texas Tech University; Morgan J. Barclay of the Toledo, Ohio, Public Library; Ralph C. Busser, Jr., of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Robert A. Gamble of the University of Texas at Arlington; Cornell Gallagher of the University of Vermont; Patricia Lynn Scott of the Salt Lake City Public Library; John S. McCormick of the Utah State Historical Society; Geoffrey Wexler of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin; Harold D. Wilson of the Seattle Public Library; Glenn B. and Gertrude Warren of Schenectady, New York; Maxine E. Lebo of the University of Washington Libraries; Walter Wayland of Girard, Kansas; James B. Casey of the Western Reserve Historical Society; Richard W. Fox of Yale University; Mary C. Figg of the Yale University Library; Frank P. Zeidler of Milwaukee, Wisconsin; Anne T. Weber of the Cabell County, West Virginia, Public Library; Richard D. Blenko of Milton, West Virginia; Jack A. Le Seuer of the Racine, Wisconsin, Public Library; Norman A. Carlson, director of the Federal Bureau of Prisons; Sarah Devine of the George Washington University Library; Charles W. Cooney, Jr., of the Milwaukee County Historical Society; Harold L. Miller of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin; Dione Miles and Warner Pflug of the Walter P. Reuther Library at Wayne State University; Marek Web and Fruma Mohrer of the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research.

Beginning in 1979, major grants to the Debs Papers Project from the National Endowment for the Humanities and the National Historical Publications and Records Commission greatly accelerated the completion of the microfilm edition of Debs letters and printed works (1983) and the present three-volume edition of selected correspondence. I am particularly indebted to Roger Bruns, director of publications at the commission, for his advice and counsel and for his steady encouragement of the project.

A number of people generously contributed Debs letters for inclusion in this edition. I must note my special gratitude to Eugene Debs's niece, Marguerite Debs Cooper of Terre Haute, Indiana, and to Naomi Lang of Los Angeles. Debs scholars will be forever indebted to Mrs. Cooper, whose gift of some seven thousand letters, cards, telegrams, etc. to Indiana State University and whose permission to publish the Debs-Mabel Dunlap Curry correspondence were of major importance in the completion of the project. Ms. Lang contributed a collection of letters written by Eugene Debs to her mother, Lucy Robins Lang, during and after Debs's imprisonment following World War I. The letters are of special value for the light they shed on the amnesty movement in general and the efforts to secure Debs's release in particular. Dave Norris of West Monroe, Louisiana, donated a score

of letters written by Theodore and Katherine Debs to Norris's aunt, Hattie Norris, a young Louisiana schoolgirl who wrote to Debs in prison. Jean Keller Bouvier of Los Angeles gave to the project a small collection of letters written by Debs to her mother, Grace Keller, before and after World War I. Other donors of original manuscript material were Mr. W. B. Kilpatrick, Jr., of Warren, Ohio; Mrs. Eleanor Lowenthal of Kensington, Maryland; Mrs. Wrisley B. Oleson of Sarasota, Florida; Miss Gertrude Traubel of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; and Mrs. Glenn B. Warren of Schenectady, New York.

For permission to publish letters from their collections in this edition I am indebted to the libraries at the American Foundation for the Blind; the Labour Archives of the Public Archives of Canada; the Bancroft Library of the University of California at Berkeley; the University Research Library of the University of California, Los Angeles; the California State University Library at Long Beach; the University of Connecticut Library at Storrs; the Labor-Management Documentation Center at Cornell University; the Dartmouth College Library; the DePauw University Archives; the William R. Perkins Library at Duke University; the Houghton Library at Harvard University; the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace at Stanford University; the Henry E. Huntington Library at San Marino, California; the University of Illinois at Chicago Circle Library; the Illinois Historical Survey, University of Illinois Library; the Indiana State Library; the Indiana Historical Society Library; the Cunningham Memorial Library at Indiana State University; the Iowa State Historical Society; the University of Iowa Libraries at Iowa City; the International Institute of Social History at Amsterdam; the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union Archives; the Knox College Archives at Galesburg, Illinois; the Massachusetts Historical Society Library; the Labadie and Michigan Historical Collections at the University of Michigan Library; the Milwaukee County Historical Society Library; the Minnesota Historical Society Library; the Joint Collection, University of Missouri and State Historical Society of Missouri at Columbia; the Missouri Historical Society Library at St. Louis; the Karsner Collection at the New York Public Library; the Tamiment Library at New York University; the Newberry Library at Chicago; the Historical Society of Pennsylvania; the Pennsylvania State University Library; the Pittsburg State University Library at Pittsburg, Kansas; the Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript Library at Princeton University; the University of Pennsylvania Library; the University of Rochester Library; the Poets Garden Collection of the University of Southern California Library; the Morris Library of Southern Illinois University; the Southwest Collection at Texas Tech University; the

Stanford University Archives; the University of Texas at Arlington; the Barker Texas History Center at the University of Texas, Austin; the Toledo-Lucas County, Ohio, Public Library; the Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs at Wayne State University; the State Historical Society of Wisconsin Library; the Yale University Library; and the YIVO Institute Library.

William E. Savage of University Microfilms International generously granted permission to reproduce large sections of the biographical sketch of Eugene V. Debs that originally appeared in my *Guide* to the microfilm edition of the *Papers of Eugene V. Debs, 1834-1945*.

Finally, I want to acknowledge the encouragement and cooperation I have received from Richard L. Wentworth, the director and editor of the University of Illinois Press, and his staff. The project's copy editor, Herb Hyde of Lincoln, Nebraska, has rescued me (and the reader) from countless errors and oversights. I do appreciate all their help.

J. Robert Constantine

Biographical Sketch of Eugene Victor Debs (1855-1926)

EUGENE VICTOR DEBS was born on November 5, 1855, in Terre Haute, Indiana. His parents, Jean Daniel Debs (1820-1906) and Marguerite Marie Bettrich Debs (1828-1906), had emigrated to America from their native Colmar in Alsace in 1849 and, after brief stops in New York and Cincinnati, had settled in Terre Haute in 1851. Except for a short return to Brooklyn, New York, in 1854, Jean Daniel and Marguerite Debs lived in Terre Haute until they died more than half a century later. Called Dandy and Daisy by their six surviving children (Gene was the third surviving child, the first son), Debs's parents raised an unusually close-knit family and became for Gene Debs a frequently acknowledged determining influence on his life. Debs's friend and fellow Terre Hautean Robert Hunter thought that much of Debs's character and temperament—his passionate hatred of oppression, his compassion for the underdog, his emotional and sentimental rhetoric—could be explained in terms of Debs's French ethnic traits,¹ and Debs himself commonly focused specifically upon the influences of his father and mother in trying to account for his development.

The closeness and warmth of Debs's relations with his parents, his sisters, and his brother are clearly delineated in his correspondence with them. In his letters to his parents on their birthdays, wedding anniversaries, and other occasions, one finds the strongest expressions of affection, gratitude, and devotion and a particular eagerness to gain their approval of his triumphs and understanding of his failures.² Some of his earliest letters, written as a teenager from East St. Louis and as a young man in Terre Haute, reflect regard and concern for his sisters (Marie Marguerite, Louise, Eugenie, and Emily), with whom he shared his interests (including romantic ones) and plans for the future and whose continuing support he sought throughout his career.³ It was for his brother, Theodore, however, that Debs developed the deepest, most intimate, and most lasting bond of affection. Their letters, spanning a period of nearly half a century, describe a rare relationship that evolved from one in which Debs was an admonishing big brother (he was almost nine years older than Theodore) to a full

partnership in which Theodore played a key role in his famous brother's victories and defeats. Forgoing opportunities that might have advanced his own career; uprooting his family to remain within the orbit of Gene's activities; accompanying Gene on his endless travels as a labor organizer, presidential candidate, and agitator for social reform; and accepting responsibility for Gene's personal and professional well-being, Theodore Debs became his brother's secretary, agent, manager, adviser, and, most important, devoted friend. Only the letters between them can adequately convey the nature of their friendship and the gradual emergence of Theodore as Gene's alter ego. Debs repeatedly acknowledged his dependence upon Theodore and clearly felt that the salary drawn by Theodore from their joint enterprises over the years never reflected the true value of the personal and professional support given by his younger brother. At the time of Gene's death in 1926, countless letters of condolence touched on the rare quality of the brothers' friendship and the vital part Theodore had played in Gene's career.⁴

At the time of Gene Debs's birth, his parents operated a small retail grocery store in a front downstairs room of their two-story home on North Fourth Street in Terre Haute. The enterprise, later moved to the main street of the city and broadened in scope, provided the Debs family with a living described as comfortable by Theodore, who added that the family was not poverty stricken and that Gene had not been compelled to leave school at fourteen in order to relieve the family's financial straits. Gene had, in fact, left school against his parents' wishes.⁵

Of the three institutions that are said to have shaped nineteenth-century Americans' lives—the church, the school, and the family—it seems clear that the family was most important in influencing Debs. Except perhaps in a negative sense, the church and organized religion played only a small part. Debs's father was baffled, if not appalled, by the quality of Terre Haute's Protestant clergy, who seemed to him to dwell on the infinite varieties of God's torments for sinners to the near exclusion of His mercy. As a consequence, Daniel's Sunday mornings were commonly given over to hunting in the woods and fields around Terre Haute with his sons. Gene's mother's Catholicism was the source of a deep and bitter resentment toward her on the part of the Debs family in Colmar. Although her first four children were baptized as Catholics, she discontinued the practice at the time of Gene's birth in 1855 and eventually stopped attending the Catholic church's services. In later life Gene recalled attending the Catholic church in Terre Haute on only one occasion and being so offended by the priest's description of hell as a place of "a thousand demons

and devils” that he vowed he would “never go inside a church again.” Debs later adopted a broad tolerance toward orthodox religions based on a pragmatic test: “I wouldn’t if I could disturb anyone’s religion. If he sincerely believes it, it is the right creed.”⁶ He would eventually use some of his most blistering invective on Protestant and Catholic clergymen when he confronted them in the political arena, although many of his most dedicated supporters were among the clergy.

Gene Debs’s formal education ended well before he completed high school, but there was compensation in the fact that his home life was one in which ideas and the life of the mind were cherished. In 1860, when Debs was ready to enter the primary grades, the uncertainty of state support for the city’s public schools and his father’s admiration for the private school’s headmaster led to his enrollment in the city’s Old Seminary School, a boys’ school founded in 1847, which claimed to bridge the gap between the era’s common schools and the university. The Seminary was heavy on discipline and mastery of the three R’s for the lower grades and discipline, the classics, spelling, theology, and copperplate handwriting for the upper grades. Debs apparently was not offended, either by the strict discipline or the rigor of the courses offered, and he later acknowledged a debt of gratitude to one of his Seminary teachers, Abbie Flagg, who taught in both the Seminary and the city’s public school during the years of Debs’s attendance. One of Debs’s biographers suggests that Abbie Flagg helped Debs form early habits of “correct speaking.” Debs himself recalled receiving from her a Bible with a flyleaf admonition, “Read and Obey,” and remarked that he “never did either.”⁷

Debs’s transfer from the Seminary to the Terre Haute public schools in 1867 was prompted in part by a temporary postwar slump in the family’s business and by a growing confidence on the part of his father that the city’s public schools would be adequately financed in the future. From 1867 to 1870, Debs attended the city’s public high school, where he studied German, a language his father spoke and read at home. While struggling through an academic program that required monthly oral and written examinations sometimes administered and judged by prominent local citizens, Debs found consolation and compensation by participating in the school’s literary and debate societies and, more importantly, by beginning to assemble a personal library. One of his first acquisitions, Voltaire’s *Philosophical Dictionary*, was a gift from his father, whose own impressive collection of books was eventually given to the Terre Haute Public Library.⁸

Debs’s withdrawal from school at the age of fourteen was not an uncommon practice. Few of his classmates finished high school, and perhaps even fewer had the cultural advantages that Debs’s home life

provided. His father had studied at nearby Waldersbach before leaving Colmar, and he brought to America a lifelong love for the German and French classics. He had named his son Eugene Victor after Eugene Sue and Victor Hugo, and Debs later thought that *Les Misérables* had impressed him more than any other book he had ever read. Sunday evenings were often given over to reading Hugo and the other classics, and it was probably during this period that Debs came to admire Robert Burns and "Old Walt" Whitman. For Terre Haute in the 1870s, the Debs home must have been an exceptional cultural environment, owing largely to Dandy's tastes.⁹ Throughout his career, Debs's writings, speeches, and correspondence were liberally sprinkled with allusions to the writers he first knew as a teenager. Indeed, one of his great sources of pride, which he could not conceal, was his wide range of acquaintances, friends, and loyal supporters among his generation's leading poets, novelists, artists, and other intellectuals.

Soon after leaving school in May 1870, Debs found a job that paid him fifty cents a day for scraping paint and grease off locomotives in the Terre Haute yards of the Terre Haute & Indianapolis Railroad. His advancement to fireman in the switching yards in December 1871 doubled his wages and enabled him to enroll in afternoon and evening classes in a business school that offered courses in telegraphy, penmanship, bookkeeping, business correspondence, and account writing. After completing his courses in the business college, Debs worked for a short time in a Terre Haute wholesale grocery firm, but he soon returned to his job as a fireman on the trains running between Terre Haute and Indianapolis.¹⁰ Thus, by the time he was eighteen, Debs had learned something of the wage system and the nature of the work in one of the nation's most dangerous occupations. Within a few years the panic of 1873 and the depression that followed would teach him in vivid detail the nature and effects of the business cycle. His fireman's job was an early casualty of the panic of 1873, and his search for a new job took him to Evansville, Indiana, and then to St. Louis, where he saw "men, women and children begging for something to eat"¹¹ and acknowledged that he had not fully appreciated his own home until he had come face to face with the wretched victims of the depression. The degree to which his later career was influenced by his experiences during the depression of the 1870s is uncertain, but he frequently recalled those experiences, including a losing battle with the bedbugs of his St. Louis boardinghouse.¹²

Debs found work for a short time in 1874 on the Belleville line out of St. Louis, but the accidental death of a friend on the line and his mother's growing anxiety about his own safety persuaded him to return to Terre Haute, where he was hired as a warehouseman in

the wholesale grocery firm owned by his father's friend Herman Hulman.¹³ The job at Hulman's was a physically demanding one, but it did not prevent Debs from taking an active part in the cultural, political, and embryonic labor-union affairs of his hometown. Soon after his return to Terre Haute he joined a group of friends in founding the Occidental Literary Club, and as its president he was instrumental in bringing to Terre Haute a number of prominent men and women whose zeal for reform and speaking abilities made a deep impression upon him. Debs later thought that he first learned the meaning and power of "real oratory" when Robert Green Ingersoll addressed the Occidental Club, and Ingersoll would remain his friend and model as a public speaker. Soon after Ingersoll's appearance in Terre Haute, Debs made his first public speech before the club and was so disappointed in his performance that he seriously set about remedying his "need of education and training." Joining the immensely popular self-help movement of the day, Debs sought to "learn what I needed to know," in part by buying *Appleton's Cyclopedia* on the installment plan, one volume each month.¹⁴

Ingersoll was only the first of a number of well-known figures brought to Terre Haute through Debs's efforts. An aging Wendell Phillips, now championing the rights of labor, addressed the Occidental Club on the growing menace of monopoly power in postwar America. On one occasion the Occidental Club decided not to sponsor the controversial Susan B. Anthony. Debs, aided by Ida Husted Harper, a Terre Haute woman who was herself a pioneer feminist and would later write a biography of Anthony, personally arranged for Anthony's appearance in Terre Haute. Debs learned something of the nature of public hostility and hatred toward advocates of unpopular or radical causes from his townsmen's response to Anthony and was, at the same time, much impressed by her cool courage and single-minded dedication to her cause. Debs thought it would not have taken "any great amount of egging-on to have excited the people to drive her from the community," but Anthony maintained her composure and had "seemed completely absorbed in her mission. . . . The rights and wrongs of her sex seemed to possess her completely."¹⁵ Altogether, the acquaintances Debs made through his activities in the Occidental Club led to warm and long-lasting friendships, none more so than his relationship with James Whitcomb Riley, who performed in Terre Haute first as an unknown and later as a renowned dialect humorist and poet.

Debs's years as an employee in Hulman's wholesale grocery firm (1874-79) also witnessed his entry into the work of labor-union organization. In February 1875 he joined the newly founded Vigo Lodge

of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen (BLF) and was soon actively serving as organizer and recording secretary for the brotherhood. Debs entered the organized labor movement at a time of grave economic depression, but he impressed the national leadership of his union with the number of members he recruited for his local and in 1876 began to attend the national conventions of the BLF and to write articles for the *Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen's Magazine*. He was elected associate editor of the magazine at the BLF convention in Buffalo in 1878 and became its editor in 1880. As recording secretary for his BLF local, Debs gained firsthand experience of the goals and programs of the postwar labor movement. A broadly reformist unionism, which had characterized the abortive National Labor Union under William Sylvis and would reappear in the program of the Knights of Labor under Terence V. Powderly, was not of great concern to the members of Debs's BLF Vigo Lodge 16, the minutes of whose meetings reflect the group's interest in providing financial assistance to injured members and to the widows of men killed on the job. In addition the lodge was a social and fraternal agency that policed the morality of its members and spent a good bit of its time disciplining or expelling men who were found guilty of excessive drinking, sexual promiscuity, or making slanderous remarks about their comrades. Issues related to job safety in a notoriously dangerous industry were, of course, frequently on the lodge's agenda.¹⁶ Debs was not an on-the-job railroader during these years, but his service as recording secretary for the BLF local put him in personal touch with conditions in an industry whose great strike in 1877 altered the thinking of many Americans concerning the nature of labor-management relations in general and the role of labor unions in particular.

The members of the BLF local provided Debs with a nucleus of support for his entry into politics as the Democratic party's candidate for Terre Haute city clerk in 1879. He won election in that campaign, led the party's ticket in his reelection campaign in 1881, and during his four-year tenure as city clerk infuriated Democratic machine politicians by adopting what amounted to a merit system in filling the positions in his office. At the same time, Debs won the admiration and praise of the townspeople and the Terre Haute press for the competence and efficiency with which he conducted the office and for his diligence in keeping the public informed of the actions and policies adopted by the city council. Perhaps the most controversial of his policies as city clerk was his lenience in collecting fines levied against the numerous prostitutes of Terre Haute's notorious tenderloin district, a policy he justified on humanitarian grounds.¹⁷

In 1883, Debs, by then deeply engaged in the affairs of the BLF, declined his party's nomination for a third term as city clerk, but the following year he ran and was elected to the lower house of the Indiana General Assembly. Debs's election in 1884 was part of a Democratic party sweep of the state that year, and the General Assembly, which convened in January 1885, was overwhelmingly Democratic. The railroad workers' safety and employers' liability bills that Debs introduced were passed by the House but so badly mangled by the Senate that he withdrew them from consideration, and a woman-suffrage bill in which he was particularly interested was defeated. It was for that reason that Debs assessed his one term in the state legislature as a disappointment and failure. Later he would recall it with ill-concealed disdain. "There was a time in my life, before I became a Socialist," he declared in a 1923 speech, "when I permitted myself as a Democrat to be elected to a state legislature. I have been trying to live it down. I am ashamed of that as I am proud of having gone to jail."¹⁸

By 1885, Debs's personal life and professional career had entered new phases. On June 9, 1885, he married Katherine Metzel, the stepdaughter of a prominent Terre Haute druggist, John Jacob Baur. Kate Debs played an important and controversial role in Debs's career. Some of the correspondence in this edition reveals her as an interested and sympathetic supporter and defender of the principles that made Debs famous and led to his imprisonment. Other correspondence, written by her and by others, suggests quite a different image of Kate Debs, the image of Irving Stone's *Adversary in the House*, of a woman who did not understand or sympathize with the goals pursued by her husband and felt cheated by his preoccupation with those goals.¹⁹

Four years after their marriage, Gene and Kate Debs built a large home in one of the more fashionable districts of Terre Haute. The home was itself the subject of controversy from time to time. It was said to be tasteless for a labor organizer to build such a splendid home in a neighborhood dominated by some of the city's wealthiest families, and Debs was later accused of having built and maintained the home by using scab labor.²⁰ An oft-repeated charge was that Kate Debs refused to permit workingmen to enter the home. On one occasion the imported tile used in constructing the fireplace in the dining room was cited as evidence of Kate's upper-class taste and proof of the shallowness of Gene's working-class roots. Nevertheless, the house on North Eighth Street in Terre Haute remained home for Gene until his death in 1926 and for Kate until her death ten years later.

Eugene and Kate Debs had no children of their own, but Gene became renowned for his affection for and interest in children and was in turn idolized by many of them. The number of children who

were named for Eugene Victor Debs (including Eugenie, Victoria, etc.) was one of his greatest sources of pride and pleasure, and many of the most poignant letters in his correspondence came from scores of children who wrote him during his imprisonment in Atlanta.

By the time of his marriage in 1885, Debs had apparently decided to devote his full time to union affairs in general and to those of the BLF in particular. Prior to that time he had combined his union activities with his employment in the wholesale grocery firm, his tenure as city clerk of Terre Haute, and his term as a state legislator. His full-time entry into union work came at a critical juncture in the history of American labor. The Knights of Labor, triumphant in recent strikes on the southwestern railroads, seemed to represent the wave of the future for organized labor and was near the peak of its power in membership and financial resources. Nothing better represented the fragility of late-nineteenth-century unionism, however, than the rapid decline of the Knights in the decade after 1885. In part the decline was attributed to the public's fear of foreign radicalism following the Haymarket Riot of 1886, to the organized resistance of management to the demands—and even the existence—of labor unions, and to a series of ill-planned and executed strikes undertaken by Knights locals during the late 1880s. Debs's education as a union leader must have been affected by these developments and by the launching in 1886 of the American Federation of Labor, whose stress on bread-and-butter trade unionism was itself a factor contributing to the decline of the broadly reformist Knights of Labor.

Throughout the eighties, Debs was not, of course, a mere observer of the rapidly changing nature of the organized labor movement. He was tireless in his efforts to organize workers both within and outside the railroad industry. He attracted attention as a successful agitator in organizing the Brotherhood of Railroad Brakemen, the Switchmen's Mutual Aid Association, the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen, and the Order of Railway Telegraphers. At the same time, he helped in the organization of carpenters' and printers' locals in Terre Haute and other Indiana cities and responded to frequent calls for help in organizing miners' locals.²¹

It was within the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, however, that he built his base of influence and a forum for national recognition in the labor movement. As managing editor of the *BLF Magazine* and as secretary and treasurer of the union, he was in a strong position to influence the opinions of the members and the policies of the union. His ties with the membership gained strength from the fact that he had personally worked to organize scores of BLF locals. Throughout his career and long after he left the BLF, he received letters from

men with whom he had organized locals during the eighties, and Debs seemed always to remember such men with special affection. Not the least of his strengths was his facility for remembering the names and faces of such correspondents from "the old days."

Over a period of twelve years, Debs made the columns of the *BLF Magazine* a ready and regular channel of communication with the union's membership. His wide-ranging editorials dealt with nearly every aspect of labor's problems and strategy during the crucial decade of the 1880s and with most of the political, social, and economic questions of the day. In many instances, Debs's editorials reflected the official position of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and the attitudes of its members, but in time he challenged the policies of his union and some of the conventional wisdom of its members. At the outset of his editorship of the magazine Debs stressed a common interest between management and labor based upon "an honest day's work for an honest day's pay" and the mutual advantages to be gained by labor and capital through cooperation. His model of proper management practices and policies was provided by his Terre Haute friend William Riley McKeen, a banker and railroad entrepreneur who was, in David Shannon's view, "the subject of the most filiopietistic biographical sketches Debs wrote for the *Magazine*."²²

Radicalism and radical tactics found no favor in these years with the future militant socialist and radical labor leader. "Strikes are the knives with which laborers cut their throats," he wrote in 1883 when he was stressing the harmony of interests between capital and labor. He "steadily . . . inculcated the doctrine that labor and capital are friends" and insisted that "one of our fundamental doctrines is that labor and capital are brothers."²³ Looking back on the great railroad strike of 1877, Debs was proud of the fact that the BLF "had nothing to do with the origin or development of that strike nor any other." In a sense anticipating the public reaction to the Haymarket Riot, Debs thought that radicals retarded the progress of labor because the public mistook their "wild utterances" as representative of "the aims of the great body of laboring men." The anarchists convicted in the Haymarket trial in Chicago had been "cranks" making "insane harangues," but Debs defended their right to preach their mistaken doctrines. On the very eve of the Pullman Strike of 1894, Debs accused socialists of building "castles of moonshine" and declared his belief that socialism would lead to authoritarianism and the obliteration of individual rights.²⁴

On many of the social issues of the day the "conservative editor" (David Shannon's phrase) of the *BLF Magazine* both reflected and challenged the opinions and attitudes of the union membership and

American society. He shared organized labor's hostility to unrestricted immigration and, like many of his contemporaries, identified the Italians as particularly menacing. "The Dago," he wrote, "works for small pay, and lives far more like a savage or wild beast, than the Chinese." Italians "fatten on garbage" and "underbid an American working-man."²⁵ Debs expressed similar resentment toward other new immigrants, but he opposed the program and growing influence in the late 1880s of the American Protective Association. The APA was particularly opposed to Catholic influence in America and to the influx of Catholic immigrants, and its propaganda persuaded many Americans, including some members of the BLF, that the United States was in danger of being taken over by the papacy and that the panic of 1893 was itself part of a "Popish Plot." In editorials that offended many of his readers, Debs denounced the APA as an instrument of management—which he said used it as a means of dividing the ranks of labor—and as a movement that rekindled the undemocratic tendencies of the antebellum Know-Nothing movement.²⁶

Two other social issues that perplexed and confounded organized labor and later the socialist movement were those raised by the questions of race relations and the status of women in American society. In time Debs's stance on the race question would be viewed as an advanced one, and his denunciation of the movie *The Birth of a Nation* for its rabid racism was the occasion for an outpouring of letters of appreciation from black Americans.²⁷ But during the years of his editorship of the *BLF Magazine* he frequently printed the popular Negro dialect stories, which more often than not contributed to the unflattering stereotypes of blacks that white Americans accepted. He appeared to have no quarrel with the lily-white constitutions of the railroad brotherhoods and the growing de facto segregation of blacks in the American Federation of Labor (AFL) unions.²⁸ He was, in short, a long distance from the time when he would refuse to address segregated audiences in the South and when he would write and speak against the Jim Crow system within and outside the socialist movement.

It has been noted that as a young man Debs was instrumental in bringing Susan B. Anthony to Terre Haute and had been much impressed by her dedication to her cause. He appears also to have been influenced and persuaded by her arguments, and in the councils of the BLF and the columns of the *BLF Magazine* he endorsed the goals of the feminist movement. In 1884 he added a women's section to the magazine and put Ida Husted Harper, a Terre Haute woman, in charge of it. At the BLF convention at Kansas City in 1886, Debs declared that he "could not see why it is that women did not receive the same compensation for the same work performed, as a man," a

notion not widely approved in or out of the labor movement at the time. A series of articles in the magazine in 1890, advocating equality for women in politics, the workplace, and in marital relations, triggered a chorus of angry letters from a predominantly male readership whose views on the subject were clearly at odds with those of the editor.²⁹

In 1890, Debs could look back with considerable satisfaction on a decade of achievement in his own career and in his own union and others. The BLF membership had grown from about 2,000 in 1880 to nearly 20,000 in 1890, and during the same period *BLF Magazine* circulation had grown from 3,500 subscribers to 28,000. Clearly, the magazine's readership was not confined to union members. The *BLF Magazine* was, in fact, recognized as one of the best-edited labor publications in the nation, and Debs claimed that its readers included not only workers but "lawyers, physicians, clergymen, educators, [and] scientists."³⁰ His years on its staff had taught him the techniques and mechanics of publishing—advertising, circulation, printing—and he had refined his writing skills in hundreds of editorials and essays covering a wide range of issues. With no formal education or even an apprenticeship in the field, he had made himself a journalist. At the same time he had established himself as a superb labor organizer whose efforts not only had increased BLF membership but had helped launch other brotherhoods in the industry, notably those of the switchmen and brakemen. In 1888 the grand master of the brakemen, S. E. Wilkinson, called Debs the godfather of their union, the man who "was our friend when we most needed a friend." The brakemen, their leader declared, would "never be able to repay him for what he has done for us and for the benefit of our Brotherhood." In short, few would challenge an 1890 description of Debs in the *Locomotive Engineer* as "by far the ablest labor speaker and writer in America."³¹

During the course of the 1880s, Debs's views on the philosophy and tactics of labor unions, the relationship between capital and labor, and the nature of the broader society itself were changed perceptibly by his experiences in the labor movement and by the intellectual ferment of the decade, which was causing many Americans to rethink their positions on economic, social, and political issues. Henry George's *Progress and Poverty* had appeared in 1879, but it was during the 1880s that Americans absorbed George's analysis of the causes of the "great enigma of our times," the association of poverty with progress, and his proposed solution to the problem through a single tax on the unearned increment of the value of land. To George, poverty was not simply the consequence of a moral defect or of biological inferiority or of too few chairs at a Malthusian banquet, but, rather, the

effect of sinister land monopoly, which violated man's natural right to work the land.

Other attacks upon and proposed alternatives to the inherited economic and social wisdom followed in rapid sequence during the eighties. In 1883, Lester Frank Ward, at the time an obscure civil servant in the United States Geological Survey, published his two-volume *Dynamic Sociology*, in which he challenged laissez-faire as "a gospel of inaction . . . struck with sterility" and Social Darwinism as a corruption of the real significance and meaning of the evolutionary theory. A year after the publication of *Dynamic Sociology*, Laurence Gronlund's *The Cooperative Commonwealth* appeared, providing Americans with "the first satisfactory exposition in English of Socialist and Marxian economics . . . modified to fit particular American circumstances." In Gronlund's perfect society, cooperation would replace competition in a bloodless revolution made possible by the implementation of direct democracy: the popular election of all government officials combined with the initiative, referendum, and recall systems.³² How soon after its publication Debs read *The Cooperative Commonwealth* is not certain. As noted earlier, he remained critical of socialism as late as the eve of the Pullman Strike a decade later, but he told the commission appointed by President Grover Cleveland after the strike that his ideas had come from "Gronlund rather than Marx."³³ The attempt to build a cooperative commonwealth in the West was one of the earliest projects into which he entered following his conversion to socialism.

In 1889, Debs was among the hundreds of thousands of Americans who greeted Edward Bellamy's *Looking Backward* as a blueprint for the future. The novel, which depicted the evolution of a utopian society through the nationalization of the economic order and the equitable distribution of all wealth, was an instant success and Nationalist clubs devoted to promoting Bellamy's ideas sprang up throughout the nation. In the labor movement, bitter rivals, such as Terence V. Powderly and Samuel Gompers, could agree in support of the Nationalist movement. Debs subscribed to the movement's magazine, the *Nationalist*, and in a review of *Looking Backward* in the *BLF Magazine* he told his readers that Bellamy's novel "outlines a possibility, or rather many possibilities, some of which are to be accomplished facts a century in advance of 2000 A. D." Debs thought that "trusts will go, syndicates and monopolies will follow" and "land-grabbers," Henry George's particular devils, "will be made to relax their grasp upon land." Labor was already "organizing for such work," and Debs concluded that "those who relish good reading should read *Looking Backward*."³⁴

It seems clear that by 1890, Debs, along with many other Amer-

icans, had accepted the common theme that ran through the reform and protest literature of the preceding decade, namely, that the power of government needed to be exerted more aggressively in the regulation of economic life and in the pursuit of social justice. He was not prepared to accept socialism and a short time later would oppose Populist demands for government ownership of transportation, but he would surely have subscribed to the recently founded American Economic Association's declaration that the state was "an educational and ethical agency whose positive aid is an indispensable condition of human progress."³⁵

Debs's views of the nature, strategy, and tactics of labor unions were also transformed by his personal experiences during the eighties. He had seen the broadly reformist Knights of Labor challenged and then overtaken by the job-oriented American Federation of Labor, which concentrated on the organization of skilled workers whose dues were used in part to accumulate war chests for use in strikes. In addition to his work in organizing railroad firemen, Debs had organized what were essentially craft unions in other railroad brotherhoods, each dedicated to promoting the interests of its own members. Debs's own Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen had amended its constitution in 1885 to authorize the use of strikes, and he had been obliged to formulate a defense of the use of strikes in labor-management relations to replace his earlier opposition to them. By the time of the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy strike in 1888, strikes were no longer "anarchy and revolution" in Debs's mind, but, rather, "the weapon of the oppressed, of men capable of appreciating justice and having the courage to resist wrong and contend for principle." In fact, Debs said, "the nation had for its cornerstone a strike," and he predicted that "strikes will come by virtue of irrevocable laws, destined to have a wider sweep and greater power as men advance in intelligence and independence."³⁶

The use of the strike as a weapon in the railroad industry in the late 1880s met with some encouraging success and with some demoralizing defeats, most notably among the latter the failure of the strike against the CB&Q in 1888. Although he helped organize several of the railroad brotherhoods, Debs came increasingly to believe that management's victories in railroad strikes were made possible by its ability to divide and conquer the brotherhoods, which often broke ranks in pursuit of their particular goals and interests. Debs blamed the failure of the CB&Q strike on just such a breaking of ranks by the engineers and conductors, the aristocracy of the brotherhoods, who returned to work under threat of an injunction and left the firemen hopelessly undermanned to continue the strike.

Debs thought the remedy for the weakness demonstrated in the breakdown of the brotherhoods' cooperation in the CB&Q strike lay in the adoption of the federation principle embodied in the structure of the new AFL. A federation of the railroad brotherhoods pursuing commonly agreed-upon goals and presenting a united front to management would strengthen all the unions in ordinary negotiations and during the crises created by strikes. The CB&Q strike could have been won "if from the first there had been federation between engineer and firemen, switchmen, and brakemen."³⁷

Rejected earlier by the BLF, the federation idea was endorsed by the union at its 1888 convention and Debs was named chairman of a three-man committee charged with creating a formal alliance with the other brotherhoods. During the next three years a good part of Debs's interest and effort were channeled into the railroad federation movement, and by 1891 it appeared to be the key to unity in the future. In his editorials in the *BLF Magazine*, Debs returned repeatedly to the subject, and in June 1889 a group of nine men representing the firemen, the brakemen, and the switchmen met in Chicago and drew up a constitution for the Supreme Council of the United Orders of Railway Employees, the rather grand name given to the federation's governing body. During the following two and a half years it successfully confronted management on behalf of component unions and won wage and workplace improvements without resorting to strikes, a development that led Debs to predict "a reign of good feeling . . . between railroad employer and employee . . . when strikes shall forever disappear."³⁸ At the same time, the council arbitrated jurisdictional disputes and dealt with such delicate issues as the racial policies of its member unions and the effects of religious dissension in the lodges created by the American Protective Association. All the while, Debs worked tirelessly to persuade other unions to join the Supreme Council.

In spite of the early successes of the federation and Debs's confidence that eventually all the brotherhoods, including the engineers, would see the wisdom of joining it, in 1891 the Supreme Council came to grief over an apparently minor dispute between the trainmen's and switchmen's unions when it escalated into charges of treachery against the leadership of the trainmen's union and demands for that union's expulsion from the council. It was an index of the fragility of the federation that, in the process of resolving the fight between the trainmen and switchmen, the trainmen were expelled, the telegraphers and a faction of the conductors withdrew their applications for admission to the council, and the rump membership of the council entertained and then tabled a motion for its own dissolution. Tabling

the motion merely prolonged the agony of the federation's expiration. In June 1892 at the body's annual meeting, attended only by representatives of the firemen and the switchmen, Debs moved and the meeting approved the dissolution of the Supreme Council.³⁹

The federation's breakup in 1892 was clearly a defeat for an idea that Debs had nurtured for half a dozen years, and at the same time it was an important juncture in his own career. In the January 1891 issue of the *BLF Magazine* he had announced his intention to resign as editor of the magazine and grand secretary-treasurer of the BLF, his resignation to take effect at the time of the BLF convention in 1892. He gave as a reason for his resignation only a desire to "go into other business." But in resisting strong efforts to change his mind about the resignation before and during the 1892 convention, Debs revealed that he had lost confidence in the concept of craft unionism and in the likelihood that a federation of craft-union leaders would ever become a united voice for all railroad workers in confrontations with management. The refusal of the other brotherhoods to support the switchmen in a strike at Buffalo in 1892 strengthened Debs's belief that craft unionism "fosters class prejudices and class selfishness," while "differences among Grand Officers" made federation "impracticable and impossible."⁴⁰

Bowing to heavy pressure at the 1892 BLF convention in Cincinnati, Debs agreed to continue as editor of the *BLF Magazine* but insisted on relinquishing his duties as secretary-treasurer of the brotherhood. He thus maintained a forum for his ideas and acquired time and freedom to pursue the other business mentioned in his resignation in 1891. One of the other businesses to which he turned his attention was the E. V. Debs Publishing Company of Terre Haute, which placed a full-page advertisement of its titles (mostly dealing with railroad matters) in the July 1892 issue of the magazine. With the help of Kate and Theodore, Debs was able to launch the publishing enterprise, continue to edit the magazine, and work hard for the election of Grover Cleveland over Benjamin Harrison in the 1892 presidential campaign. More important, however, was Debs's growing determination to create an industrial union for railroaders, a project he clearly suggested at the time of his resignation as secretary-treasurer of the BLF when he stated that it had been his "life's desire to unify railroad employees and to eliminate the aristocracy of labor . . . and organize them all so all will be on an equality."⁴¹ Perhaps spurred on by the tragic failures of the Homestead and Coeur d'Alene strikes in 1892, Debs worked to formulate a mechanism through which a railroad industrial union might be created. In the spring of 1893 he told Professor John R. Commons, then at Indiana University, that he had

developed “his plan for the American Railway Union (ARU), modeled after the Constitution of the United States, which should include subordinate organizations of all railway employees as ‘states’ in the union.”⁴²

Whether the plan for the ARU was Debs’s own or he had followed a model provided by the brewery workers, coal miners, or conductors, the union that emerged from a June 1893 Chicago meeting of fifty dissident railroad labor figures was from the outset and throughout its brief and dramatic life Debs’s union. He was the first and only president of the American Railway Union, which welcomed to membership all white railroad workers, including coal miners and long-shoremen who worked for a railroad company and excluded only managerial personnel. Members were required to pay a one-dollar initiation fee, dues of one dollar a year to the national union, and local dues fixed by each lodge. In return, the ARU proposed to protect members’ pay scales and work schedules, lobby for sympathetic legislation, publish a weekly paper and monthly magazine, and establish a low-rate insurance program.

In many respects the ARU strongly resembled the other railroad brotherhoods and AFL affiliates of the time—in the services and protection it offered its members and in its lily-white constitution, which Debs opposed—but the idea of organizing all the workers in the railroad industry was a challenge, both to the brotherhoods and to the concept on which the AFL was built. It appeared to be an idea whose time had come. Despite the fact that the new union had to compete for press coverage with Illinois Governor John Altgeld’s pardon of the surviving Haymarket Riot prisoners, news of the ARU’s founding spread among railroad men, among those in the existing brotherhoods, and among the much more numerous workers who had never been included in the brotherhoods or who were being thrown out of work by the thousands as the effects of the panic of 1893 spread. The growth of the ARU would have been impressive at any time during the late nineteenth century, but in view of the condition of the American economy in 1893 and 1894—thousands of bankruptcies, hundreds of thousands of unemployed men and women (and children), bread lines, marches on Washington for relief—the new union’s growth was astonishing. Within six months, charters had been issued to a hundred lodges and Debs was able to keep four full-time organizers on the payroll. Together, Debs and his organizers signed up three to four hundred new members each day, and on January 1, 1894, the union’s paper, the *Railway Times*, began publication.⁴³ Perhaps even more astonishing than the rapid growth of the ARU in its first year was the success of the eighteen-day strike

it waged on James J. Hill's Great Northern Railroad in April 1894. Hill was acknowledged to be one of the shrewdest and most ruthless operators in an industry in which competition for such recognition was keen; thus, his agreement to a strike settlement granting the ARU "97½ of its demands," including a wage increase, was a significant victory for the new union and for Debs himself, whose popularity in the ranks of labor and recognition throughout the nation were greatly enhanced by the settlement.⁴⁴ In later years Debs would receive letters from men who had participated in the Great Northern strike, and they often recalled it as the moment of their biggest triumph.

In June 1894, little more than a month after the Great Northern strike settlement, more than 400 delegates representing 465 ARU lodges and 150,000 members met in Chicago at the new union's first national convention in an atmosphere charged with a sense of triumph and success arising from the record of the preceding twelve months. As it turned out, the most fateful decision made by the delegates at the convention was to organize a sympathy boycott of Pullman cars on all the roads served by the ARU membership. The boycott decision was the union's response to pleas from Pullman workers, many of them ARU members, who had struck in May 1894 against living and working conditions in George Pullman's model city outside Chicago. In his efforts to deal with the depression, Pullman cut the wages of his workers, dismissed many of them, and announced a policy that would retain the various costs and fees charged the workers at their predepression levels, all of which would make it possible to continue to declare a dividend for investors in the Pullman Palace Car Company. These policies, combined with the ordinary indignities imposed on the workers who lived in Pullman (a network of spies, pulpit, press, and politics monitored by George Pullman, an environment said by a contemporary to resemble Bismarck's Germany⁴⁵), had led to the strike and to the subsequent refusal of the ARU to handle trains that carried Pullman cars.

The Pullman Strike of 1894 was perhaps the most famous strike in American labor history. It was called "Debs's Rebellion" by segments of the contemporary press, even though Debs had felt that his fledgling union was not ready for the challenge and had urged caution in the convention's response to the call for help from the Pullman workers. Once the boycott decision was made, however, Debs entered wholeheartedly into its prosecution and in a very short time witnessed both the potential for the unprecedented power of a united industrial union and the fragility of that power when confronted by the hostility of public opinion, management, and government.

Within days of the ARU boycott decision the strike paralyzed the

western half of the nation, tying up the economic life of twenty-seven states and territories. Indicative of the thoroughness of the strike action was the fact that the widow of Leland Stanford wired Debs in Chicago from California requesting his permission to move her private railroad car from Dunsmuir to San Francisco. Debs granted the permission, informing Mrs. Stanford that a copy of his telegram to her would be accepted by the ARU men in California as authorization to service her car.⁴⁶

Despite Debs's repeated admonitions to the workers and assurances to the public that the ARU's action against the Pullman Palace Car Company was to be orderly and nonviolent, large segments of the press described the strike as a rebellion and an outbreak of class warfare and portrayed Debs as an ambitious dictator and czar intent upon undermining an already shaky economic system. The railroad owners were determined that the ARU's success in the Great Northern strike must not be repeated. United in the General Managers Association, a coalition of all the railroads running in and out of Chicago, the owners found powerful allies in President Grover Cleveland, grown even more conservative since his first term in office, and Attorney General Richard Olney, a longtime attorney for railroads in the East. On July 2, Olney secured from the federal district court in Chicago a blanket injunction against Debs and other officers of the ARU, enjoining them from interfering with mail trains and interstate commerce; scores of special marshals were deputized to monitor compliance with the injunction. At the same time, Cleveland, ignoring the vigorous protests of Governor Altgeld and citing his constitutional obligation to protect the mails and interstate commerce, called out federal troops for service in Chicago, Los Angeles, and trouble spots in between. "Hit with soldiers and injunction," a recent historian concluded, "the union never had a chance."⁴⁷ By late July 1894 the Pullman Strike was over. Following the formalities of a trial for violation of the federal court order and appeal procedures, Debs, along with the other officers of the ARU, was sent to the McHenry County Jail at Woodstock, Illinois, about fifty miles from Chicago. The ARU was a casualty of the Pullman Strike, as was, it turned out, Debs's certainty that a strong, united industrial union could protect the interests of its members in a capitalist society.

Debs's correspondence during his six-month imprisonment at the Woodstock jail (May to November 1895) makes it clear that he had become a national figure (he was treated accordingly by the very sympathetic and friendly McHenry County sheriff) and that he was conscious of the publicity value that incarceration might bring. Yet he felt obliged to assure his parents that they "need not blush," since

"no disgrace attaches to the family" because of his imprisonment. In fact, he added, his conviction and incarceration were "doing much to arouse the public conscience" and he was confident that "in good time the right will prevail . . . and then reward and vindication will come."⁴⁸ Debs was interviewed by journalists representing several of the nation's leading newspapers and magazines, and he turned out a steady stream of articles for the *Railway Times* and other publications, converting his cell at Woodstock into a miniature newspaper office.

The jail must also have resembled a hospitality center. Debs received visitors on what appeared to be an unrestricted basis. A significant number of them were socialists, including Victor Berger from Milwaukee, Thomas Morgan from Chicago, and Scotsman Keir Hardie. In time a number of people would claim credit or responsibility for Debs's conversion to socialism, but there is no doubt that it was during the months at Woodstock, in conversations and in reading, that his serious interest in socialism as an alternative economic system was engaged. It is not certain that he mastered the copy of Karl Marx's *Capital* given him by Victor Berger, but he later wrote to Karl Kautsky to acknowledge that it was one of Kautsky's books (a gift from Keir Hardie) that had given him "some of my earliest and most precious lessons in socialism." He was, he said, indebted to Kautsky's "gifted pen for having opened my eyes to the light."⁴⁹ Debs's release from Woodstock on November 22, 1895, was the occasion for what resembled a triumphal procession to Chicago, where a mass rally of an estimated 100,000 people was addressed by Henry Demarest Lloyd, by Colorado Governor Davis ("Bloody Bridles") Waite, and by Debs, who urged the vast crowd to use the right to vote to restore the Republic as it existed "before corporations knew the price of judges, legislators and public officials as certainly as Armour knows the price of pork and mutton."⁵⁰

During the year following his release from the Woodstock jail, Debs appeared to believe that the best way for voters to restore the Republic was by casting a vote for the Populist party, which had made an encouraging appearance in the 1892 elections on the broadly reformist Omaha Platform but had since become increasingly dedicated to a Free Silver solution to the nation's grave problems. Debs withstood serious pressure to become the Populists' candidate in the 1896 election, but he worked hard for the party and for the Democratic-Populist candidate, William Jennings Bryan. Whatever remaining confidence Debs had in the two-party system and the economic system that sustained it was undermined by McKinley's smashing victory over Bryan in the fall of 1896. In the January 1, 1897, issue of the *Railway Times*, he announced in a lead editorial his acceptance of socialism, a position

he had reached as a result of his experiences in the Pullman Strike and in the 1896 election, his reading on the subject, and the influence of Berger and other socialists.⁵¹

At the outset Debs joined neither the doctrinaire Marxist Socialist Labor party, dominated by the "New York Pope," Daniel DeLeon, nor the more cautious group that Victor Berger was building in Milwaukee. Instead, Debs continued a heavy speaking schedule intended to liquidate the debts of the ARU, debts for which he had assumed personal liability after his release from Woodstock. At the same time, the plight of unemployed and blacklisted ARU members drew his attention to a utopian colonization scheme that would relieve their unemployment by creating a colony in a sparsely populated western state. Socialist influence would come to dominate the state and eventually spread throughout the nation. In June 1897, delegates to the ARU convention in Chicago, their drastically reduced numbers reflecting the union's feeble condition, agreed to the creation of the Social Democracy of America, which would try to raise funds and select locations for the colonization project, and Debs agreed to undertake an extensive speaking tour on behalf of the new organization.⁵²

During the following year Debs combined his colonization work with a very heavy speaking tour for the coal miners, whose strike in West Virginia spread to half a dozen other states before its conclusion. The colonization plan, despite Debs's enthusiasm for it, met with disappointing results. At the Social Democracy convention in June 1898 the conflict between the colonizationists and the political actionists resulted in the withdrawal of the latter. Under Victor Berger's leadership, this faction then proceeded to create the Social Democratic party, which looked toward the eventual overthrow of capitalism and the creation of a socialist commonwealth but embraced a set of immediate demands that resembled the reformist provisions of the Populists' Omaha Platform.⁵³

Debs joined the new party as a member of its executive board and Theodore Debs accepted the position of treasurer, moving his family from Terre Haute to Chicago, where he opened a one-room, ten-dollars-per-month national office for which he occasionally paid the rent by hocking his gold watch. The early growth of the Social Democratic party, which had locals in a dozen states by September 1898, was largely the result of Debs's speaking tours in the Midwest and the Southwest and of the sympathetic publicity given the new party by such journals as Berger's *Milwaukee Vorwärts*, the *Jewish Daily Forward* in New York City, and Julius Wayland's *Appeal to Reason*, published at Girard, Kansas.⁵⁴

By March 1900 the sixty-seven delegates who gathered in Indianapolis for the national convention of the Social Democratic party (SDP) represented thirty-two states and a membership of about 5,000. The chief business of nominating presidential and vice-presidential candidates was obstructed by a controversy over the proposed merger of the Social Democratic party, in which Victor Berger played a commanding role, with the so-called Kangaroo faction of the Socialist Labor party, which had seceded from that party and was dominated by New York attorney Morris Hillquit. There was strong sentiment in the SDP and among the Kangaroos for the merger, and, in spite of the personal rivalry between Berger and Hillquit and certain strategic and tactical differences between the groups, a referendum conducted during the summer of 1900 overwhelmingly approved it.⁵⁵

Debs's acceptance of the united Social Democratic party's presidential nomination in 1900 played an important part in the merger (the party's vice-presidential candidate, Job Harriman of California, came out of the Kangaroo faction), and his followers looked to him for a spirited campaign. Despite a pitifully small party treasury, Debs did not disappoint them: he brought to the campaign the kind of zeal and enthusiasm that had characterized his work in the union movement, the colonization project, and the early growth of the SDP and that would be the mark of his later presidential campaigns. Campaigning in Berger country in the Midwest; in Hillquit country in the East; in the Rocky Mountain region, where he had many friends in the Western Federation of Miners; and in the Southwest, Debs attracted large crowds with a message that ignored the complexities of Marx's scientific socialism and stressed the idea that capitalism and democracy were incompatible, that capitalism meant plutocracy, and that socialism would revitalize true democracy and individualism. Class warfare, the necessity of violent revolution, and the other imperatives of militant European socialism had little appeal to Debs, who thought education and the ballot would bring the "new life of socialism."⁵⁶

When the ballots were counted in early November 1900, William McKinley defeated William Jennings Bryan with 7,219,530 votes to Bryan's 6,358,071. Despite the number and size of the crowds he had attracted in an aggressive campaign, Debs received only 96,978 votes, most of them in New York, Massachusetts, Indiana, Illinois, Ohio, Wisconsin, and California. The new party's candidate acknowledged that the vote was "smaller than most of us expected." In contrast, the Populists in their first national campaign in 1892 had polled nearly a million votes, and in 1900 the Prohibition party polled 209,166 votes.⁵⁷

Debs was disappointed but not discouraged by the outcome of the

election, assessing it as "one of the last convulsions of capitalism before the social revolution sweeps it out of existence." The next four years, he predicted, would "witness the development of socialism to continental power and proportion."⁵⁸ There were grounds for optimism, some of which could have been but dimly perceived in 1900. The campaign Debs conducted that year attracted nuclei of socialists on a national scale, and many of Debs's correspondents would claim later that their loyalty to the party and its leader dated from the 1900 campaign. Debs remained convinced during the remainder of his life that the Americanization of the language and applications of socialism that he undertook in 1900 were essential to the party's success. In fact, he would eventually assign an important part of the party's failure to its identification in American opinion as European dogma. The unity among socialists that the 1900 campaign had encouraged was carried forward the following year when the factions of the Social Democratic party, including the Kangaroos from the Socialist Labor party, merged with a number of even smaller groups to form the Socialist Party of America (SPA).

The launching of the SPA coincided roughly with Theodore Roosevelt's succession to the presidency after McKinley's assassination and with the beginning of what is commonly called the Progressive Era of American political, economic, and social life. Passing over the arbitrary and questionable nature of such terminal dates, it is clear that the growth of the SPA during the first dozen years of the century owed much to the intellectual environment that accompanied and defined the Progressive movement. The immediate demands of the SPA—shortening the work day and week, industrial safety codes, abolition of child labor, woman suffrage, a graduated income tax, stiffer inheritance taxes, and the like—were familiar and acceptable to millions of Americans. The party's attack on capitalism also must have been strengthened by the relentless exposés of the muckraking journalists of that period. As Debs's correspondence makes clear, muckraking novelists, poets, and journalists were some of his most loyal and devoted followers.⁵⁹ These writers were won over most often not by his mastery of socialist theory, which he lacked, or by his position of authority in the councils of the party, which he abjured, but by what a later generation would call his charisma⁶⁰—his ability to convey a genuine sense of outrage at the quality of life being created by capitalism and his sympathy with the victims of that system.

More than any other individual, Debs was responsible for the growth of SPA membership and voting strength during the Progressive era. His presidential campaigns of 1904, 1908, and 1912 were truly media events attracting huge crowds of the devoted and the merely curious,

and many among the latter acknowledged in letters to Debs that their conversion to socialism had occurred during one of his campaign speeches. In 1904 his vice-presidential running mate was Benjamin Hanford, a New York printer and editor who had created the socialist folk hero Jimmy Higgins, the unsung party loyalist who did the necessary but seldom-applauded work of selling tickets, printing leaflets, distributing posters, and organizing meetings for the party. In a trans-continental campaign during which he delivered hundreds of speeches, Debs attracted both urban and rural voters to his meetings. He sought to detach the voters from their allegiance to the major-party candidates, Republican incumbent Theodore Roosevelt and Democratic conservative Alton B. Parker of New York. Roosevelt defeated Parker "by acclamation," 7,628,834 votes to 4,084,401, but Debs received 402,406 votes for the Socialist party, four times his total in 1900. The SPA had become the nation's third party, passing the Prohibition party and the remnants of the Populist party in the process. One of the results of the 1904 election not in the long-range interest of the SPA was that the major parties began to incorporate the least radical of the SPA's immediate demands into their own platforms, a common fate for third parties in American political history.⁶¹

In 1904, however, Debs and other socialists read into the election returns a prophecy of victory in the near future, and certain developments of the next four years would further strengthen their confidence. Socialist ideas were broadcast by the rapidly expanding circulation of such publications as the *Appeal to Reason*, the *New York Call*, the *International Socialist Review*, and scores of other socialist papers with local and regional readerships. Debs's own essays, editorials, news reports, and epigrams appeared regularly in the *Social Democratic Herald*, as well as in the *Appeal*, the *Call*, the *Review*, and in dozens of smaller papers and periodicals. A growing number of clergymen, influenced by the Social Gospel movement, went all the way to socialism in their search for the model of a Christian society, and some of the most popular literature of the period—*The Jungle*, for example—carried socialist messages or was sympathetic to the socialist cause. The movement's interest in reaching the young bore fruit in the founding of the Rand School of Social Science in New York and in the organization of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society, the latter of special interest to Jack London.⁶² The capitalist system itself cooperated by passing through another brief but sharp panic in 1907.

Debs's correspondence during these years shows him in the center of much of the activity that seemed to promise an early realization of the cooperative commonwealth of socialism. In 1905 he joined

delegates from twoscore organizations, including William Haywood and Daniel DeLeon, in founding the Industrial Workers of the World (the Wobblies). This organization reflected Debs's continuing contempt for the craft unionism of the AFL and his confidence in industrial unionism, but, repelled by its growing emphasis on industrial sabotage and violence and its rejection of the ballot as a means to socialist victory, he soon withdrew from the IWW.⁶³ In 1907 he joined the editorial staff of the *Appeal to Reason*, which provided a regular forum for his attacks on capitalism and his defense of its victims, such as George Pettibone, William Haywood, and Charles Moyer in their trial for the murder of the governor of Idaho, a trial that ended with their acquittal.

Debs had become one of the most sought-after public speakers of the day, and he traveled throughout the nation to fill speaking engagements, the fees for which accounted for a large part of his income. Together, his writings, speeches, and letters of encouragement and counsel to countless co-workers in the cause played an important part in maintaining the enthusiasm born of the party's 1904 election showing.

Despite a hardening of the factionalism between the party's left and right wings, the desire on the part of some delegates to "find another face," and rumors concerning the state of his health, Debs received the SPA's presidential nomination in 1908 (Ben Hanford was once again his running mate) to face William Jennings Bryan (out for his third run) and William Howard Taft, the Republican candidate. Debs's 1908 campaign was the most dramatic and exciting of his career, but he would later criticize it for the nearly killing demands it placed upon his physical and mental faculties. At the suggestion of the party's campaign manager, J. Mahlon Barnes, it was decided that funds (eventually \$135,000) would be raised to rent a train and convert it into the Socialist party's mobile campaign headquarters. The train was equipped with all the necessary campaign literature and other materials, and carried Debs on a national canvass of unprecedented scale.

Leaving Chicago's La Salle Station on August 30, 1908, the Red Special, as the campaign train was called, moved across the Midwest into Colorado, where a crowd of 2,000 heard a speech at Leadville and 1,800 people greeted the train at Grand Junction. The cards, letters, and telegrams that Debs and Theodore (who accompanied him) sent their families in Terre Haute described the large, enthusiastic crowds that met them in California, Oregon, and Washington and on the return trip to Chicago in the middle of September. Altogether,

the western swing of the Red Special covered 9,000 miles and Debs made 187 speeches before an estimated 275,000 people.

Toward the end of September, the Red Special moved into the more populous states of the East, where speeches in Ohio, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Jersey, and New York were covered by the socialist and nonsocialist press, which broadcast Debs's attacks on capitalism and on the hollowness of the old parties' platforms. The itinerary of the Red Special in the closing week of the campaign carried Debs on a "swing around the circle" of cities in Indiana, Illinois, and Wisconsin. His last speech from the campaign train was to students at the University of Wisconsin.

The size of the crowds that turned out to see and hear Debs on the Red Special, the attention the press gave the train's progress across the country, and the enthusiasm of the hard-working Jimmy and Jenny Higginses of the party caused conservatives and others to predict a sharp and dangerous increase in the SPA vote in the November election. The *St. Louis Mirror* predicted that Debs would get 1,500,000 votes and the *Chicago Tribune* thought he would poll 1,000,000, but the final count gave him 420,793, mostly from the Midwest and Far West—an increase of only 20,000 votes over the 1904 total.

The disappointing results of the 1908 election were explained by, among other things, economic recovery from the panic of 1907, which enabled the winner, William Howard Taft, to capitalize on the Republican party's full-dinner-pail image, and by Bryan's recapture of Democratic voters who could not swallow Alton Parker in 1904 and had cast their votes for Debs that year. But Debs, ever the optimist, saw the 1908 total as evidence of a significant growth of real socialist strength if account were taken of the temporary defection of Democratic votes four years earlier.⁶⁴

During the years between the Red Special campaign and the election of 1912, the history of the Socialist party was characterized by significant growth in membership, by a series of astonishing victories in state and local elections, by increasing control of the party's machinery by its conservative Bergerite wing, and by the hardening of the rivalry between that wing of the party and its more radical, largely western faction. Beginning in 1910 with the election of Emil Seidel as mayor of Milwaukee and Victor Berger as the first socialist ever to sit in Congress, socialist candidates were elected to city councils, mayorships, state legislatures, and other offices. By 1912 the party could boast that more than a thousand socialists occupied elective offices in thirty-three states and 160 cities. To be sure, many of the offices won were minor ones, but their number inspired confidence that the movement continued in its ascendancy and could look toward

even greater successes in 1912. For the growing membership of the party and its successes at the polls, much credit was given to Debs. His speaking tours, organized by the *Appeal to Reason*, and his editorials and reports in that paper kept intact his reputation as the most influential socialist on the national scene. Debs naturally welcomed the party's electoral successes but warned its members against complacency, against settling for mere reform, and against forgetting its revolutionary goal.⁶⁵

Debs played only a small part in the intramural struggles between the left and right wings of the Socialist party. He disliked party strife in general and criticized both the reformist strategy of the conservative Bergerites and the violent tendencies of the party's left wing. He continued to believe that his most valuable contribution to the movement was in education and agitation in speeches and in the *Appeal*, the pages of which were filled with Debs's numerous causes, including his spirited defense of the McNamara brothers in the *Los Angeles Times* bombing case in 1910. As his correspondence shows, Debs was asked and usually agreed to take a stand on virtually every controversial issue arising within or outside the socialist movement.

When the Socialist party's national convention was held in Indianapolis in May 1912, the bitterness of the internal struggle in the party, the Bergerite control of its machinery, and Debs's continuing stature and popularity were all apparent. Early in the proceedings of the convention the radical wing of the party succeeded in getting a seat for Bill Haywood on the party's national executive committee and in securing the passage of a resolution endorsing industrial unionism, but the Bergerites won an even bigger victory in pushing through an amendment to the party's constitution that called for the expulsion of members who favored industrial sabotage or syndicalism or who renounced political agitation. Debs disliked the steamroller tactics of the Bergerites and correctly predicted the loss of party membership that would result because of the amendment's passage. On the other hand, he also disliked the streak of violence and sabotage associated with the Wobblies, whose tactics he thought outraged public opinion and weakened the appeal of socialism.⁶⁶

When the convention took up the work of selecting presidential and vice-presidential candidates, Bergerites and other conservatives sought to challenge Debs's selection by suggesting that his health was poor (he had had surgery in 1910), by questioning his availability, and by placing in nomination the names of Emil Seidel of Milwaukee and Charles Edward Russell, a well-known New York muckraker. In the end, Debs easily won the nomination on the first ballot and accepted Seidel as his vice-presidential running mate. The convention

also chose as Debs's campaign manager J. Mahlon Barnes, who had managed the Red Special campaign four years earlier but who by 1912 had come under serious attack for alleged sexual promiscuity and other offenses, an attack that led to a formal party investigation and hearing. Debs did not approve of Barnes's selection as his campaign manager, and he had to spend a great deal of his time during the campaign responding in letters and on the stump to questions from socialists offended by Barnes's reputation as a "degenerate and . . . libertine."⁶⁷ Neither the Barnes affair nor the loss of Wobblie support, however, prevented Debs from undertaking another aggressive campaign. Without the use of a chartered train, his 1912 campaign rivaled the 1908 effort in miles traveled and crowds attracted. His letters to Theodore and others describe enthusiastic crowds in the Southwest, the Far West, the Midwest, and the industrial states of the East, where the largest crowd of the campaign, 15,000 people, paid fifteen cents to a dollar each for admission to New York's Madison Square Garden. By 1912, Debs's speeches were predictable in their content: they portrayed the bright future of the cooperative commonwealth under socialism, castigated the capitalist system, and heaped scorn upon the candidates of the old parties, Woodrow Wilson and William Howard Taft, and of the new Bull Moose party, Theodore Roosevelt. During the peak of the campaign Debs spoke five or six times a day for sixty-eight consecutive days, a remarkable performance for a man who had already had serious sieges of illness and nervous exhaustion.⁶⁸

In spite of the fact that by 1912 the "old" and "new" parties had, in their platforms and their choice of candidates, stolen some of the thunder of the Socialist party (a cartoon of the time portrayed Debs in a swimming hole, his clothes, labeled "Socialism," being carried away by Theodore Roosevelt), Debs received 897,011 votes, or roughly 6 percent of the total cast, an all-time high for the party to that date. The largest number of his votes came from Ohio (89,930), but Oklahoma and Nevada gave him 16.6 percent and Montana and Arizona about 13 percent of their total votes cast. In many states the left wing of the party made a better showing than the "Slowcialist" wing, and Victor Berger lost his Milwaukee seat in Congress. One of Woodrow Wilson's aides thought that if Roosevelt had not been in the 1912 campaign, Debs would have received an additional 500,000 votes, confirming Debs's belief that Roosevelt had won over many "parlor socialists" to his candidacy.

Debs and other socialist leaders read into the 1912 campaign results evidence that the Socialist party, given time and adequate financial support, could introduce the cooperative commonwealth, and they

looked forward to 1916 or 1920 for the triumph of their principles. As it turned out, 1912 was, in H. Wayne Morgan's phrase, "the harvest year, the summertime of American socialism." Only "winter lay ahead," a winter brought on in part by the New Freedom policies and programs adopted by the Wilson administration, whose efforts to reform the economic and social order drew members and potential converts away from the Socialist party.⁶⁹ The cartoon theft of Debs's clothes was, in a sense, a tribute to the Socialist party program, but it did nothing to add to the party's growth.

More important in bringing on the winter of American socialism was the party's chronic addiction to savage and destructive factionalism. At the outset of the Wilson administration, in the spring of 1913 the conservative wing of the party called for Bill Haywood's removal from the Socialist party's national executive committee on grounds that his advocacy of industrial violence and his opposition to political action were violations of the party constitution; a membership referendum on the issue supported Haywood's removal. Though a victory for the conservatives, the referendum drove thousands of dues-paying members from the party.⁷⁰ Later in the year the Socialist party sent a special commission, composed of Debs, Berger, and Adolph F. Germer, a socialist United Mine Workers official, to investigate the bloody West Virginia coal miners' strike. The commission's report triggered another bitter controversy between the conservative and radical wings of the party, and as his correspondence and articles reveal, not even Debs's prestige exempted him from severe left-wing criticism of the contents of the report.⁷¹

A few months before the outbreak of World War I in the summer of 1914, Debs had accepted a job writing editorials and lecturing for the *National Rip-Saw*, a socialist monthly published in St. Louis by Phil Wagner and edited by Frank P. O'Hare, husband of the popular socialist speaker and agitator, Kate Richards O'Hare. At first Debs and other radicals defined the war as the death throes of capitalism and urged socialists to remain true to the principles of peace and nonintervention. For a time there was a sense of unity in the party's adherence to those principles, but the unity was short-lived because socialists, like most other Americans, began to reveal their pro-Allied (and for a minority pro-German or anti-English) sentiments. The left wing-right wing fracture in the party organization was compounded by the increasingly bitter debate on the issue of war or peace.⁷²

In 1916, Debs emphatically declined the Socialist party's nomination for the presidency, resisting the appeal of scores of correspondents who insisted that he was the only man for the role. A party referendum then nominated Allan L. Benson as its presidential can-

didate and George Kirkpatrick as his vice-presidential running mate. Both Benson and Kirkpatrick were newspapermen; neither was a fiery orator, and their campaign suffered from a perhaps inevitable comparison with Debs's earlier efforts. Benson's attacks were focused on Wilson's preparedness program, which socialists defined as merely a prelude to American intervention, and on the Democratic party's "He Kept Us Out of War" slogan, seen by Benson as the most cynical kind of campaign deception.⁷³

Debs's agreement to run for Congress in his home district in Indiana in 1916 was viewed as opportunistic by part of the national press, which accused him of refusing the presidential candidacy in order to win a seat in Congress. He did not seriously believe that he would win the congressional seat in 1916, but he thought that he would "educate" the voters in a typically lively campaign that attracted national attention. Debs stressed the peace issue, and a number of prominent national and international socialist figures appeared in the district on Debs's behalf (not including "Mother" Mary Jones, veteran of many labor wars as Debs's comrade; she came into the district to urge coal miners to vote for Debs's Democratic opponent).⁷⁴

The final tally of the 1916 presidential election gave Wilson 9,129,606 votes; his Republican opponent, Charles Evans Hughes, 8,538,221; and Allan Benson only 585,113, a disappointing decline of more than 300,000 votes from Debs's 1912 total. Debs lost the Indiana Fifth Congressional District election to his Republican opponent and trailed the Democratic candidate but took some pleasure from the fact that he had tripled the number of Terre Haute votes given him in 1912.⁷⁵ Woodrow Wilson's second inauguration in March 1917 was followed in April by America's entry into World War I, an act against which Debs and the socialists had been working and warning for three years past and one which further fractured the party and hastened its demise. At a special convention in St. Louis in April 1917 the party overwhelmingly supported a resolution denouncing America's entry into the war, but, despite Debs's endorsement, the antiwar resolution further divided the party and led to the withdrawal of many prominent and not-so-prominent socialists who actively supported the war on grounds that it had become a battle between democracy and tyranny, between civilization and darkness.

Wartime brought an atmosphere of unprecedented fear and hysterical hatred of radicals, an atmosphere that became more charged than ever after the Russian Revolution, the early stages of which were applauded by most socialists, including Debs. For three years—during the war and the Red Scare that followed—socialists, often lumped together with Communists, anarchists, Wobblies, and others, came

under an attack joined by government, by the press and pulpit, and by a variety of superpatriotic organizations that demonstrated their dedication to the war to "make the world safe for democracy" with a relentless and shameless assault on traditional democratic values and institutions. For those Americans who were not won over to the war effort by George Creel's massive propaganda campaign, Congress passed sedition and espionage laws whose restrictions on speech, press, and assembly were supplemented by state legislation and local ordinances. The Department of Justice monitored the behavior and activities of socialists all over the country, and the Post Office Department interpreted the laws in such a way that socialist publications lost their mailing privileges, particularly the economically essential fourth-class mailing privilege. Scores, then hundreds, of radicals were indicted, convicted, and imprisoned for disloyalty, for allegedly encouraging draft evasion, and for obstructing the war effort.⁷⁶

It was in this atmosphere that Debs spoke in Canton, Ohio, on June 18, 1918. There was little new in the speech—the relationship between capitalism and war, the uneven burden of war on capitalists and workers, the injustice of the convictions and imprisonments being carried out under the wartime loyalty program—but it was viewed by the federal government as a violation of the Espionage Act and became the basis of Debs's indictment and eventual conviction under that law. Debs's trial in Cleveland in September 1918, his addresses to the jury and the court there, his conviction and ten-year sentence, and his thirty-two-month imprisonment seemed to elevate Debs from his role as a nationally known social critic and radical labor and socialist agitator to a symbolic martyrdom and sanctification. The Debs case served as a rallying point for socialists and nonsocialists who deplored the nature of the wartime loyalty program and the excesses of the Palmer Raids following the war.

As had happened a quarter-century before in the Woodstock jail, Debs was befriended by his jailers: by Warden Joseph Z. Terrell during his two-month term at Moundsville State Prison in West Virginia and by Wardens William Zerbst and James E. Dyche during his two-and-a-half-year term at the Atlanta Federal Penitentiary. They stretched the letter of the law, probably in an effort to make Debs's imprisonment as painless and convenient as possible for a man approaching his sixty-fifth birthday. Debs's correspondence during the years of his second imprisonment shows most clearly the emergence of the Debs case as a national and international cause célèbre and of the Debs legend, woven from stories of his kindness and friendship toward his fellow prisoners, their love and affection for him, and his courageous refusal to ask for a pardon in exchange for an admission of guilt. As

his prison term came to be measured in years rather than months, Debs's role as martyr was sketched in thousands of letters and cards from followers who compared him with Abraham Lincoln, Wendell Phillips, and, most commonly, Jesus Christ. For many poets—some well known, others deservedly obscure—the comparison of Christ's Passion with Debs's suffering in prison was an irresistible and badly overworked theme. The vast correspondence was accompanied by a seemingly endless flow of gifts and by a heavy schedule of visits by fellow socialists, journalists, and people working for the release of political prisoners in general and of Debs in particular. Most of the work of answering correspondence, sending thanks for gifts, and arranging for Debs's visitors was carried on from the Debses' Terre Haute office by Theodore, with the help of a volunteer for whom Debs had developed a strong bond of affection: Mabel Dunlap Curry. The scores of personal letters written by Debs to Mrs. Curry before, during, and after his imprisonment at Atlanta reveal the specific nature of their relationship and the romantic and sentimental strains in Debs's personality. In marginal notes on hundreds of letters and cards, Debs instructed Theodore and Mrs. Curry concerning replies to the flood of correspondence that poured into the Atlanta prison.

Debs's imprisonment and martyrdom provided a rallying point for the Socialist party, but the chronic diseases of sectarianism and factionalism continued to ravage it. In 1919 elements of the radical wing of the party, looking to the Russian Revolution for a model that could be copied in the United States, urged the Socialist party to adopt a genuinely revolutionary stance, rally the workers to its cause, and bring on the overthrow of capitalism. Their demands rejected by the dominant conservative wing of the party, the radicals withdrew or were expelled from the party and laid the groundwork for the Communist Party of America. In prison Debs was torn between sympathy for the Russian Revolution and its ideals and a growing suspicion of its direction and early policies, a growing conviction that it was not a model of American socialists to imitate.⁷⁷

Weakened by the American public's hatred and fear of radicalism and by its self-inflicted wounds, the Socialist Party of America held its convention in New York in May 1920 and, displaying uncharacteristic solidarity, nominated Debs for the presidency and Seymour Stedman for vice-president. Stedman, one of the attorneys who had represented Debs in his trial and appeal, was widely known among socialists as a speaker and writer and was, despite his more moderate political views, a close friend of Debs.⁷⁸

Debs's presidential candidacy in 1920 was unique in the history of American politics for the obvious reason that the candidate was in

prison during the entire campaign. Other candidates have run front porch campaigns, sometimes with notable success, but in 1920, Debs's campaign gave a special meaning to that term. He was formally notified of his nomination by a committee that met with him in the warden's office at Atlanta, and there was even uncertainty as to his eligibility to run, since it was believed—mistakenly, the Justice Department confirmed more than half a century later⁷⁹—that he had lost his citizenship as a result of his conviction. During the course of the campaign, Debs reached his constituency chiefly through interviews with the press and, beginning in September, through weekly published statements that were limited by the Justice Department to five hundred words each. These weekly statements, written in Debs's cell, transcribed by his brother in Terre Haute, and circulated by the party headquarters in Chicago, were poor substitutes for Debs on the stump, which was, he recognized, the real source of his strength. A surrogate campaign was carried on by Seymour Stedman and other prominent socialists, such as Kate Richards O'Hare and Upton Sinclair. The campaign's slogan, *From the Prison to the White House*, added to the mystique of Debs as a martyr. His major-party opponents in the election, Warren Harding and James Cox, were the weakest he had ever faced in four previous campaigns, and there was some hope that the newly enfranchised women would strengthen his candidacy. But 1920 was the year the voters chose normalcy (Harding's contribution to the vocabulary of campaign illiteracy), giving Debs 919,000 votes, only 3.5 percent of the total cast and about one-half of the share of votes he had received in 1912.⁸⁰

Despite his defeat, Debs's 1920 campaign served as an important catalyst in the amnesty movement which sought his release from prison, as well as the release of hundreds of other men and women found guilty of violating one of the federal or state espionage, sedition, or syndicalist laws. Predictably, there was a serious split in the amnesty movement between those who sought the immediate release of Debs as a means of securing the eventual release of all the prisoners and those who insisted that the simultaneous release of all political prisoners, including Debs, should be the movement's goal. When they set aside their strategic differences, the movement's leaders were able to organize a massive outpouring of public support for Debs's release, joined not only by socialists but by many others who had doubts about his conviction in the first place and were offended by the prospect of keeping an aging and ailing man in prison for years after the war had ended. Amnesty and "Free Debs" rallies were held around the country. Wilson and Harding and their Justice departments were flooded with petitions, letters, and telegrams demanding Debs's release, and

both presidents and their attorneys general (Mitchell Palmer and Harry Daugherty) received a stream of delegations of famous Americans, including Debs's old enemy Samuel Gompers, seeking his release. Valuable insights into the amnesty movement in general and the effort to secure Debs's release in particular are to be found in a collection of letters written by Debs to Lucy Robbins, a member of Gompers's staff who visited Debs in Atlanta.

Woodrow Wilson remained unmoved by the outpouring of support for Debs's release, and it was one of the ironies of Debs's career that the demands for his release found a warmer reception in the administration of the conservative Warren Harding than they had in that of the liberal Wilson. Soon after the inauguration in March 1921, Harding and Daugherty promised a review of the Debs case and, following what Debs's supporters considered agonizingly long delays, the president ordered Debs's release from prison on Christmas Day 1921. The release occurred in spite of the efforts of the American Legion and other organizations to sustain a large, well-financed "Keep Debs in Jail" program. Following a one-day visit to Washington, where he talked briefly with President Harding, Debs returned to Terre Haute and a wild reception that must have reminded him of his release from the Woodstock jail a quarter of a century earlier.⁸¹

Debs's two-and-a-half-year imprisonment in the Atlanta Federal Penitentiary made a deep impression on his views on the nature of the American judicial and penal systems. He had long been persuaded that the legal-judicial profession was merely a tool of capitalism, that most lawyers and judges were the kept spokesmen for capitalists. His stay in Atlanta added to that belief a strong sense of outrage at what he was convinced was the great discrepancy between the crimes committed by many of his fellow prisoners and the punishments given to them (particularly blacks), at the disproportionately lower-class composition of the prison population, and at the lack of emphasis on rehabilitation as one of the goals of the penal system. His letters to Theodore during his imprisonment often noted these concerns, and during the years following his release he often wrote and spoke of the need for the release of political prisoners and for prison reform in general. His writings on prison conditions were collected and published in 1927 under the title *Walls and Bars*. It was inevitable that Debs would identify with Sacco and Vanzetti as fellow victims of the capitalist judicial system and that he would write and speak in their defense. Near the end of his life he sought to raise funds for the two Italian immigrants whose murder convictions had become an international cause célèbre, and some of the most poignant letters in his later correspondence are those received from Vanzetti, thanking Debs

for his visits and for reading material and describing the tortuous legal and judicial processes of their case.⁸²

After he was released from prison, Debs was immediately besieged by advocates of a number of causes, none of them more persistent than those radicals and former Socialist party members who sought Debs's support for the Soviet government abroad and for the recently founded Communist party at home. His hope of reuniting all the various radical forces in a revived revolutionary movement may have accounted for his apparent temporizing in responding to these pressures, but by the end of 1922 he had publicly repeated both his sympathy for the aspirations of the Russian people and his criticism and repudiation of the "terror which the Bolsheviks imposed to wrest and hold power."⁸³

In July 1922, in fact, Debs wired Lenin a strongly worded protest against the execution of political dissidents and warned him against "the practices of world-wide czardom."⁸⁴ While many of his old comrades had marched out of the Socialist party into the Communist party and believed that it was a logical step for him to follow them, Debs remained strongly opposed to the Communists' goal of proletarian dictatorship along Russian lines and to their tactics of violence and underground activity. In a statement in the *New York Call* in October 1922, Debs acknowledged his respect for the "best of motives," which had led to the formation of the Communist Workers party and a splinter Communist party, the Proletarian party, but declared that he would remain in the Socialist party, the party in whose service he had "spent the better part of my active life."⁸⁵

During much of 1922 as he struggled with the questions of his party identity and his stance respecting the Soviet government, Debs was undergoing treatment at Lindlahr Sanitarium, a nature-cure facility in the Chicago suburb of Elmhurst, Illinois. The prison years had taken their toll on Debs's mental and physical reserves: he was nearly sixty-seven at the time, and he had a history of illnesses that had required rest and seclusion. From July to November 1922, Debs found at Lindlahr a rather fanciful diet of grain and fresh fruit and some exotic exercises, but much less rest and seclusion than he needed. His hospital room became as powerful an attraction for visitors as his prison cell had been. From Debs's letters at the time to Theodore, one senses that he thought the steady stream of visitors was retarding his recovery while at the same time making his stay at the sanitarium bearable. Debs seemed particularly pleased by visits from Sinclair Lewis and Carl Sandburg.⁸⁶

The Socialist party to which Debs declared his continuing allegiance during his stay at Lindlahr Sanitarium was a feeble relic of the move-

ment that had seemed so promising a decade earlier. Wartime defections, the secession of the Communist wing, the continuing bitter fight between the Communists and their former comrades, and the reactionary atmosphere of the "era of Normalcy" left the party with declining membership, a shortage of funds, and a greatly diminished press. A growing number of people were inclined to write off the Socialist party as another third party that had played its historic role as a catalyst of change and reform and was now ready for interment, but their number did not include Debs. In 1923, Debs agreed to serve as national chairman of the party, ending his long holdout against service as a party official. He began an extended speaking tour to rekindle the fires, win back the membership, and replenish the party's coffers. Despite the organized opposition of the American Legion, chambers of commerce, and a variety of service clubs, his tour, which took him once again to both coasts, attracted huge and enthusiastic crowds in the major cities but increasingly took on the appearance of an exercise in nostalgia; the party experienced no genuine revitalization from it. For Debs the tour was "a terrible strain" from which he was "glad enough to get away with my sanity,"⁸⁷ and at the end of it he returned to Terre Haute for a prolonged bout with exhaustion, followed by a return to Lindlahr Sanitarium.

By 1924 the decline of the Socialist party could be measured in part by its failure to nominate a candidate for that year's presidential election. There were still people who thought Debs should run again, but he made it clear that he would not be a candidate, and he agreed with the Socialist party convention's decision in July 1924 to support Robert M. La Follette, the candidate for the new Progressive party. In the past Debs had consistently opposed fusion with reformist parties, but he thought that the Socialist party had no practical choice in 1924 and that support for La Follette would permit socialists to "keep the red flag flying" within the coalition of La Follette supporters. A contemporary analyst of the 1924 campaign believed that socialists had played an important part in La Follette's receiving five million votes,⁸⁸ but as Debs approached his seventieth birthday, he surely found little comfort in the fact that Calvin Coolidge, for whom "the business of government [was] business," won in a landslide victory over the conservative Democratic candidate John W. Davis. The 1924 campaign served to widen the already considerable gulf between Debs and the Communist party, whose leadership charged that the Socialist party's support of La Follette was evidence of its loss of revolutionary principles.⁸⁹

Debs's correspondence during the two years between the 1924 election and his death in October 1926 reveals his determination to

rebuild the Socialist party, his analysis of the party's weaknesses, and the fact that time had taken its toll upon both his physical resources and his sure sense of the public mood. Once again Debs set out on speaking tours that took him to both coasts and were intended, as were the 1923 tours, to reverse the decline in party membership and raise funds that could be used to resume its education and propaganda work. In his speeches he repeated the old themes of capitalist exploitation and the need for working-class self-consciousness and unity and added new ones, such as the imprisonment and conviction of Sacco and Vanzetti. Debs drew parallels between their case and his own, concluding that both were products of the capitalist judicial system. Years later, Upton Sinclair recalled that he and Theodore Dreiser had led cheers for Debs at a large rally in Los Angeles during the 1925 tour.⁹⁰ In the East, where Debs's popularity had always been especially strong, a New York speech, scheduled on his seventieth birthday, became a kind of love feast. The occasion brought together hundreds of Debs's former comrades, many of whom had taken roads to the right and left out of the Socialist party, but who, like Louis Boudin, "just came to see Debs."⁹¹

The outpouring of affection for Debs and the large crowds that listened to some of his speeches were not, however, accompanied by a reversal of the party's decline. A special convention held in Cleveland in March 1925 was so poorly attended, and in Debs's view so poorly organized, that he judged the party to be "as near a corpse as a thing can be."⁹² Increasingly he found fault with the operation of the party headquarters in Chicago, particularly with the manner in which it sought to raise and spend funds. From Chicago, George Kirkpatrick, the party's publicity director, confided to Morris Hillquit that Debs "cannot draw as he did," and Socialist party Secretary Bertha Hale White concurred, noting that "what he does not realize is that his imprisonment is an old story and he is not the drawing card he once was."⁹³ In December 1925 both Kirkpatrick and White resigned from the party's headquarters staff, Kirkpatrick to pursue a business opportunity and Mrs. White because of poor health.⁹⁴

Part of the money raised by Debs during his 1925 tours was used to launch the *American Appeal*, a weekly that appeared on January 2, 1926, with Debs as its editor in chief and regular contributor. For a few months Debs seemed to have recovered fire from his old days on the *Appeal to Reason* and the *National Rip-Saw* as he used the columns of the weekly to denounce militarism and to plead for support for Sacco and Vanzetti and for the striking coal miners. But the *American Appeal* was not the *Appeal to Reason*, and in the spring of 1926, Debs decided to travel to Bermuda, where he hoped his and his wife's

health might be improved. Curiously, the trip to Bermuda on the eve of his death was the only foreign travel ever undertaken by Debs, though he had become an international figure and had received many invitations to visit abroad. Despite his anxiety that his "loss of citizenship" would result in his being denied reentry into the country⁹⁵ and despite some harassment by the press and by Bermuda officials, Debs and his wife enjoyed their five-week holiday. The restorative effects of the trip were only partly undone by a rough return voyage to New York.

Following his return to Terre Haute in April 1926, Debs's health became a matter of growing concern to his physician, Dr. Madge Patton Stephens, who was able to curtail his activities but unable to convince him that his heart condition required complete rest, preferably at Lindlahr Sanitarium. During the spring and summer, Debs resumed his correspondence, wrote a number of articles for the *American Appeal* and one for *Collier's*, and composed a widely circulated pamphlet, *Sacco and Vanzetti: An Appeal to American Labor*. By late summer, however, the reduced schedule of activities and larger prescriptions of digitalis had not arrested the symptoms of Debs's declining health, and he agreed in September to return to Lindlahr. Debs died there a little more than a month later, on October 20, 1926. A few days after his death, following a memorial service at which Norman Thomas gave the eulogy, Debs's ashes were buried in Terre Haute. According to his brother, Theodore, Debs's last will, written in the summer of 1926 but never probated by his widow, had left virtually his entire estate to the Socialist party.⁹⁶ If that is true—and Theodore Debs insisted for the remainder of his life that it was—Debs was at the time of his death one of a dwindling number of men and women who continued to believe that the party was a wave of the future.

Eugene Debs's place in American history is secure but, like his life, subject to controversy. His contemporaries' attitudes toward him were wonderfully varied and complicated. Samuel Gompers saw him as a compulsive troublemaker who hurt the labor movement more than he helped it. According to Theodore Roosevelt, he was a mere "inciter to murder and preacher of applied anarchy."⁹⁷ For some he was a talented rabble-rouser who was ignorant of the meaning of Marxism and unwilling to obey its imperatives. For others he was a reincarnation of Jesus Christ—or the lineal descendant of Paine, Garrison, and Phillips—whose friendship was the blessing of a lifetime.

Scarcely more consensus regarding Debs has developed among historians. Most of them have been attracted by Debs's warm humanity, but they are divided on such questions as his influence on the

American labor movement, the effects of his unwillingness to engage in the day-to-day affairs of the Socialist party, the discrepancy between his revolutionary rhetoric and his evolutionary tactics, and the significance of his failure to gauge properly the staying power of the American Dream, the flexibility of the capitalist system, and the ability of the major parties to adopt reform ideas and measures.⁹⁸ What is certain about Debs is that the growth of the Socialist party and the acceptance of certain of its programs were due largely to his personal appeal and popularity. Taking his successes and failures together, his career was an honorable chapter in the history of dissent in America, a history enhanced by Debs's own willingness to pay a heavy price for holding unpopular views.

Notes

1. Robert Hunter to Lincoln Steffens, July 6, 1908, Steffens Papers, Butler Library, Columbia University.
2. EVD to Jean Daniel Debs, December 2, 1889. Abbreviations for Eugene V. Debs (EVD), Theodore Debs (TD), and Katherine Metzel Debs (KMD) will be used throughout the notes in this section.
3. EVD to Eugenie Debs, October 3, 1874; October 8, 1874; October 17, 1881; December (?) 1886.
4. Lincoln Phifer and family to TD, KMD and family, October 21, 1926; Helen Gardner to TD, November 2, 1926; Morris Hillquit to TD, November 3, 1926.
5. Bernard J. Brommel, *Eugene V. Debs: Spokesman for Labor and Socialism* (Chicago, 1978), 18.
6. Quoted in *ibid.*, 15, from MS notes by David Karsner and "Debs' Welcome Home," *Terre Haute Express*, November 24, 1895.
7. McAlister Coleman, *Eugene V. Debs: A Man Unafraid* (New York, 1930), 21.
8. Brommel, *Debs*, 15-18.
9. Ray Ginger, *The Bending Cross: A Biography of Eugene Victor Debs* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1949), 14.
10. Brommel, *Debs*, 19.
11. EVD to Jean Daniel and Marguerite Bettrich Debs, September 21, 1874.
12. EVD to TD, October 8, 1874.
13. Ginger, *Bending Cross*, 18.
14. Brommel, *Debs*, 21.
15. See EVD, "Susan B. Anthony: A Reminiscence," *Socialist Woman*, July 1909.
16. Brommel, *Debs*, 23-25.
17. Ginger, *Bending Cross*, 29-30.

18. "Appeal to Negro Workers," speech delivered at Commonwealth Casino, New York City, October 30, 1923.

19. KMD to Grace D. Brewer, October 11, 1910; June 1, 1911; November 15, 1927; TD to KMD, November 9, 1926; to Arthur Baur, December 2, 1927.

20. Brommel, *Debs*, 28-29. Debs and his supporters angrily denied the accusations; see, for example, the correspondence between C. Joseph Kluser and TD, April 1913, and between Kluser and Phil K. Reinbold, July 1913, in Debs Collection, Cunningham Library, Indiana State University.

21. Brommel, *Debs*, 26-27.

22. David A. Shannon, "Eugene V. Debs: Conservative Labor Editor," *Indiana Magazine of History* 47 (December 1951): 361.

23. *Firemen's Magazine* 7 (December 1883): 546; Shannon, "Conservative Labor Editor," 360; *Firemen's Magazine* 8 (October 1884): 617. The name of the *Firemen's Magazine* was changed, first to the *Locomotive Firemen's Magazine* and then to the *Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen's Magazine*; hereafter in the notes for this section the magazine will be referred to by the abbreviation *BLFM*.

24. Shannon, "Conservative Labor Editor," 361, 363. See *BLFM* 18 (May 1894): 468-70.

25. *BLFM* 15 (April 1891): 307.

26. Nick Salvatore, *Eugene V. Debs: Citizen and Socialist* (Urbana, Ill., 1982), 106; *BLFM* 18 (March 1894): 280-82.

27. See, for example, Charles A. Bailey to EVD, January 16, 1916; Ross D. Brown to EVD, January 16, 1916; Ida B. Wells-Barnett to EVD, January 17, 1916.

28. Salvatore, *Debs*, 104-5.

29. *BLFM* 15 (February 1891): 103-4.

30. Salvatore, *Debs*, 107; *BLFM* 15 (February 1891): 134-38.

31. Ginger, *Bending Cross*, 61-64, 72.

32. Charles Van Doren, ed., *Webster's American Biographies* (Springfield, Mass., 1974), 433.

33. Ginger, *Bending Cross*, 156.

34. *Ibid.*, 72.

35. John A. Garraty, ed., *The Transformation of American Society* (New York, 1968), 245.

36. *BLFM* 12 (May 1888): 406-8.

37. Ginger, *Bending Cross*, 58.

38. *Ibid.*, 67.

39. *Ibid.*, 80.

40. *Ibid.*, 83.

41. Salvatore, *Debs*, 111.

42. Commons, quoted in Ginger, *Bending Cross*, 92.

43. In the first issue of the *Railway Times*, Debs said the growth of the union was gratifying and predicted that "many months will not pass before

the country west of the Mississippi will be thoroughly organized." *Railway Times*, January 1, 1894.

44. Ginger, *Bending Cross*, 94, 97-98, 102-6.

45. Richard T. Ely, quoted in Garraty, *Transformation*, 166-78.

46. Mrs. Jane Lathrop Stanford to EVD, July 1, 1894; EVD to Mrs. Jane Lathrop Stanford, July 2, 1894.

47. R. Hal Williams, *Years of Decision: American Politics in the 1890's* (New York, 1978), 88-89.

48. EVD to Jean Daniel and Marguerite Debs, January 14, 1895.

49. EVD to Karl Kautsky, December 4, 1925.

50. Salvatore, *Debs*, 154.

51. In his statement Debs declared that he had "long since given expression to my socialistic convictions." *Railway Times*, January 1, 1897.

52. H. Wayne Morgan, *Eugene V. Debs: Socialist for President* (Syracuse, N.Y., 1962), 15-18.

53. *Ibid.*, 19.

54. *Ibid.*, 30-31.

55. *Ibid.*, 33-40.

56. Debs's speeches and personal accounts of the 1900 campaign can best be followed in the pages of the *Social Democratic Herald* (successor to the *Social Democrat*), which was published in Milwaukee.

57. Morgan, *Debs*, 55; *Social Democratic Herald*, December 1, 1900.

58. Morgan, *Debs*, 56; *Miners' Magazine* (December 1900): 20-21.

59. David A. Shannon, *The Socialist Party of America: A History* (New York, 1955), 53-58.

60. Murray Kaufman, "The Image of Eugene V. Debs in the American Popular Mind, 1894-1926" (Ph.D. diss., Carnegie-Mellon University, 1981), 92.

61. Morgan, *Debs*, 59-82.

62. Shannon, *Socialist Party*, 54-56, 58-60.

63. Morgan, *Debs*, 88.

64. *Ibid.*, 83-116.

65. *Ibid.*, 117-21; *Christian Socialist*, March 1, 1913.

66. Morgan, *Debs*, 124-25.

67. H. D. Stettwagen to Victor Berger, July 3, 1912, quoted in Shannon, *Socialist Party*, 75.

68. Ginger, *Bending Cross*, 310-12.

69. Morgan, *Debs*, 139, 142. In *The Decline of Socialism in America, 1912-1925* (New York, 1967), James Weinstein dates the onset of socialism's winter much later, citing evidence of the movement's continuing vitality until World War I and after.

70. Shannon, *Socialist Party*, 77-79.

71. See David A. Corbin, "Betrayal in the West Virginia Coal Fields: Eugene V. Debs and the Socialist Party of America, 1912-1924," *Journal of American History* 64 (March 1978): 987-1009; Eugene V. Debs, "Official Report on West Virginia," *Milwaukee Leader*, June 5, 1913; "Debs Denounces Vilifiers of West Virginia Committee Report," *New York Call*, June 28, 1913.

72. Shannon, *Socialist Party*, 81-90.
73. Morgan, *Debs*, 149-52.
74. Corbin, "Betrayal," 1006-7.
75. Ginger, *Bending Cross*, 337.
76. Robert K. Murray, *Red Scare: A Study in National Hysteria, 1919-1920* (New York, 1964), 12-15.
77. Morgan, *Debs*, 166-68.
78. *Ibid.*, 174.
79. Attorney General Griffin B. Bell to Senator Birch Bayh, August 30, 1977, EVD Foundation, Terre Haute, Indiana.
80. Morgan, *Debs*, 189.
81. Ginger, *Bending Cross*, 416-19; *New York Times*, December 29, 1921; *Indianapolis Star*, December 26, 1921.
82. Vanzetti to Debs, September 29, 1923; January 30, May 31, June 26, August 5, November (?), November 3, November 25, December 19, 1926.
83. Morgan, *Debs*, 193.
84. *New York Call*, July 27, 1922.
85. *Ibid.*, October 8, 1922.
86. EVD to TD, August 3 (1922); (July-August 1922); to David Karsner, August 10, 22, September 9, 18 (1922). Dates in parentheses have been supplied by the editor.
87. Morgan, *Debs*, 197.
88. *Ibid.*, 198.
89. This charge drew a reply from Debs denying rumors that he was "really with the Communists." See EVD to William Z. Foster, July 23, 1924 (clipping of printed letter), and William Z. Foster to EVD, July 30, 1924. The Foster letter and the clipping appear together under July 30, 1924, on Reel 5 of the microfilm edition of Debs's *Papers*.
90. See Sinclair's reminiscence in "Debs Remembered" on Reel 5, frame 1271 of the microfilm edition.
91. Ginger, *Bending Cross*, 453.
92. EVD to Bertha Hale White, June 3, 1925.
93. George Kirkpatrick to Morris Hillquit, June 8, 1925, Hillquit MSS, State Historical Society of Wisconsin; Bertha Hale White to Hillquit, June 8, 1925, Hillquit MSS. The Bertha Hale White letter is reproduced, along with the Debs-White letter cited above, under June 3, 1925, in Series I of the microfilm edition.
94. Brommel, *Debs*, 188.
95. Scores of organizations sent Debs copies of petitions to President Coolidge seeking the restoration of Debs's citizenship. See, for example, Alexander E. Gordon to EVD, June 18, 1925.
96. TD to KMD, November 9, 1926.
97. Ronald Radosh, *Debs* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1971), 132.
98. *Ibid.*, 143-76.

Letters

1874-1912

EVD to Jean Daniel Debs and Marguerite Bettrich Debs

September 29, 1874
East St. Louis, Illinois

Dear Parents:¹

I take time to write to you a few words in haste to comply with my promise. I arrived here safely and am in good health up to the present time. It seems to me, it has been a year since I left home, at times I have a little company but sometimes I am all alone and I am so homesick, I hardly know what to do, but hope that after I get to work I will get a little accustomed to being away from home. It has rained pretty steadily since my arrival, but has been real fair yesterday and today. Saturday I crossed the bridge and took a stroll through some of the principal streets of Saint Louis. I went to Shaw's Garden, also Lafayette and Missouri Parks which are all very beautiful, and can only be appreciated by being seen. As I was returning I saw one of our old time Snoozers, one that used to cause a great deal of unnecessary talk in our household viz: Samuel Howell.² He was just across the street from where I was, but I did not hail him, nor did he recognize me, and I thought we'd better not renew our acquaintance.

Dear Mother I was very sorry not to see you, before I left home, but it was quite unavoidable as I am not acquainted with all the men on the west division of this road, and had I not gone, perhaps I could not have went for over a week. Tell John and Mary³ also, that I was quite sorry not to see *them*, but I hope to see you all before a great while. I hope that you are all enjoying good health and that you are all happy as I am just at the present time. While I am writing, there is a little girl playing on the piano, and singing also, which sounds very beautifully and which reminds me of home. Dear Parents If I am as successful as I am prospective I will soon get where I can make some money, which prospects are very flattering, as I can tell you that times are indeed dull.⁴ It makes a person's heart ache to go along some of the main sts in the city and see men women & children begging for something to eat. Sisters Lou, Jennie and Emma and

brother Theodore⁵ dont know how happy they ought to be to have a comfortable home, and parents kind, to help them. I did not know it either till I came over here. I could write to you a great while longer, but I suppose that you are tired of reading a letter of so little significance. This morning I went to Carondelet with an Engineer that I was acquainted with and on my return I stopped at the Belleville Machine Shop where I saw Tom McCabe who used to be machinist at Seath and Hager's.⁶ I had a little talk with him when he told me that he had acquired the foremanship of the Machine Shop, and consequently he possesses great influence. We together went to the Master Mechanic and Tom spoke to him for me, and I showed him my letter of recommendation upon which he immediately promised me the first chance as fireman on the "St Louis, Belleville, and Southern Ills Rail Road. It may be a while before I get it, but I tell you It will be a good job, and I will have a chance to make some money. A road that runs from St Louis to Belleville, a distance of 78 miles. Dear Sister Lou, tell Alex {mullen}⁷ that I aint dead yet, and tell him also that I hope he has got over his spell of sickness. Give all the boys and girls my kind regards, and accept the same from a brother. Tell Charly Hirzel⁸ that after I get everything in good shape I will write to him, as I promised. Tell John that I hope he was successful at the Indianapolis fair and that he took a good many premiums. Tell John and Mary that I hope they are well, and little Flaxy Heini⁹ also. and Tell Theodore to take good care of the chickens, and to be a good boy and obey pa and ma. Once more, give my kind regards to Friends inquiring. I need not say answer my letter, for I know you will respond without hesitation, I am very anxious to hear from you. But love to you all, and much, too. I shall tell you of my methods of economy in my next

Your affectionate son
Eugene

Address on the other side

[on reverse: Address. Eugene Debs East St Louis Ills. St Clair County]

ALS, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. Debs's father, Jean Daniel Debs (1820-1906), and his mother, Marguerite Marie Bettrich Debs (1828-1906), migrated from Colmar, Alsace, to the United States in 1849. Following their marriage in New York in September 1849, they moved to Terre Haute (via Cincinnati), where they operated a retail grocery store, first in their home and later on the city's main street.

2. Samuel Howell is listed as a carpenter in the Terre Haute city directories of 1871-73. The basis of his notoriety in Terre Haute has not been discovered.

3. Debs's sister Marie Margaret (1851-1936) and her husband, John G. Heintz (1844-1920), a Terre Haute florist.

4. The economic depression that followed the panic of 1873 was the most severe in the nation's history down to that time. Business failures were counted in the thousands, a majority of the nation's railroads went into bankruptcy, and by 1875 500,000 men (and women and children) were out of work.

5. Debs's sisters Louise (1853-1931) married Henry Michel, a Marion, Indiana, florist; Eugenie (1858-1909) married John Howard Selby; and Emily (1857-1932) married Cyprien Odilon Mailloux, who became an internationally prominent electrical engineer. "Brother Theodore" (1864-1945) became Debs's lifelong friend, companion, adviser, agent, manager, and secretary.

6. James Seath was superintendent and John B. Hager president of the Terre Haute Car and Manufacturing Company.

7. Alexander Mullen (1852-83) was one of Debs's closest friends in Terre Haute. A few years later he and Debs worked together at the Hulman wholesale grocery firm and were members of Vigo Lodge of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen. When Debs was elected Terre Haute city clerk in 1879, he appointed Mullen to serve as his deputy.

8. Charles M. Hirzel, who had been a schoolmate of Debs, was working at the time as a clerk in the city's Opera Exchange Hotel and Restaurant.

9. Debs's nephew, Frederick Heintz.

EVD to Eugenie Debs

October 3, 1874

East St., Louis, Illinois

My dear Sister:¹

Your welcome response to my letter was gladly received this morning at an early hour, and contents eagerly read. Your first words are that you would like to see me home again, to this I must object, the reasons of which I will disclose to you. You see the approaching winter is predicted as one of unusual severity, also pecuniary matters do not seem very prospective, and altogether it is plainly to be seen that this winter will see this Country in the worst pecuniary embarrassment possible. I can see it here, better than I could in Terre Haute, for if you had any idea of the hundreds of starving people that I see daily, without exception, you would not urge me to return to T.H. for awhile at least, as long as I have prospects of an occupation at which I can at least support my self and perhaps save a little money besides. I don't expect to stay away from home for ever, nor for even an unreasonable length of time; I only want to stay long enough to save up a little money and to prove that I can act manly when must be. I don't go anywhere at all, except to a french family by the name of Dûches, that reside in the vicinity of my boarding house. They are

very nice people and they think the world and all of me, I feel myself perfectly at home when in their company. The family is not a very large one, it consists only of Father Mother and an only daughter. They would willingly do anything for me, they make it, indeed, their study to surround me with comforts, and are constantly devising some fresh plans, which they think will make me feel myself at home. They volunteered to do my washing free of charge, but I do not want to take advantage of good nature and disposition. The first time I went there I was accompanied by an Engineer who was acquainted with them, in fact neighbor acquaintances, when I became introduced To Mr & Mrs Dûches, and then to Lena, a pretty girl of about 17 years of age. They did not know that I was french, and the first words of Lena to her mother, after the introduction, were, "Ma! He is a railroad boy; spoken in french of course, she little suspecting that I understood it.² I immediately made known that I was french myself, and then we had a good laugh over it. We now speak french altogether. Now for a change of subject; In your last, you allude to a young man who was killed close to T.H. By the name of Stewart. I suppose I was aware of that before you, as I was personally acquainted with him, and to tell you the truth of my opinion, I do not sympathize with him a particle, as he was a genuine Dead Beat of the first order. The road that I intend working on is as safe as a bed, never having had any ill luck in any manner, although it is an old road. Now for your Saur Krout; I hope you will Stuff yourselves with it till you cant rest, and enjoy it too. There is something important that I wish to acquaint you with that perhaps will surprise you somewhat. I was down to Dûches house the other evening and they asked me If I knew a young man in Terre Haute, lately arrived, by the name of Johnnie Clay,³ gave me his full descriptions, and it cannot be any other but the one that was at our dance shortly before I came away. What I was going to tell you was this. He was Clerk in this city, in a bank, and not a long while since purloined One Hundred and Sixty Dollars from the bank, and run away with it. He is not allowed to return here, ~~under~~ as he should be arrested immediately. Dont say anything about it to anybody, I only want you to stay away from him, all of you.

I expect to get my job next week and then you may expect your Gold Watch. Tell ma that I know it is best for me to stay here where I am, until dull times are at an end when I will again return to T.H. I hope that you are all well as I am myself Health is more valuable than money after all, as long as a person has there health, they should not complain. Give all my Rail Road Friends my regards, and dont sack[?] them promiscuously Tell Otto that I am still alive and well and that I will write to him when I get myself fixed permanently, give

him my best respects, and tell him that I was sorry not to see him before I came away. Give all my friends my regards, and {present} my most special Compliments to the Meyer family, also to all inquirers. I was very much pleased to learn through the important information conveyed by Theodore, that all the game chickens are doing well, and his efforts to write a letter were duly appreciated, and afforded me great pleasure, as I pulled it out of the envelope so grandly, and sat down on the Post Office steps to read it. I showed his writing to Mrs Dûches, and she said that I had a very intelligent young brother indeed. How is everything and everybody in Terre Haute, the only place in this world that I have any love for. Actually it seems a lifetime to me since I left that sacred little spot. I dont know whether I could recognize T.H. or not. Give my love to Father and Mother and tell them that probably I will be at Home on a visit ere long. Give my love to all the family, and lots of it too. Excuse irregularity in writing, also bad penmanship as I am in haste to go to the shop.

Write soon and write much and I remain for ever in affection

Your Brother

Eugene

ALS, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. Eugenie Debs (Selby).

2. French was a commonly used second language in the Debs home. Named for Eugene Sue and Victor Hugo, Debs read the French classics (and heard his father read them aloud) in the original and later wrote for the *Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen Magazine* reviews of books written in that language.

3. The Terre Haute city directory for 1871-72 lists a John A. Clay as an insurance agent.

EVD to Eugenie (?) Debs

October 8, 1874

East St. Louis, Illinois

Dear Sister¹

I have just opened your letter a few moments ago, and as I was sitting on the Post Office steps, reading the contents thereof, passersby might have noticed a satisfactory expression stealing over my face. Your letter contains the news of the sudden and mysterious death of Mr Fister; next time you have news of that kind to communicate, you must be in a little more of a hurry, as I had previously heard of his death through a fireman on the road. It is indeed sad, but is the will

of the Almighty. You will probably be surprised to see me at Terre Haute in a few days, which sudden turn in my plans I will explain to you. You see, I went to the Master Mechanic of the shop yesterday, and had a talk with him. I will quote his own words: He says, "Eugene you shall have the very first chance on our road, if you wish you can go home and see your folks, and just as soon as there is a job for you I will write to you. There will be a chance in a short time." So I can safely go To Terre Haute and stay at home until he writes to me. I was to go to work Monday last, but the Engine that I was going to take broke down, and it will take some time to fix her up again, probably a couple of weeks. You say in your last, that I should have sent a few words to Ella Grant. I am very sorry that I neglected to do so, but you know it is never to late to mend; You may ~~tell her~~ ~~that I~~ give her my kindest regards, and tell her that I hope she has partly forgotten her sad bereavement, and that I deeply sympathize with her, also that I hope she is well, and not so mischievous as she used to be when I used to see her. Last night I fired the swit[c]hengine over here and made One Dollar and ninety cents, and I will make the same to night. Enclosed you will find the picture of Lena, which I stole off their table this morning when I was there, and it will answer most of your inquiries concerning her. I could write to you a bushel, but time and space will not permit, therefore I must draw to a close. Give John, and Mary my brotherly love with my hopes of soon gaining a verbal interview with them. Give Father and Mother and all the folks my love also, and tell pa and ma that I will be at Terre Haute on a short visit pretty soon, and for pa to have some ~~Hazampfeffer~~ Hasenpfeffer, for I feel as though I could eat a ½ Dozen myself, skin and all. I am quite well and hope to find you all in the same condition. Give my regards to Percy, Henry, Dock Hunter and all the boys and girls you see. Mrs Johnson, my boarding Mistress and her daughter are accusing me of writing a love letter, they insist that I am deeply in love for writing so many letters, and Carrie is trying to get a glimpse over my shoulder,

Much love to you all
Eugene

Give the Mullens Family my regards, and tell Duke that I'll see him before long

Please answer my letter immediately

ALS, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. Eugenie Debs (Selby).

EVD to Theodore Debs

October 8, 1874

East St. Louis, Illinois

Private

Dear Theodore:

I am nearly tickled to death at the interesting letters which you send me, and in return I will try and write one, as good as I can to compare with your's. I am glad that all the chickens are well, and I hope that you are too, and that you are a good boy, and try to do all you can to help pa and ma. I am glad you are in No 4,¹ and I write you this to tell you that, maybe, if you are right good and work hard, I will fetch you something from Saint Louis. Bed Bugs bother me very much, the other night I killed 37 in my bed, in a few minutes. So good bye and I will see you soon.

Brother Eugene

ALS, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. Fourth grade.

William N. Sayre to EVD

March 17, 1875

Galion, Ohio

Dr Sir & Brother

Yours of the 14th before me and I can now say I have two good correspondts in the state of Indiana. Bro Wm Huffman R.S. of No 8 at Seymour, and I will put you down as the other. Now I must ask of you to allway give me time and I will ever be on hand but my Engine requires so much of the time during my 14 hours lay over at home that It often with our Order keepes me from my rest, so when you dont get an answer immediately know that I am busy on my Pet'' or as the boys say "*pounding my Ear*" but allway write me long letters as I will be pleased to hear from you and No 16 and give all advice I can to benefit you.

You will experience at first some trouble from your members Viz complaining of what so and so says, and does &c. but this you must brace up under and by wearing the lessons taught in your Ritual upon your mind your eyes will soon speak and to a greater extent that the

tongue can. All way remember the order¹ is a secret one and by *jelously guarding* your every act outside of your Lodge room, You will find that *all* will show you respect. You will be *particular* and instruct your members that they must not communicate nor give out our signs or passwords. If a brother is in Ignorance of any of these requirements he must go to the master whom will charge him. In balloting for a candidate charge the Brothers well to weigh their thoughts upon the persons character and standing and to also vote that no one Brother knows how the other votes. personal matters should not keep a man out of the order. and above all things *be careful who you let in*. Your Outer Guard must stand *by his* position.

Your dues should commence March 1st and if your T.S. will introduce a motion which if seconed and carried will become one of your By Laws to this effect all Brothers will pay their dues on the 1st or 2nd regular meeting night in each month it will save him and the Lodge lots of time and trouble. when a brother cannot get there. *he can send it*.

2nd. You will not have any Grand Lodge dues to pay till after Dec 1875—and that will be determined on at Convention as to how much they will be. tis used to buy books papers &c to run the order with. I wont have enough this year by [cls.?] to \$100.00

3rd. Your Initiation Fees all go into your Treasury. *You dont pay the Grand Lodge any of it* when a name is sent up for Initiation it must be accompanied by 1.00 the night he is taken in he pays the other \$4.00. all this goes into your treasury

Now Brother I hope this much is plain if not do not hesitate to write me. I am

Your Servant and Brother in this work
Will N. Sayre²

I forward you six Books tonight more in press will soon be out. dont be afraid to jog my memory W.N.S

ALS, EVD Foundation, Debs Home.

1. The Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen was organized in Port Jervis, New York, on December 1, 1873. Debs's local, Vigo Lodge 16, was organized in February 1875, and Debs was chosen recording secretary.

2. William N. Sayre was grand secretary and treasurer of the BLF. He visited the Vigo Lodge at its meeting of May 4, 1875. Debs succeeded Sayre as grand secretary-treasurer of the BLF in 1880.

EVD to Theodore Debs

January 27, 1876

New York City

Dear Brother Theodore

I arrived here alright, and as I sit here thinking of you, I gladly take this occasion of remitting you a few words. I am very lonesome since I left home, and when I get back again, I will never leave for the next ten years. You just take my advice Thedy and be glad that you have a good home, and good Mother & Father. Do your work like a little man, and show that you are worthy and desrving of a good home. There are thousands of little boys here of your age, who are working hard almost for nothing, and have no place to go to when cold night comes. You ought to see how sad they look, and then you would feel that you ought to be happy, and make yourself useful. Tell Pa and Ma that I am going to see that great Painting of the "Siege of Paris" and the Franco Prussian War—which came from France, and is going to be exhibited at the Centennial.¹ Please tell Lou² that I cannot stop at Toledo, as I would take to much time, and I want to get home as soon as I can.

I will tell you lots of things in a few days, and hoping you are a good boy

I remain
Your Brother Eugene

Give Father & Mother my best wishes and also to the girls, and John Mary and Freddy.

ALS, InTI, Debs Collection. On letterhead of Recording Secretary's Office, Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, Division No. 16, Terre Haute, Indiana.

1. The Centennial Exhibition, celebrating the one-hundredth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, was held in Philadelphia from May to August 1876. The work of artists from more than twenty countries was included in the 3,200 paintings in the United States's first international art exhibition. Debs's parents' Alsatian background may have made "that great Painting" of particular interest to them.

2. Louise Debs Michel.

EVD to Theodore Debs

September 14, 1877
[Indianapolis, Indiana]

Dear Brother

1.45 AM

I just returned from the Ball and had a good time. As I sit here in my room cooling off my thoughts go back to the old homestead. I cannot write you much as I am very tired and must go to rest. I will be home again in a few days, and in the mean time am playing the gentleman. I have been to theatre twice this week, and two evenings I worked on committees¹ until 2 oclock in the morning.

I am acquainted with all the cooks here, and mayhap will bring home with me a nice little waity girl "in my mind"

Your Brother
Eugene

ALS, InTI, Debs Collection. On letterhead of Vigo Lodge 16.

1. Debs was attending the BLF national convention in Indianapolis, at which he criticized the great railroad strike of July 1877, which had, he said, "terrified the entire nation . . . [and] signified anarchy and revolution."

Robert Green Ingersoll¹ to EVD

December 29, 1879
Washington, D.C.

My dear Sir:

I have ordered 25 posters and the same number of lithographs. Nothing has been said in correspondence about terms. Let it be understood that the terms are sixty-five per cent of gross receipts. The subject, as I telegraphed, "Liberty of Man, Woman, and Child."

Yours truly,

N.B. Prices 50c and 75c for reserved seats.

ALc, DLC, Ingersoll Letterbooks, No. 11. Transcript of faint copy.

1. Ingersoll (1833-99) was one of the most famous lawyers and public orators of his time. He was called "the great agnostic" for his religious views and had spoken in Terre Haute on April 30, 1878, on "The Religion of the Past, Present, and Future." That speech, sponsored by the Terre Haute Occidental Literary Club (which Debs had helped to found in 1874), had captivated Debs and made Ingersoll his idol and

model. The lecture on "Liberty of Man . . ." was given on January 11, 1880. Debs described Ingersoll's appearances in Terre Haute and their influence on him in "Recollections of Ingersoll" in *Pearson's Magazine*, April 1917.

Robert Green Ingersoll to EVD

[February?] 2, 1881

Washington, D.C.

My dear Mr. Debs,

I recd your kind letter.¹ Accept a thousand thanks. Your address over the dead little Herbert² is very beautiful. You told just the truth and nothing more. It is a mystery and no man can solve it. The curtain cannot be lifted—the darkness can not be dispelled. We will leave our dead where we leave our living—with Nature. We have no angry gods to fear—no hells to dread. And for the dead we have no fear. Let us be kind and just to all, and leave the questions of the whence and whither to answer themselves.

Hoping to see you again before long and assuring you that I remain as ever and always

Your friend
R. G. Ingersoll

ALS, EVD Foundation, Debs Home. Transcript of framed letter.

1. Not found.

2. Herbert V. Heinl, Debs's nephew.

EVD to Homer E. Sargent¹

March 11, 1881

Terre Haute, Indiana

Dear Sir:—

My object in writing is to ask you to grant the "Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen" an Annual Pass² over your Road, providing it does not conflict with the rules of said Road.

Mr. S. M. Stevens³ and myself are the chief officers of this Organization, and I am proud to say that it is strictly a charitable institution, caring for the sick or disabled firemen and for their families when they are called away. The favor which I now solicit has been granted

by many R.R. Officials of which I will mention a few—they are as follows:—

W. E. Chamberlain Supt. P.&W.⁴
 L. Williams, Gen. Man. C.H.&D.⁵
 E. H. Goodrich—Supt. I. D&S.⁶
 E. H. Waldron Gen. Man. L.E.&W.⁷
 B. F. Matthias Mast. Trans. D.&S.W.⁸
 Roswell Miller Gen. Supt. C.&V.⁹
 James J. Hill Gen. Man. St.P.M.&M.¹⁰
 Marvin Hughitt Gen. Man. C&N.W.¹¹
 John B. Carson Gen. Man. H.&St.J.¹²
 J. C. McMullen Gen. Man. C.&A.¹³
 Sam. Woodward Gen. Supt. C.S.¹⁴
 W. R. McKeen Pres. Vandalia Line¹⁵

If time would permit I could mention many more names. Should you give our petition a favorable consideration, please issue the pass to "S. M. Stevens & E. V. Debs" so that we may both use it. We shall be forever grateful and make every effort to reciprocate your generosity, should you comply.

Hoping for your earnest consideration in this matter and that you will give us a helping hand, I am Sir,

Yours to Command,
 Eugene V. Debs

ALS, MnHi, Northern Pacific Railway Papers. Letter in secretarial hand, including signature, on Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen letterhead.

1. Homer E. Sargent was general manager of the Northern Pacific Railroad.
2. Debs would later join the growing chorus of protest against the corrupting influence of railroad passes on public officials, the press, and others.
3. Samuel L. Stevens was "grand organizer and instructor" of the BLF. His tireless efforts on behalf of the union were frequently praised by Debs in the *BLF Magazine*.
4. Providence & Worcester.
5. Cincinnati, Hamilton & Dayton.
6. Illinois Central, Dubuque & Sioux City.
7. Lake Erie & Western.
8. Dubuque & South Western.
9. Chicago & Vandalia.
10. St. Paul, Minneapolis & Manitoba.
11. Chicago & North Western.
12. Hannibal & St. Joseph.
13. Chicago & Alton.
14. Canada Southern.
15. Debs's career was affected significantly by two of the men cited here. William Riley McKeen (1829-1913) was a Terre Haute banker, railroad owner, and industrialist in whose Terre Haute & Indianapolis Railroad yards Debs, at the age of fourteen, secured his first job on the painting crew. In the pages of the *BLF Magazine*, Debs

frequently cited McKen as a model employer. James Jerome Hill (1838-1916) expanded the St. Paul, Minneapolis & Manitoba Railway into the Great Northern Railway Company, which reached Seattle in 1893 and made the region from St. Paul to Seattle "Hill country," so called for the successful efforts made by Hill to encourage homesteading in the regions opened up by his lines. In April 1894 the recently founded American Railway Union, led by Debs, carried out a successful strike against the Great Northern, an astonishing victory for the union in dealing with Hill, who was by then recognized as one of the shrewdest and most ruthless operators in the industry.

EVD to Eugenie Debs

October 17, 1881

Dear Sister Jen¹—

Your letters—two in number—reached me this morning and afforded me much pleasure. I am very glad to learn of the good condition of things at home. I just answered the one you sent me from Brother Schaap of No. 31 in relation to their Death Claim. When I get through with this one I shall write a letter of congratulations to the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers who meet in Convention at Baltimore on the 19th Inst.

It is my aim to preserve harmony between the two Orders² for they are kindred to each other in all things and each should seek to serve the interests of the other at every opportunity.

I wrote Miss Helen Jeffers³ a long letter this morning in relation to the Marshall Concert⁴ and her future plan of action. I consider her one of the grandest women I ever knew and whatever I can do, in my feeble way, to enhance her interests, shall be done with all the fervor of genuine friendship. Many people, if gifted with her talent, would be arrogant and overbearing, but with her it seems to have a contrary effect. She seems perfectly contented in our company while she holds in utter contempt a great many people who are eager to pay tribute to her and who occupy a higher round on the social ladder than we do. I admire her for her simplicity and her goodness of heart. To me she seems the embodiment of the idea of true womanhood. I am proud to be enrolled upon her catalogue of friends. It is a source of much pleasure to me to know that I enjoy her confidence to the fullest extent. She may find many friends of better appearance—more money and greater ability than I possess but none in whom her confidence is less apt to be misplaced. Her situation is a peculiarly distressing one, for instead of being beckoned onward and upward by her people, they seem to take delight suppressing her talent and blotting out her aspirations.

When we take this view of her case it becomes apparent at once that she needs friends. She needs them more than if she were a commonplace person thrown upon her own resources. In the latter event she would have no ambition to gratify. Her wants could be easily supplied and she would have no occasion to appeal to friends for a helping hand. But the case of Helen Jefers is a vastly different one and I think I recognize the true [inwardness?] of it. Man can stifle ambition—woman cannot. I can just imagine how she feels to have every aspiration of her soul trampled upon and crushed out of existence. She feels oppressed and disheartened and requires the assistance of her friends to maintain and perpetuate the talent with which she has been so richly endowed; and to aid her in reaching that high and honorable sphere she is destined to occupy.

I hope to see her realize every dream of her youth and to that end I shall consecrate every effort at my command. She has enlisted my full sympathy and I regard it as not only my privilege but my duty to contribute to her welfare to the full extent of my ability.

Whoever assists her in developing her talent will, some day, have reason to feel proud of it, for it is only a question of a little time until she will have become the mistress of her calling. I shall hail with delight the coming of that day for I always love to see real merit rewarded.

I hope to see her fame precede her footsteps everywhere and shine out with all the radiance of a star.

If we unite our efforts and rally to her support a few staunch friends we can do much to aid her in her enterprise and that is precisely what we must do.

The Marshall Concert⁴ was a decided success, in my judgment, and will prove a stepping stone in time to come, to something better ~~in time to come~~ beyond. I have been thinking about it ever since I parted with the Company. The many pleasant incidents connected with it are rehearsed in my mind from morning till night. A strange presentiment has occupied my thoughts until it has become molded into a fact as positive as though it had already been realized. It is settled in my mind that the talent in the "Hughitt Concert Co"—some of it at least—will yet astonish the world.

No amount of persuasion could overcome my prediction in this matter.

Let us hope that it will be fully realized.

I must now draw to a close for my time is up & I must not grow wearisome to you. Henry, Lou and Arthur unite in sending you all their love. They are in perfect health and in the enjoyment of supreme

happiness. I am getting along nicely, but my task is more difficult than I had anticipated and I will hardly get through before the 25th.

Give all the folks my love and tell them that I am yearning with all my heart to meet them face to face again.

Your Affectionate Brother
Eugene

ALS, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. Eugenie Debs (Selby) joined Debs's staff in the city clerk's office in July 1881.

2. The Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers. Debs's editorials in the *BLF Magazine* repeatedly stressed the common interests of the two organizations. The great ambition of the firemen was to become engineers, to move "from the left side to the right" of the locomotive.

3. Helen Jeffers was the daughter of Uriah R. Jeffers, owner of the Vigo Woolen Mills in Terre Haute. Her "literary and musical performances" at the Terre Haute Opera House and Dowling Hall were said by the *Terre Haute Express*, October 18, 1882, to "guarantee music lovers a pleasant evening."

4. Both Marshall, Indiana, and Marshall, Illinois, are short distances from Terre Haute.

EVD and F. W. Arnold to Thomas Fletcher Oakes¹

March 1, 1884

Terre Haute, Indiana

Dear Sir:

In behalf of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen we respectfully represent to you that we are engaged in the work of "Benevolence, Sobriety and Industry" among the locomotive enginemen of the United States and Canada. We are doing what we can to better the social and moral condition of our members, so as to give to our employers a more faithful and efficient class of men and to society a better class of citizens. We furthermore represent that our Order has been in existence ten years, that it has never participated in any strike and that one of its fundamental principles is a determined opposition to strikes.²

Benevolence is one of our principal objects and during the past three years we have expended nearly a quarter of a million dollars for the support of the widows and orphans of our deceased members. We have over ten thousand members, all pledged to the cause of charity and peace, and believing that our principles commend themselves to your favorable consideration we respectfully petition you to recognize our Order to the extent that you will grant our Organizer

and Instructor, Mr. S. M. Stevens, an Annual Pass over your lines, to the end that he may be better enabled to carry on his work of organizing and visiting Lodges.

Many lines have already extended us this favor, among which may be mentioned the N.Y.C.&St.L.; Vandalia Line; Q.&M.; C.&E.I.; C.&A.; C.&N.W.; Iowa Central; Illinois Midland; Lake Erie & Western; Providence & Worcester; Wabash, St. Louis & Pacific; and several others.

Our Order is endorsed wherever its aims and purposes have been investigated. The Grand Officers are well known in Indiana and can furnish any reference that may be required in regard to their character and standing.

If it is consistent with your rules to confer this favor upon our Order, it will be a source of great assistance to us, and we shall gratefully appreciate your kindness.

With great respect

Your obedient servants,
Eugene V. Debs F. W. Arnold³
Grand Secretary Grand Master

N.B. Please address your reply to Eugene V. Debs, Secretary Grand Lodge B. of L.F. Terre Haute, Ind.

LS, MnHi, Northern Pacific Railroad Company Records. Printed form letter.

1. Thomas Fletcher Oakes (1843-1919) was at this time vice-president and general manager of the Northern Pacific Railroad. He was the road's president from 1888 to 1893, when it went into bankruptcy, and served as its receiver from 1893 to 1895.

2. At its national convention in 1885 the BLF formally amended its constitution to authorize the use of strikes.

3. A native of Columbus, Ohio, Frank W. Arnold (1851-1917) was grand master of the BLF from 1880 to 1885 and grand secretary-treasurer from 1902 to 1904. He was an examiner for the Interstate Commerce Commission at the time of his death.

EVD to James Whitcomb Riley¹

January 3, 1885

Terre Haute, Indiana

My dear Riley,

How is our dear Dr. Hays?² Your telephone message and a letter from Mrs. Hays came in my absence. I came home ill and during the past several weeks have had the battle of my life with a complication

of troubles that the most skilful doctors in our city have been unable to overcome. At the present writing I am still confined to my room with the grip, fever & the most violent and incessant headache that mortal ever suffered. The past year's work was too exacting for me & the cause of my trouble is nervous exhaustion which it will take some time to overcome. Under any other circumstances I should have hastened over on the very first train, for I remember the doctor's unwavering loyalty & love him as if he were a brother. I am worried much about the matter and beg you to drop me a line. Mrs. Hays did not answer my letter & this adds not a little to my distress. I never before so profoundly regretted my helplessness when a friend was in distress.

Hope you are in the best of health & full of joy.

Yours always,
E. V. Debs

ALS, InU, Lilly Library, Riley MSS.

1. James Whitcomb Riley (1849-1916) was known as the Hoosier Poet for the whimsical, friendly verses he published in numerous collections, beginning in 1883 with *The Old Swimmin' Hole* and *'Leven More Poems*, which included "When the Frost is on the Punkin'." His friendship with Debs dated from 1880 when Debs arranged three Riley appearances in Terre Haute sponsored by the Occidental Literary Club. Thereafter, Debs from time to time closed the editorial section of the *BLF Magazine* with a Riley poem, including, on one occasion, "Terry Hut," in which Riley described Debs as a man with "as warm a heart that ever beat Betwixt here and the Mercy Seat!"

2. William Franklin Hays (1847-1908) was a lifelong friend of Riley from the time when Hays was studying medicine with a doctor in Greenfield, Indiana, where Riley was born and served for a time as editor of the local paper. Hays later became Riley's physician in Indianapolis, and Riley's *The Rubaiyat of Doc Sifers* (1897) was dedicated to him.

EVD to Frank X. Holl¹

July 27, 1885

Terre Haute, Indiana

Dear Sir and Brother;

In reply to your favor of the 24 inst. would say that I regret very much to see you leave the Financiers Office.

I am proud to say that Lodge 82 is second to none in the Order and I attribute their good standing to the faithfulness of the Officers.

Accept my sincere thanks for the proficient manner in which you have conducted the affairs of your office.

I can say (without flattery) that as a financier and a hard worker you rank among the first.

In what ever undertaking you may be engaged in I hope you will meet with success and prosperity.

Hoping that your conduct will prove you as true in the future as it has in the past I remain

Your Friend and Brother
Eugene V. Debs.

TLS (typed signature), TxU, Holl MSS.

1. Frank X. Holl was financier and later master of BLF Lodge 82 in Minneapolis, Minnesota, and later organized the American Railway Union local there. His correspondence with Debs continued throughout Debs's lifetime.

Daniel Scott Lamont¹ (for Grover Cleveland) to EVD

September 9, 1885
[Washington D.C.]

Dear Sir:

The President² directs me to express his thanks for the courtesy of the invitation conveyed in your letter of the 5th. instant to be present at the opening exercises of the Twelfth Annual Convention of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen to be held at Philadelphia on the 21st instant and to say that he regrets that his official engagements will prevent its acceptance.

Very truly yours
Daniel S. Lamont
Private Secretary

ALc, DLC, Cleveland Papers.

1. Daniel Scott Lamont (1851-1905) served as Grover Cleveland's secretary in Albany during Cleveland's term as governor of New York and during his first term as president. In 1893 he returned to Washington as Cleveland's secretary of war, a post that involved him in Cleveland's decision to send federal troops into Chicago during the Pullman Strike.

2. Grover Cleveland (1837-1908) would in 1894 secure Debs's place in American labor (and constitutional) history and contribute to a significant turn in Debs's career as a result of his intervention in the Pullman Strike.

EVD to Robert Green Ingersoll

October 21, 1886

Terre Haute, Indiana

My Dear Col. Ingersoll,

I have noticed by the papers that you have been ill lately and that you are still suffering with some trouble of the throat, and I beg to extend the sympathy of our family and to assure you that we regret very profoundly to learn of your impaired health. We all hope that your trouble is not of a serious nature, that with the good care you will receive, you may be speedily restored to health again.

In penning these lines I am quite certain [remainder missing]

ALS, DLC, Ingersoll Papers. Incomplete letter.

EVD to Eugenie Debs

December 1886

Terre Haute, Indiana

A nice little temper
That is not always mild
And gives her the appearance
Of a spoilt saucy child
Has my Jennie

A hand that can scrub
That can finger the keys,
Or make up the pie crust
And do all with ease
Has my Jennie

A neat little foot
That can wear out the shoes
Or can skip in the waltz
If its owner but choose
Has my Jennie

A flashing brown eye
That shines like a star
And that sparkles with anger
When she is at war
Has my Jennie

A pert little mouth
That is saucy and neat
As if made just for saying
Things bitter and sweet
Has my Jennie

A character as pure
As the white driven snow
And a will that is able
To keep it just so
Has my Jennie

A heart full of sympathy
For those in distress,
Or that throbs in its rapture
At a loved one's carress
Has my Jennie

I pray that my love for her
May never grow less
That the Lord in his goodness
Will my home always bless
With my Jennie

T (poem). In TI, Debs Collection.

EVD poem

December 4, 1886
Terre Haute, Indiana

Dedicated to Daniel Debs on his sixty sixth birth-day

Yes, this is Grand-Pa's birth-day.
For sixty six long years
He has traveled lifes rugged pathway
Besprinkled with smiles and tears.
He is sixty six years old to-day
And he from us must learn
That we wish, for him, this birth-day
Would a hundred times return.

His life was not all sunshine
Yet many a pleasant hour
Has made more light his labors
Changed the weed into a flower.
This pleasant little party
Was selected, by the way,
To help Grand Pa enjoy the more
His sixty sixth birth-day.

We'll make Grand Pa forget his age
And once again be young
And mingle with us little folks
Who'se lives have just begun.
We will try to make him happy
And we wish for him the best
That for ever in the future
His life be richly blessed.

A faithful wife is Grand Ma
Who at every turn of tide
Has helped to share his burdens
Staid closely by his side.
They to-gether bear their sorrows
And every pleasure share.
Oh what a grand example
Is that good and noble pair.

Let us all congratulate them
And assure them of our love.
Give them all the admiration
Due the lion and the dove.
They are loved and much respected
By all who know them well
And we like to sing their praises
And on their virtues dwell.

Their lives have been a grand success
As one can plainly see
By glancing o'er their history
Since first they crossed the sea.
A monument more lasting
Than if made of copper plate
They have built where they resided
In the good old Hoosier state.

To the table now we will adjourn
 And attend to the inner man
 And out of compliment to the cook
 Will dispose of all we can.
 We will drink to the health of Grand Pa
 With our glasses full to the brim
 And disband with promises to reunite
 When he reaches his three score ten.

T (poem), InTI, Debs Collection.

[EVD] to All Lodges on the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy System

April 17, 1888

Terre Haute, Indiana

Dear Sirs and Bros.:

Our purpose at this time is to notify you that it is taxing a large proportion of our membership to their utmost to meet the increased assessments consequent upon the strike¹ in which you are now engaged. They show a disposition to contribute as liberally as their means will permit, but it is painfully manifest that the burden falls heavily upon them,² and hence it becomes necessary that the greatest practical economy should be practiced in the disbursement of funds. There must not be a reckless or useless expenditure of a single dollar. In future, as in the past, we shall meet our pay rolls and redeem our pledged faith, but beyond that we cannot go. It will require all the money we can raise to meet our pay rolls, and Lodges must not expect additional appropriations of funds for other purposes. It is true that we have authority to levy unlimited assessments, but this we do not propose to do at the sacrifice of a large number of worthy members who would be unable to pay them, and without accomplishing the least good. We propose to levy assessments sufficient to meet the demands of the strike, based upon a prudent and economical administration of affairs, and no more.

We are in receipt of letters from two or three lodges on the system, insisting that we shall exempt their members from the payment of special assessments. This we have no authority to do; our laws exempt no members and no lodges under any circumstances. If the law in this particular is unjust, let it be changed, but until that time it must

be enforced. Lodges that fail or decline to make due returns for their special assessments must take the consequences. We give this as a friendly warning, as the law is bound to take its course and we cannot stay its execution. We are thoroughly in sympathy with you and shall do all in our power to win success. Your conduct has been manly and creditable, and the brotherhood has every reason to feel proud of you.

Let unwavering loyalty continue to inspire your actions, and in a little while a glorious victory will be achieved.

Yours fraternally,
[Eugene V. Debs]

TL, NIC, Labor-Management Documentation Center, M. P. Catherwood Library, Cornell University.

1. The Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers struck the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy on February 27, 1888, in an effort to compel the line to adopt a wage scale equal to that paid by other lines running into Chicago and to abolish a job classification system that kept the wages paid firemen and engineers on the line below those paid on other lines. In his editorials in the *BLF Magazine* throughout the spring and summer of 1888, Debs insisted that the brotherhoods (joined by the switchmen) were winning a moral victory over the Q, which was described as suffering intolerable financial losses as a result of the strike, but by the end of the year internal dissension in the brotherhoods and the Q's recruitment of replacements for the strikers brought the strike to an end.

2. By the summer of 1888, Debs reported in the *BLF Magazine*, "assessments and contributions" from the brotherhoods had amounted to \$250,000.

EVD to Frank X. Holl

January 17, 1890

Terre Haute, Indiana

My dear Holl,

Your favor of the 5th Inst. is at hand and in reply I have to say that I am still alive, although I have just recovered from a serious attack of "La Grippe" and am trying to acquire strength enough to meet pressing official obligations.

The Magazine will be sent to Henry Colby¹ as per your order. By the way, what is the matter with 82?² She has gone entirely back on the Magazine. Last year she had no subscribers at all worth mentioning. Can't you stir the boys up on the subject?

Sam Stevens³ is said to be in Maine. I can't say positively as I haven't heard from him direct for nearly a year.

Mrs. Debs has not yet had her picture taken or you should certainly have it. She has an aversion to being photographed and keeps putting it off from time to time until I have concluded that she never will have her picture taken again.

I note what you say about the F. X. H. contribution and to be honest with you I don't know where it came from and I have no recollection as to the author. I hope the writer was correct in the diagnosis of your case. It is time for you to be doing something and I shall be disappointed if the announcement don't come soon.

I hope you are prospering and with best wishes I am as ever

Yours sincerely
Eugene V. Debs

ALS, TxU, Holl MSS.

1. Henry Colby was a member of Holl's Lodge 82 in Minneapolis.
2. Minneapolis Northwestern BLF Lodge 82.
3. Samuel L. Stevens, former grand organizer of the BLF.

EVD to James Whitcomb Riley

April 1, 1890

Terre Haute, Indiana

My dear Riley,

I write to ask if it will be agreeable for you to be here Tuesday evening the 8th to participate in an entertainment to be given for the benefit of the families of the Indianapolis firemen¹ who recently perished at their post. The undertaking is a most laudable one and *all Terre Haute* wants to see you.

Besides, I want you as my guest for a day or two, or as much longer as you can stay—We have lately moved into our new home² and nothing would afford us more pleasure than to have you visit with us—Mrs. Debs joins me cordially in extending the invitation. The visit will do you good and we will enjoy ourselves together—please answer soon as I leave on Thursday night for the East, returning on Tuesday.

Yours always
E. V. Debs

ALS, EVD Foundation, Debs Home.

1. A fire at a downtown Indianapolis bookstore on March 22, 1890 claimed the

lives of a dozen firemen. Benefits held around the state raised \$30,000 for the families of those killed.

2. The Debs home in Terre Haute was completed in 1890 and was located in one of the city's finest neighborhoods. The home, now a state and national historical landmark, was the subject of periodic controversy throughout Debs's career. It was said by one critic to have been built and maintained by scab labor and described by another as a mansion. An often-repeated charge was that Katherine Debs refused to permit workingmen to enter the home and on one occasion the imported tile used in constructing the fireplace in the dining room of the house was cited as evidence of her upper-class taste and proof of the shallowness of Debs's working-class roots.

EVD to E. E. Clark¹

October 30, 1891

Terre Haute, Indiana

Dear Sir and Brother;—

Your two communications of the 15th inst. addressed to Grand Master Sargent² have been referred to me, Brother Sargent specially calling my attention to the following paragraph in one of the letters requesting that I give you my opinions on the matters suggested, viz;—"I should like very much the opinion of yourself and associates on these points" etc.

I thank you for the deference to my opinions implied by your request and they will be fully and frankly expressed.

I think I understand the drift of your reflections and conclusions. You are, admittedly, in favor of "general³ Federation," but it is with a number of reservations which, consolidated, are equivalent to a declaration that the Supreme Council as at present constituted will not do.

What is the matter with it? As "now constituted," the Supreme Council is composed of two orders,⁴ the B. of L.F. and the S.M.A.A., both, insofar as I am advised, eminently honorable organizations, doing all that mortal men can do under the circumstances to promote the welfare of railroad employes.

You announce that "the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen have almost unanimously endorsed their grand officers and condemned the action of the Council in expelling their Brotherhood therefrom." Taking into consideration all the circumstances, conditions, and influences which attended and surrounded the convention at Galesburg,⁵ the "endorsement" and "condemnation" which you recite are not fruitful of surprise.

There were four orders⁶ in the Supreme Council when the ex-

pulsion of the B. of R.T. occurred. It would be superfluous to recite here the history leading up to the expulsion. With voice and vote I am on record as opposed to the expulsion of that order. My convictions are unchanged. But the real question, the vital question connected with the event related to the guilt or innocence of certain grand officers of the B. of R.T.⁷ and others of the same order in concocting a conspiracy to strike down *four hundred* switchmen. Upon that charge the verdict was "guilty" and the vote was *unanimous* except the votes cast by the grand officers of the B. of R.T., and it is this verdict which the Galesburg convention sought to reverse by the endorsement of the action of its grand officers and the condemnation of the Council.

Manifestly, it was unfortunate that the verdict of "guilty" should have included the whole order when the penalty was affixed, but though, as I conceive, it was a mistake, it in no wise and in no degree modifies the justice of the verdict. It simply served, as I predicted at the time, to inflame the minds of the rank and file of the Trainmen and ultimately secured the endorsement of the guilty parties.

In this a great wrong was condoned, a great principle was cloven down, and an aggravating wound inflicted upon organized labor, *the final outcome of which cannot now be discerned*. In one of your letters you say:—

"It seems to me that the fate of federation is almost trembling in the balance. I do not suppose there would be any use in endeavoring to induce the Switchman to undertake to undo what they did last June, nor do I believe it would (be) of any use to undertake to induce the Trainmen to again apply for membership in the Council as at present constituted. Unless we can in some way heal the breach, it seems to me that in the near future will have been demonstrated the fact that federation has proven a failure."

These reflections taken in connection with the utterances found on page 566 of the current number of the *Railway Conductor*⁸ constitute evidence that the O.R.C. and probably the O.R.T.⁹ (whose representatives pledged themselves at the consolidation of the O.R.T. and the B. of T. to apply for admission to the Supreme Council within one week after the adjournment of the convention of the B. of R.C. but failed to do so) are committed to the B. of R.T. to organize another federated body. The Conductor says:—

"The officers of the order (O.R.C.) will fulfill their agreement to use their influence for general federation of all organizations. But *all* does not mean with the Trainmen excluded. It rests with the Switchmen to determine whether the present Supreme Council

shall continue or a new one be formed in place of it. If their action shall be prompt and fair and the Trainmen are reinstated, the order (O.R.C.) and the Telegraphers will promptly renew their applications: if not, a new federation will be formed before the new year."

There need be no difficulty in understanding the foregoing. In my opinion it simply means that the O.R.C. and B. of R.T. are committed to the Trainmen to organize "a new federation" *and were so committed* before the convention of the B. of R.T. endorsed the acts of its grand officers.

The play upon the word *all* need not be misunderstood. I suppose it would apply to the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers as well as to the B. of R.T.—indeed, as long as a single organization of railway employes held aloof, the O.R.C. could decline to participate in any federation not embracing the B. of R.T. because such federation would not include *all* the organizations.

Here it should be said that the Switchmen's convention endorsed the grand officers of the S.M.A.A., not "almost" but unanimously, without one dissenting vote, and that too without the assistance of *outside* pressure such as was brought to bear on the delegates at Galesburg.

Now, I am not informed as to what action is expected of the S.M.A.A. to placate the B. of R.T., or in what way the order is expected "to undo what they did last June." For aught I know, in so far as I am concerned, a compromise can be and may be arranged. I do not think the obstacles in the way are insuperable. I think, if there is a will, a way may be found, but I do not believe that concessions will be all on the part of the S.M.A.A. I fail to note any inclination on your part to induce the B. of R.T. to "undo" what *they* did last May.

I am today as unalterably committed to federation as at any time since I began the advocacy of the movement. I am for federation because it is the last hope of organized labor to better its condition, and to hold every advanced position secured.

In what little I have done or may do to promote federation, the "honor," if that is intended to mean personal aggrandizement, elevation or profit, was never considered. To promote federation, to secure unity and harmony of purpose and action has been the coveted and sought for good and the "honor" has come alike to all who have worked together to that end; and the dishonor has fallen, and will continue to fall upon those who by word or deed, or both, have by a flagrant violation of the most sacred principle of organized labor, sought to wreck the Supreme Council.

There should be no mistake concerning my position toward the B. of R.T., the rank and file of that order. My friendship (notwithstanding the malicious and shameless vilification to which I was subjected at the Galesburg convention) is as warm and vital to-day as when with absolute self-abnegation I laid the foundation¹⁰ upon which the order rests and worked with all the ability at my command to rear a superstructure that would give shelter and comfort, and do honor, to the brakemen of the country who at that time were ignored and ostracized by some of the same orders that to-day are seeking to crush and degrade the Switchmen and their organization.

Before I express any definite opinions relating to the subjects you introduce I must confer with both my associates,¹¹ and I must also know the intentions of the S.M.A.A. whose position in the Supreme Council I am bound to respect.

This done, I will not fail to boldly outline any views I may entertain in matters suggested by your letters. One, two, or a half dozen "new federations" may be formed. I am by no means unmindful of the covert threat that under certain circumstances "a new federation will be formed before the new year."

The banner of the Supreme Council, as it now stands, whatever its mistakes may have been, bears no stain of dishonor. To abandon it and accept one which would symbolize treason is a concession for which I am not prepared.

There is such a thing as death, and the Supreme Council may fall stabbed to death by the so-called friends of federation. If that is to be its fate, let it go, but there will be more vitality in its corpse, cold and stiff in its winding sheet, than in ten thousand organizations born of conspiracy against workingmen.

I subscribe myself

Fraternally yours,
Eugene V. Debs

TLS, NIC, Labor-Management Documentation Center.

1. Edgar E. Clark (1859-1930) was grand chief of the Order of Railway Conductors from 1890 to 1906.

2. Frank P. Sargent (1854-1908) was Grand Master of the BLF from 1886 to 1902.

3. For half a dozen years Debs had promoted in his speeches and in the pages of the *BLF Magazine* the idea of a federation ("not amalgamation") of the railroad brotherhoods to counter the power of management. The experiences of the strike on the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy underscored for Debs the need for federation, and at the BLF convention in 1888 the idea was approved and Debs was appointed chairman of a three-man committee charged with creating a formal alliance with other brotherhoods. In June 1889 a group of nine men representing the BLF, the Switchmen's Mutual Aid Association (SMAA), and the Brotherhood of Railroad Train-

men (BRT; formerly the brakemen) drew up a constitution for the Supreme Council of the United Orders of Railway Employees, which during the following two years represented the component unions in negotiations with management and won a series of wage agreements and workplace improvements without resorting to strikes.

4. On the complaint of the SMAA, the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen was expelled from the Supreme Council in June 1891 following a council investigation into the behavior of the trainmen's officers during a strike on the Chicago & North Western line.

5. The BRT convention at Galesburg, Illinois held earlier in October, 1891.

6. The Brotherhood of Railway Conductors, represented by George W. Howard of San Diego, became the fourth affiliate of the Supreme Council. Howard later served under Debs as a vice-president of the American Railway Union.

7. Samuel E. Wilkinson (1845-1911), head of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen from 1885 to 1895, was accused by the leaders of the switchmen's union and found guilty by the Supreme Council of having agreed in May 1891 to provide replacements for the striking switchmen fired during the Chicago & North Western strike.

8. The official publication of the Order of Railway Conductors.

9. The Order of Railway Telegraphers.

10. At the Brotherhood of Railway Brakemen convention in 1888, Grand Master Wilkinson referred to Debs as "our godfather" and declared that the union would "never be able to repay him for what he has done for us." Wilkinson made the comment in recognition of Debs's early working for and encouraging the brakemen's union, founded in 1883, to become a national organization.

11. Frank P. Sargent and Vice Grand Master J. J. Hannahan.

EVD to E. E. Clark

November 17, 1891

Terre Haute, Indiana

Dear Sir and Brother;—

I duly received your communication of the 2nd inst. and read it with interest.

I am constrained to believe that the controversies resulting from the action of {the} Galesburg Convention of B. of R.T. are but in their incipency; indeed, it cannot be otherwise. A great and vital principle is at stake. It has been ruthlessly trampled upon, struck down in a great deliberative body, under circumstances sadly unfavorable, not only for the triumph of the right, but for any hearing of those who are devoted to the truth, to honor and justice.

Labor has had many conflicts.— It has often been beaten down, and made to "bite the dust." Against it has been arrayed forces of extraordinary power—and yet, it has held, with unyielding grasp to bed-rock principles and has won many notable victories. And now I

fearlessly challenge the record for any blow organized labor ever received from its most relentless and implacable foes equal to that inflicted by the Galesburg Convention of the B. of R.T. when, with deafening cheers and every possible testimonial of approval, the *conspiracy* on the Northwestern Railroad was endorsed.

I notice with peculiar sensations that you admit that "he (Wilkinson) went farther than he should have done." How much farther? He went into a conspiracy. Would you have done that? Does he deny it? As well might Brutus have denied that he stabbed Caesar; as well might Benedict Arnold have denied that he betrayed his Country, his native land. That is one "damned spot" that cannot be washed out by cheers and congratulations.

In such matters we could multiply words *ad infinitum*. We could plead personal friendships, fraternal courtesies, comradeship, and a' that, until the frosts of a century came down upon us, but they would avail nothing when confronted by the irrefutable fact, that the man we loved and admired; that had won the confidence of his order, had gone so far astray as to conspire with an enemy of labor to strike down, without warning, four hundred innocent men.

It may take time, (how much time I do not know, nor do I care to conjecture) to remedy the wrong inflicted by the Galesburg Convention of the B. of R.T., but there are voices that will never be silenced until, in some way, the stain of the indorsement of treason is washed out. The discussion will go forward. Palliatives will be introduced and applied, but the cancer will grow at the vitals of the victim, nevertheless, until its blood poisoning roots are extracted.

I note all you say about the action of the Supreme Council. The *verdict* of *guilty* of *conspiracy* was unanimous. In the matter of penalty, I had my views and expressed them. Grant all that may be said of the mistake, it in nowise condones the crime charged and proved, nor could it be regarded as a reason for an indorsement of the crime of conspiracy.

And it is the crime of conspiracy, and the infamy of scabbing which is certain to keep alive the discussion until the right triumphs.

I most cordially reciprocate your generous allusions to the fact that a difference of opinion need not involve personal hostility.

In discussing the conspiracy of the B. of R.T. on the Northwestern I include only the guilty parties. I am disposed to be generous in my estimate of the delegates who voted an indorsement of the crime, as I am not unacquainted with all the processes designed to obscure facts and warp judgments. But, such things are not final. The great heart of railroad men does not beat responsive to the machinations of conspirators, and the better judgment of men will eventually triumph.

I shall always be glad to hear from you, and shall hope to meet you some time in the future and exchange views more fully than can be done on paper.

I have faith in the "sober second thought of the people" and do not entertain a doubt of the final outcome of the rank and file of the membership of the B. of R.T.

Fraternally yours,
Eugene V. Debs

TLS, NIC, Labor-Management Documentation Center, M. P. Catherwood Library, Cornell University.

Samuel Gompers¹ to EVD

November 20, 1891

Dear Sir and Friend:—

Your kind favor of the 17th inst. came duly to hand and contents noted with pleasure and beg to assure you that I shall write a something and shall feel honored by its publication in your Magazine.

I have long had something upon my mind which I [wanted?] to say to you and I shall free myself from it in this. Some time ago I saw in your magazine that you gave timely notice of your intention to retire from your present position.² On my recent trip from the Pacific Ocean I called at your office in the hopes of seeing you and [two words illegible] the subject together with other topics that may have arisen during the course of conversation. Although I have never seen you, there is an unseen bond that I feel [two words illegible] closely to you. I judge you to be a man of brains, and heart [three words illegible] aggressive in the [illegible] you either believe or know to be right. Were I to feel or to [four words illegible] I would not have called for the purpose, nor write what I now propose.

In a [six words illegible] my humble opinion, the Bro'd. of Locomotive Firemen [cannot?] [two words illegible] your services and you ought not to leave them. It is true that the Bro'd. is by no means in its infancy but [five words illegible] organizations demonstrate beyond a doubt the necessity of a [seven words illegible] influential position to persist [*sic*] in guiding the [illegible] of your Bro'd [and?] exert an influence upon its kindred organizations. Of course, I am [illegible] to admit that were you to strike out for yourself outside of the Bro'd many opportunities might and in fact would present themselves for your advancement. I am almost sure that you could [four words

illegible], but I am satisfied that in the Bro'd. you [two words illegible] position and one which must inevitably place [you?] in [illegible] very front rank [of?] the labor leaders.

Somewhere I read you contemplated starting a labor paper,³ and while I appreciate the great services rendered by self-sacrificing men in that field and can understand what influence you would wield with your trenchant pen, still judging from the past and the experience of others I am inclined to the belief that your opportunity in and through the Bro'd. is much better and more advantageous to all concerned.

I write to you very frankly, in fact being upon the verge of our forthcoming convention I do not know whether I will retire or be retired from the Presidency. In either case It is not a mercenary motive that would prompt me to make or [propose?] a [illegible], but I have deepseated convictions from which I will not deviate under any circumstances be the consequences what they may. [Illegible] you will give me the credit of not attributing by indirection [any such motives?] to you.

I only know that the [men of the labor movement?] have a great cause to serve by making [two words illegible] in behalf of the toiling masses and are necessarily [three words illegible]

When I started [three words illegible] I had no idea of referring to the matter of your [two words illegible] but a perusal of your [last?] favor and the thought of our correspondence acted upon me much like the Quaker when the spirit moved him to speak.

With assurances of my profound friendship and best wishes [hoping?] to hear from you frequently, I am,

Truly Yours
Samuel Gompers, President
American Federation of Labor.

N.B. I hope you won't consider me presumptuous in writing as I have, above.

S.G.

TLC, DLC, Gompers Letterbooks.

1. Samuel Gompers (1850-1924) was brought from his native England to New York's Lower East Side in 1863 and the following year joined the Cigar Makers' International Union. He rose from the ranks to leadership of that union and in 1886 helped launch the American Federation of Labor, which he served as president, with the exception of one year, 1895, until his death. In time the relationship between Debs and Gompers degenerated into one in which Gompers described Debs as an "apostle of failure" and Debs viewed Gompers as chief among the "labor fakirs" in the union movement. Their estrangement resulted in part from Debs's often-stated opinion that Gompers's role in the Pullman Strike of 1894 had contributed to its

defeat and the dissolution of the American Railway Union and, more importantly, from their basic differences regarding the composition and role of labor unions, the acceptance or rejection of capitalism, and other issues. During Debs's imprisonment following World War I, Gompers visited him at the Atlanta Federal Penitentiary and the AFL played an active role in the effort to secure his release from prison.

2. Debs announced in the January 1891 issue of the *BLF Magazine* his intention to resign as editor of the magazine and grand secretary-treasurer of the brotherhood, his resignation to take effect at the time of the BLF convention in 1892.

3. Following his resignation announcement, Debs told a reporter for the *Terre Haute Gazette* that there was "a field for a labor paper, covering the whole range of organized labor, not of one special trade or class."

EVD to E. E. Clark

December 30, 1891

Terre Haute, Indiana

My dear Sir and Brother;—

You are entitled to an explanation for my *seeming* remissness, in not sooner replying to your esteemed favor of Nov. 24th. During the interval I have had serious sickness in my family requiring my attention and exciting painful solicitude; besides, I have been called away on official business, and have found it {even} difficult to reply to letters on business connected with my office. These explanations I feel assured will exonerate me from the charge of neglect.

Be assured that I have read your letter carefully, and have given its declarations and propositions my best consideration.

The correspondence was, I assume, designed to discuss the conspiracy entered into between the grand officers of the B. of R.T. and the officers of the Northwestern Railroad corporation, to strike down four hundred switchmen, members of the S.M.A.A.

You seem to deem it prudent to avoid that *one* central, pivotal cause of trouble and disaster, to dwell upon other matters which have no remote relation to it. I readily comprehend such a course, because, not a word can be said in extenuation of that conspiracy, because, conspiracy and treason have no redeeming qualities, such as an honorable man can either condone or indorse.

I have never intimated that it was possible for human organizations to prove infallible. It is not expected, because it is not possible and therefore, any mistakes of switchmen or trainmen, or members of the Supreme Council, ought not to be pleaded in extenuation of treason, because its avoidance is largely within the limits of the power which has been delegated to created intelligences. Let it be understood that

conspiracy is something more than a *mistake*. It is a *crime* which cannot, and ought not to be condoned, nor obscured; and in the case under discussion, its results, to use your language, {were} most "deplorable."

In this I think we agree, because you say, "I do not uphold conspiracy in any manner." I neither uphold conspiracy nor extenuate conspiracy. I simply denounce conspiracy. I put no fact to the torture to silence its hostility to treason.

I see four hundred men exiled from work and wages, I see their homes made desolate, wives and children suffering with the pangs of hunger, cast adrift as the result of the conspiracy entered into between the B. of R.T. and the officials of the Northwestern railroad and my nature revolts at the exhibition of such cruelty and depravity.

The B. of R.T. was found "guilty" and if you have read the "Farewell" of *L. W. Rogers*,¹ ex-editor of the *Trainmen's Journal*, you have noted, I doubt not, the crushing testimony he gives to the public, touching the nefarious proceeding.

The proof is overwhelming—and Editor Rogers' testimony places the question of *guilt* outside of the pale of debate.

Certainly, "a great and vital principle was at stake" when "one of the members of the B. of R.T. would not be allowed to work and earn an honest livelihood." Who questions the right of the B. of R.T.'s fighting "for their member" in a legitimate way? Why suggest a personal wrangle, likely to occur a hundred times a year, as any justification for a plot to banish from work four hundred innocent men?

You refer to the case of "Ritchie," on the "S.P.R.R." Do you think it a case in point? To make it so, you would be required to show that, to "get even" a conspiracy had been formed to strike down innocent engineers.

I do not doubt that you will see that the case you refer to, since it did not result in concocting a conspiracy, has no remote bearing upon the treason of the B. of R.T.

My original views, relating to the penalty that should be inflicted upon the conspirators of the B. of R.T., have undergone no change whatever. I believe the *guilty* parties should have been expelled and to this I unqualifiedly adhere. And this leads me to quote the following paragraph from your letter:—

"In reference to what you (I) say as to the expression of your (my) ideas or views as to the penalty inflicted by the Council, allow me, with perfect candor and friendship to state to you, this fact, regardless of the fact that it is well known how you voted, the statement is made by those associated with you in the Council, that

you were the originator of the idea of expelling the B. of R.T. from the Council."

Now, then, Brother Clark, reciprocating your "candor and friendship," I ask *who* told you "the statement is made by those associated with you (me) in the Council that you (I) were the originator of the idea of expelling the B. of R.T. from the Council?" I ask of you a categorical reply to the question, and trusting to your "candor and friendship," I shall expect the information desired.

Again, assuring you of my appreciation of your "candor and friendship," and quoting your remark that "I do not uphold conspiracy in any manner," it is noteworthy that you are charged in all the Galesburg papers with advocating the indorsement of the Northwestern conspiracy, and it is also charged that you appealed to the delegates in the Galesburg Convention to indorse the action of the grand officers of the order in that notorious conspiracy.

I know not that you have any explanations to make touching such charges, or whether you {care to} admit or deny them, nevertheless, they are publicly made, and you must see, if uncontradicted, that they place you in a position which cannot fail to cast a shadow on the high sense of honor which your friends believe has characterized your public and private acts.

In the course of your letter you remark:—

"Nothing good can come from the study of the past, unless the subject aimed at be, either an effort to pattern after that which is good, or, a disposition to profit by its experiences and avoid the mistakes of those who have gone before."

Appreciating the wisdom of your philosophic expressions, it occurs to me, that the first thing to be done is to properly anathematize treason, expose and punish traitors rather than apologize, indorse and whitewash those who have been adjudged "guilty."

Experience teaches that the association with conspirators must prove disastrous. They cannot rise above the line of their natures and inevitably degrade those who affiliate with them.

The question is vital, and there need be no misapprehension with regard to the final verdict of the labor organizations of the country, and any effort to form a lasting federation must not seek to condone or obscure the crime of conspiracy. "Any effort" in that direction will prove a dead and deserved failure.

I am not aware of any such divergence in our views upon any vital question involved, as must necessarily keep us apart to the "end of the chapter." Still, if there are such insurmountable obstacles in the

way, we can keep on digging them down, in the spirit which prompts me to subscribe myself

Faternally yours,
E. V. Debs

TLS, NIC, Labor-Management Documentation Center.

1. Louis W. Rogers edited a number of labor publications, including the *Age of Labor* and the *Social Democrat*. He became a vice-president of the American Railway Union when it was formed in 1893 and was imprisoned with Debs following the Pullman Strike of 1894. Rogers served as manager of many of Debs's lecture tours thereafter.

EVD to James Whitcomb Riley

February 2, 1892
Terre Haute, Indiana

My dear Riley,

As you are to be here on Friday¹ it would afford Mrs. Debs and myself great pleasure to have you make your home with us while in our city.

If you accept our invitation, as we earnestly hope you will, let me know when you will arrive and I will meet you at the depot.

Faithfully yours,
E. V. Debs

TLS, EVD Foundation, Debs Home.

1. Riley appeared at the Indiana State Normal School (now Indiana State University) on February 5, 1892. Commenting on Riley's popularity, the editor of the *Terre Haute Express* predicted that "all of Terre Haute will be there, too."

EVD to E. E. Clark

March 14, 1892
Terre Haute, Indiana

Dear Sir and Brother;—

The delay in responding to your esteemed favor of Jan. 21st is the result of absence from home, press of business duties, to which has been added the necessity of a surgical operation which has deprived

me of the use of my "good right hand," all of which, combined, I feel is sufficient apology for seeming remissness.

The expression "at any cost" in the connection you chose to use it, I regarded, considering your usual conservativeness, as extreme, and am glad that you deem it prudent to *limit* its significance, which, without your explanation, I thought was unfortunate.

I appreciate your eulogy of "independence," but it occurs to my mind that, "independence," "manhood," "honor," "self-respect," are, practically, synonymous terms, and that those who enter into a conspiracy to "down" an organization, or to "get even" with a *Brotherhood* antagonist are totally destitute of the excellence of character which either or any of the expressions quoted represent.

I dismiss as totally irrelevant to the discussion which we have been engaged in, the ordeals through which either of us have passed in endeavoring to promote the cause of organized labor. The *bed rock* question I have sought to debate with you, was the *guilt* of the grand officers of the B. of R.T. about which I have no doubt, and which was so *clearly established* that Brother Sargent found it to be his *duty* to record his vote affirmatively when the question was decided in the Supreme Council.

The question of *guilt* having been established, by *proof* and by *verdict*, the reason why you fail to be convinced is one of those mysteries which defy logic—and I give it up. I have never doubted for one moment, that while the *verdict* was *right*, the penalty which fell upon the order was *wrong*. I sought to have the penalty fall upon the guilty ones and *not* upon the innocent,¹ and such was the purpose of my associates in the Supreme Council. It is a record which dashes to spray all adverse criticism, as a rocky headland beats back into foam the turbulent ocean billows. It is a record which, like the house in the parable, withstands the beating storms because it has for its foundation the rock of eternal truth and justice.

The calm will ultimately come, when men will be able to dismiss their prejudices, and, if honest, will admit that a conspiracy was concocted and that the crime of treason was perpetrated, and that all the complications of the controversy relate to the penalty which in defiance of my protest and vote fell upon the innocent and guilty, alike.

I beg to assure you, that while I am amazed at your inability to see *guilt* in the acts of the officials of the B. of R.T., and while I may deplore any lack of comprehension, on your part of the degenerating influence of conspiracy and treason, in organized labor, I do not attribute to you any purpose to violate the principles of honor which you happen to entertain upon such questions. They are *yours*, and

your right to them is not questioned by me, still, I believe in time, you will discover, that “doing men up,” “getting even with men” “at any cost,” is not the best way for grand officials to act.

I am not unfamiliar with the difficulties your order has been compelled to battle against, and most heartily do I felicitate you upon any outlook which to you appears cheering for its growth, power and prosperity, and all things considered, I am not surprised that you do not care to enter the ranks of any federation—provided it includes those whose record is smirched with so much as a *suspicion* that they have been unfaithful to obligations. That you should hesitate, is entirely natural and commendable—better far to “go it alone” than to be associated with men who are guilty of conspiracy and treason.

In closing this communication I desire to assure you that I entertain for you, personally, only sentiments of regard and that whether as officer, or in the ranks, and that, whether the symbol of your authority be a gavel or a punch, I am as ever,

Yours fraternally,
E. V. Debs

TLS, NIC, Labor-Management Documentation Center.

1. Debs argued in the Supreme Council meeting that the officers, not the entire membership, of the BRT should be expelled.

James Whitcomb Riley to EVD

April 13, 1892
Indianapolis, Indiana

My dear Gene:

Sorry to hear you're to be away when I next strike Terre Haute, but deploring my own ill fortune I bravely congratulate your own far better. Hope your visit East will be the very happiest one of your life—as no doubt it will be, having Mrs. Debs with you. God bless you both.

Tell Theodore all right—and I'll either wire him date of my train or break right in on him at the office. Best remembrances to him and to Ben Cox,¹ and all friends.

Affectionately yours,
J. W. Riley

ALS, InU, Lilly Library, Riley MSS.

1. Benjamin G. Cox (1847-98) had worked with Debs at the Hulman wholesale grocery firm and was an active member of the Terre Haute Occidental Literary Club.

EVD to Edward Atkinson¹

May 4, 1892
New York City

Dear Sir:—

Your favor of the 22d ult., forwarded to me here from Terre Haute, has been received and noted. In reply permit me to say that a copy of the *Locomotive Firemen's Magazine* for April, containing the article² to which Henry Carey Baird³ of Philadelphia has called your attention, has been forwarded as requested.

It is possible that your attitude toward labor organizations has been misapprehended and that a "terrible blunder" has been made, and if such is the fact, the columns of the *Magazine* are *wide open* for you to correct the "blunder."⁴

Should you deem it prudent to enter into a controversy, I should be glad to have you forward with your communication some of the literature of which you are the author indicating your attitude toward labor organizations—and I shall also be obliged if you will furnish me with your lowest estimate of the cost of a "square meal" for a working-man. I think it is conceded that you have succeeded in demonstrating that an American laborer, by scientific methods, can feed himself at a cost as low as Chinamen are subjected to, and if you will furnish the *items* of such a bill of fare, I shall be glad to help give it prominence.

Very truly yours,
Eugene V. Debs

ALS, MHi.

1. Edward Atkinson (1827-1905) was a Boston industrialist, writer, public speaker, and inventor who considered his own major achievement to have been the creation of the Alladin Oven, a device designed to conserve fuel by substituting kerosene for coal. Most of his many books, pamphlets, and speeches dealt with economic issues, particularly with capital-labor relations, wages, workers' nutritional needs, and labor unions.

2. In an editorial titled "Edward Atkinson," Debs attacked Atkinson as a "degenerate specimen" whose "advice to workingmen to submit to slavish conditions" made him "the most venomous enemy of workingmen to be found in the country."

3. Henry Carey Baird (1825-1912) was head of a Philadelphia publishing house that published a number of his pamphlets on the money question. He was a leader of the Greenback party during the 1870s.

4. In the June 1892 issue of the *BLF Magazine*, Debs printed Atkinson's reply, which insisted that Atkinson was in fact a true friend of workingmen whose writings (and inventions) were intended to improve their condition.

EVD to Edward Atkinson

May 26, 1892

Terre Haute, Indiana

Dear Sir;—

Your favors of the 6th and 7th inst. are before me and would have had attention more promptly but for my absence from the city.

You acknowledge receipt of a copy of the Magazine, and say, "under ordinary circumstances I should pay no attention to it," hence it is to be presumed, since you conclude to "pay attention to it," the circumstances impelling you to do so were extraordinary.

I have read with no little interest the article you were pleased to *dictate* for publication in the Magazine and shall give it a place in our June number. Considering that you rate the Magazine article to which you reply as "silly and vituperative and also without any foundation in fact," your magnanimity is entitled to applause which I freely award.

I notice that you "do not desire any contention and that you are only anxious that your efforts to promote progress, shall not be totally misconstrued and falsely stated,"¹ a desire eminently creditable, and in so far as the article which you have written for the Magazine may set you right, it will afford me great satisfaction to publish it.

I also acknowledge receipt of numerous pamphlets, addresses, etc. which I presume more or less definitely outline your views upon matters relating to labor, but the time is too limited to give them such attention as they merit for immediate notice. They will *keep* and later on a review of them may appear in the Magazine.

Thanking you for the opinion that my letters are "courteous and entitled to a response," I am

Very truly yours,
Eugene V. Debs

TLS, MHi.

1. The quotations are from Atkinson's letter of May 7, 1892, which was printed in the June issue of the *BLF Magazine*.

EVD to Frank X. Holl

July 13, 1892

Terre Haute, Indiana

My dear Holl;—

Your favor of the 10th instant came in the nature of a voice from the dead, but was none the less welcome. Considering the frequency with which we used to exchange letters, it has been a long time since I heard from you.

I cannot answer your question as to the period or length of time during which Reid,¹ the vice presidential candidate, ran a scab printing office. It is charged, and not without good reason, that for quite a long time he was the implacable foe of labor organizations and he did what he could, so far as his paper was concerned, to destroy the Printers' Union; nor did he relent, seemingly, until the political bee began buzzing in his bonnet. I think you are right in putting him side by side with Corbin.² They are of the same type and are equally opposed to workingmen. You need have no fear but that the matter of Reid's hostility to labor will be thoroughly {ventilated} in the press, and especially the labor press of the country.

By even mail I send you two missing numbers of the Magazine to complete your files. I have changed your address in compliance with your request. It affords me pleasure to see you located at Fort Snelling and installed in such a responsible position,³ which I hope you may hold until you shall change for a better one. Should it be my good fortune to visit Fort Snelling, or that vicinity, you may rest assured that I will find my way to your latch string.

All the Debs family send cordial greetings to yourself and Mrs. Holl, and with best wishes, I am as ever,

Yours,
E. V. Debs

Sorry, old friend, you can't be with us at Cincinnati.⁴ We "old timers" will all miss you.

TLS (with handwritten note), TxU, Holl MSS.

1. Whitelaw Reid (1837-1912) joined the *New York Tribune* in 1868 and gained control of the paper following Horace Greeley's death in 1872. He made the *Tribune* a powerful voice in Republican party affairs during the following generation and was rewarded, among other prizes, with the party's vice-presidential nomination in 1892.

2. Austin Corbin (1827-96), whose labor policies as head of the Philadelphia & Reading Railroad Debs had denounced as paternalistic in the October, 1888 issue of the *BLF Magazine*.

3. Holl had become chief stationary engineer at the army post near Minneapolis.
4. The BLF convention was held in Cincinnati in 1892.

EVD to E. E. Clark

August 15, 1892

Terre Haute, Indiana

Dear Sir and Brother;—

Your favor of June 27th came duly to hand and has been read with special interest.

I need not be told that you seldom have the leisure for letter writing except on official business. I know how it is myself and therefore take in at a glance the whys and wherefores that communications less pressing have to take their chances.

I am in entire sympathy with your "doubt if any great good can come out of our further discussion of the subject," etc., but since you have seen fit to make another effort, I conclude you hope to accomplish, if not "any great good," some *little good* and I admire your persistency whatever I may think of your discretion.

I confess to being much amused by your poetical quotation. The "six" gentlemen "of Hindoostan" who went to see the elephant, being blind, would naturally disagree as to what the freak of nature looked like, and yet their conclusions, as you state them, have considerable force. As for instance, notwithstanding what the *blind* men surmised, the creature they examined was nevertheless an elephant.

It has passed into history that at least "six blind men" went to see the "Northwestern elephant," a real jumbo of treason, perfect from snout to tail, hoof, hide and hair and these "six" or more blind men have been ever since telling what they thought the abnormal thing looked like.

There was no doubt about the elephant—he was there—the "blind men" felt him all over from head to tail, smelled of him, rubbed up against him and then made their *report*. Just so with the men who went to see the B. of R.T. jumbo treason to labor.

I have said that the men who went to see the B. of R.T. jumbo were blind—let it be repeated here that "none are so blind as those who will not see," and the men who went to see the B. of R.T. elephant on the Northwestern all agreed, I believe, that they saw or felt something, the like of which they had never seen or felt before on exhibition in any brotherhood of workingmen. I think you yourself have concluded, with a number of ifs and buts and maybes and mightbes, it

did, sure enough, resemble treason. That is what it was. The blind men of Hindoostan found an elephant and the men who attended the Northwestern exposition found treason, no matter what they called it, no matter how they excused or condoned it or apologized for it. The thing they saw, felt of, smelled of, shook hands with, lay with and slept with, was hideous treason to labor, to organized labor, to the federation of labor organizations, to the Supreme Council of the United Orders of Railway Employees.

To suggest that a humming bird could fly through orthodox hell without getting its wings scorched would be as forceful as to intimate that federation could exist with treason in its councils.

You do not suggest it, you do not believe it, you do not believe in duplicity, in hypocrisy, in false lights, in conspiracy, no matter what blind men say, no matter what prevarication and subterfuges are resorted to, your soul abhors treason. Blind men and deaf men, old men and young men detest those who betray their trusts, betray their associates, and for revenge, "to get even" enter into a conspiracy with the common enemy to down them.

As for the "verdict" which seems inexplicable to you the officers of the B. of R.T. were found guilty, *all the members* (and you admit some of them were honest) of the Supreme Council voting aye, except the officers of the B. of R.T. You intimate that while the "verdict" may have been just, the penalty should have fallen only upon the guilty. In this you are right, but if it be conceded that the verdict of "guilty" was just and merited, then the admission is made that the crime of treason had been perpetrated, which, after all, *is the one thing* in controversy. Guilt was established by proof which, while clear at the time, has been further established since the trial.

It was shown by incontrovertible testimony that the B. of R.T. grievance committee on the Northwestern under the direction and with the consent and approval of the grand officers went into partnership with the officials of the Northwestern to *discharge all their switchmen*, and that they agreed to supply men to fill their places, and that they sent agents East to hire men for that purpose, that said agents did go East, and that they did hire men to take the switchmen's places and that the *Northwestern Company paid certain members of the grievance committee and the agents aforesaid* for the time devoted to and expenses incurred in the hellish service thus rendered. Will you deny any of these averments? If so, I will stake my honor that I will adduce such proof as you will not dare to controvert. I unhesitatingly declare that in all the annals of labor there is not a blacker page than the one which bears the record of the Northwestern Conspiracy, and yet

there are those who would apologize for it and convert it if they could into a record luminous with duty nobly done.

That the conspirators themselves should seek to glorify such a record is easily explained, but why others should do so, is not so easily explained.

Reference to the fallibilities of the Supreme Council,¹ like a motion to adjourn, you seem to think are always in order. That it made mistakes need not be controverted, but it made no mistake which sanctioned treason, nor could be tortured into an excuse for treason. Nor does it matter in the least, in this discussion, whether the O.R.C. did or did not have an application for membership in the Supreme Council pending when the trial was progressing. If the application was withdrawn as an evidence of sympathy for the officers of the B. of R.T. in the deplorable condition which the trial placed them, I have no desire to criticise it, nor, indeed, to consider it at all, since it was the right of the O.R.C. to shape its own policy.

I do not deem it prudent to introduce any question, when discussing the treason of the officers of the B. of R.T., which was neither directly nor remotely connected with the affair, since by so doing, men who had nothing to do with the conspiracy are made more or less responsible for wrongs of which they were ignorant.

I have noticed in almost all, if not all, your letters a purpose to arraign by innuendo and otherwise certain members of the Council. You are continually alluding to their lack of "sincerity," "honesty," "good faith" etc. You do not name the members who, because of their "treachery," "hypocrisy" etc. are so abhorrent to you. You leave me to draw my own inferences. I have hitherto ignored all such references and have sought to evade the questions thus sought to be forced upon me, because I fail to comprehend what *relation* there can be between the *personnel* of the council and the fact of there having been a conspiracy on the Northwestern Ry.

But since you are so persistent in the matter, let me ask you, bad as the men you have in your mind's eye may be, did you ever know one of them to borrow large sums of money from his best friends, necessitated by emergencies that for sweet charity's sake had to be hushed to silence, and never pay back a cent of it?

Did you ever know one of them to indulge in the most lecherous sensualities and while the evidences were still upon him, to pronounce a public rebuke {upon} his fellow-members for intemperance and immorality? You may answer these questions or not, as you may please, but when in connection with the Northwestern Conspiracy the questions of "honesty," "sincerity," "consistency," "good faith," etc. are

raised, between those you support and those you decry, honors are easy and I think you can ill afford to break the silence.

I note particularly your exceptions to the following language, quoted:—

“I believe in time you will discover that “doing men up” and getting even with them at any cost is not the best way for grand officers to act.”

Let me say, once for all, that I do not attribute to you any dishonorable purpose whatsoever. I see distinctly the point you make and evidently I should have written something like the following:—

I believe in time you will discover that “doing men up” and getting even with them at any cost, as has been practiced by the officials of the B. of R.T. is not the best way for grand officers to act.

Had I written thus you would have doubtless believed that my view was that in time you would see the conspiracy in all of its odiousness, and would denounce it in proper terms—and I still believe the time will come.

You are at the head of a great organization and associated with men of intelligence and ability. I congratulate you upon the success you are achieving.

That I am surprised to note your defence of the Northwestern conspiracy I admit, but I have believed that your generosity had obscured that keen sense of wrong which, *had your order been the victim* instead of the switchmen, would have aroused your spirit of resistance, and verdicts and penalties would have been quite {as} severe as anything charged to the Supreme Council; and had it been the Conductors instead of the Switchmen and had the conductors been few in number as the switchmen were, I hope I should have done what I did to remedy the outrage.

In closing this communication I desire to reciprocate to the fullest extent every generous word you have spoken, referring to our personal friendly relations, which with me remain undisturbed.

Officially, and in all the private affairs of life, you have my best wishes for health, happiness and prosperity, with the assurance that it would afford me pleasure to meet you socially and take you as “cordially by the hand” as when we met in the Queen’s Dominion.²

Faithfully yours,
Eugene V. Debs

1. In June 1892 at the annual meeting of the Supreme Council, attended only by representatives of the firemen and the switchmen, Debs moved and the meeting approved the body's dissolution.

2. The annual convention of the BLF was held in Toronto in 1884.

EVD to E. E. Clark

October 10, 1892

Terre Haute, Indiana

My dear Sir and Bro.:—

Your favor of the 7th inst. has been received and prompts me to say that I should have been greatly pleased to have met you at Cincinnati during our convention and to have extended to you such courtesies as friendship and respect always dictate, although, unfortunately, I was for several days on account of sickness, the result of over-exertion, unable to participate in the proceedings. Many months, nearly two years, prior to the Cincinnati meeting I had determined to decline a re-election to the office which I had filled for twelve years. This purpose was known to the order, having been announced in the Magazine. Notwithstanding this inflexible purpose, my esteemed brothers re-elected me unanimously, and with such enthusiasm as to put to the severest test my resolution; and to still further add to my embarrassment, as unanimously declined to accept my resignation—nor was it until I had assured the delegates that my intention to retire was irrevocable, that they consented to name my successor. How much I appreciate such exhibitions of confidence and esteem, I am quite unable to express, and how much it compensates for years of devotion to the welfare of the brotherhood, I am equally incapable of estimating; but such incidents in brotherhood service create sentiments of profound gratitude as lasting as life itself.

After all, I could not entirely leave the task I had for so many years performed, and therefore consented for the present to remain the editor of the Magazine,¹ so I shall still to some extent be in the swim, watching and noting the drift of events.

Permit me to say that I greatly appreciate your generous and kindly expressions; they are full of cheer, and while I am no longer numbered with *grand* officers, I shall continue to admire *grand* men in all of the orders.

I do not know that I regret having differed with you “in some things,” since differences of opinion, candidly expressed, do not necessarily estrange men, but serve, not infrequently, to bring them into

closer relations of confidence and esteem, a condition which I shall believe we occupy.

Your reference to the "cordiality" of my greeting in the past I beg you to believe is only an exemplification of the heartiness I should be happy to extend to you again should fate or fortune place you where I could bear testimony of my unabated regard.

I shall take a lively interest in whatever may be in the interest of the several brotherhoods, and while no longer a grand officer, shall endeavor, as opportunities offer, to lend a helping hand.

Believe me always,

Yours faithfully
Eugene V. Debs

ALS, NIC, Labor-Management Documentation Center.

1. Debs continued to edit the *BLF Magazine* until November 1894.

Samuel Gompers to EVD

October 31, 1892

Dear Sir and Friend:—

The enclosed circular will remind you that the time is near at hand when the American Federation of Labor will again meet in annual session.

In transmitting this at this time I have a purpose in mind, which when I communicate it will I hope and feel certain touch a responsive chord. It is this. As your term as Secretary and Editor of the Official Magazine of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen is about to expire, and you propose to enter the wide field of literature and the reform movement, the thought occurred that there could scarcely be a more fitting opportunity presented to embark in that wide field, than an address by you at the convention of the American Federation of Labor; not at an informal or an adjourned meeting but at one of its regular sessions.

I therefore extend to you a fraternal and sincere invitation to deliver an address upon any day of the sessions of the convention of the American Federation of Labor, and urge you to accept it in the interest of our great cause.

Of course if you consent you might choose any subject you might desire but I believe that one upon the subject of "Federated Labor; the Hope of Its Advocates, and Its Possibilities" would be of exceptional interest just at this time.

Sincerely hoping that you may find yourself in a position to accept the invitation and to comply with my request, and asking for a reply at your earliest convenience, I am,

Very Truly Yours
Samuel Gompers President.
American Federation of Labor

TLc, DLC, Gompers Letterbooks.

Samuel Gompers to EVD

November 29, 1892

My Dear Debs:—

I am in receipt of your favors of recent date and owe you an apology, for not responding earlier. Need I assure you that had it been possible for me to reply earlier that I would have done so? I feel satisfied you will take it for granted.

I esteemed it a privilege to extend an invitation to you to address the delegates to the Philadelphia convention of the American Federation of Labor. That you cannot accept it gives me sincere regret, but I assure you it is heightened by the fact that you are not enjoying good health.

The few to whom I communicated my purpose of inviting you to address our delegates were simply delighted at the idea, and subsequent to my sending you the letter a number of others suggested the idea of my sending an invitation to you, among others, our old friend P. J. Mc-Guire.¹

I earnestly hope that you may soon be convalescent and be robust for the great mission beyond doubt you are to fulfil in the great labor movement.

By an oversight I was evidently led into the error that your official connection with the Bro'd. of Locomotive Firemen had entirely been severed, but I am pleased to learn that you are still directing the "Magazine."

In reference to the article you ask me to write let me say that I shall endeavor to comply with your request.² Of course you understand that just about this time I am considerably crowded with work, but shall do the best I can under the circumstances.

I kindly ask you to send me a good photo of yourself as soon as possible, as I desire to place it with the photos of the officers of all

the Nat. and Int. Union [*sic*] of the country in a frame to remain in the office of the A.F. of L.

Will you also kindly give me the name and address of the secretary of the new organization of Railroad Conductors,³ as well as its technical name upon receipt of this, and oblige,

Yours Sincerely
 Samuel Gompers President.
 American Federation of Labor

TLC, DLC, Gompers Letterbooks.

1. Peter James McGuire (1852-1906) was head of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, one of the founders of the AFL, and a vice-president of that organization from 1889 to 1900. Debs had helped McGuire organize the carpenters' local in Terre Haute.

2. Gompers' article, "A Glimpse at the Labor Situation," appeared in the April 1893 issue of the *BLF Magazine*.

3. The Brotherhood of Railway Conductors, whose challenge to the conservative policies of the Order of Railway Conductors was enthusiastically praised by Debs in the *BLF Magazine*, was founded in 1888. Its officers were W. A. Osgood, grand chief conductor; W. O. Mohler, assistant grand chief conductor; and A. W. McLean, grand secretary-treasurer.

Terence V. Powderly¹ to EVD

January 16, 1893

Scranton, Pennsylvania

Dear sir and brother:—

It was my intention to write you fully concerning the Rochester Boycott² but I cannot do so owing to the lack of proper information. I have to start for New England to be gone some ten days, but a member of our General Executive Board will in the meantime investigate this matter and be ready to report upon it on my return. I believe that the boycott is a just one, but I cannot disguise the fact that the officers of the N.T.A. 231³ have been more than careless in allowing fair merchants to suffer through their neglect.

If the letter I sent you for your magazine⁴ is not suitable let me have a subject and I will attempt to better it, any way I shall inflict one or two more upon you during the year. The January number is just to hand but I have no time to express my appreciation of it now.

Hurriedly and fraternally yours,
 T. V. Powderly

TLC, DCU, Department of Archives and Manuscripts, Terence V. Powderly Papers.

1. Terence Vincent Powderly (1849-1924) became grand master workman of the Knights of Labor in 1879 and held that position until 1893, a period that witnessed the rapid growth and equally rapid decline of the Knights as the most powerful labor organization of the time.

2. A boycott against Rochester, New York, clothing merchants.

3. National Trade Assembly.

4. Powderly's article, "Industrial Co-operation," appeared in the February 1893 issue of the *BLF Magazine*.

EVD to Terence V. Powderly

January 20, 1893

Terre Haute, Indiana

Dear Sir & Brother:

I have your favor of the 16th inst. and have noted contents. I agree with you in all you say in reference to the justice of the Rochester Boycott and all that I complained of was that not enough care was taken in discriminating between fair and unfair dealers. It is a most humiliating thing, as you will readily concede, to assault an honorable business man as a foe to organized labor and then have to apologize to him for the outrage. In prosecuting the boycott, I have had at least two such experiences and this may account for any seeming remissness on my part. Accept my thanks for your considerate attention to my complaints. I am confident the investigation you contemplate will be thorough and complete and shall be glad to be advised of the result of it at your convenience.

Your letter for the Magazine is already in type. I need not say that I was delighted to receive it and if you have the leisure and inclination to follow it up with others, so much the greater will be my stock of satisfactions.

Yours fraternally,
E. V. Debs

TLS, DCU, Department of Archives and Manuscripts, Terence V. Powderly Papers.

Alexander W. Wright¹ to EVD

January 23, 1893

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Dear Sir

For years I have had a project in my mind which I have thought would be of great benefit to workingmen especially those engaged in hazardous employment. It is this. Under the various laws regulating the employers' liability for accidents to employes, and under the general laws of the various states and of the Canadian provinces workingmen are frequently entitled to damages for accidents, but unfortunately lack of funds prevents them from getting what the law would award. Frequently claims have to be compromised for paltry sums when had the claimant the means to prosecute a suit the employer would have been glad to make a reasonable settlement. My idea is that an insurance company should be organized which would guarantee the necessary expenses should a law suit be necessary, charging a small annual fee for membership, and taking a reasonable percentage of claims collected. I brought the idea before our last General Assembly and our G.E.B. was instructed to take the necessary steps to form such an insurance company. We have been endeavoring to carry out this instruction and Mr. Powderly Mr. Devlin and I have had interviews with Mr. Samuel B. Huey² the well known lawyer of this city. At the last one held last week Mr. Huey said he was prepared to interest the necessary capital, bringing in only men whose names would be a guarantee of not only financial ability but business character and probity as well. In talking over the ~~names of~~ names of men prominent in Labor organizations whose names should be on the Board of Directors yours was mentioned by Mr. Powderly and myself, and I was authorized to write you to ascertain your views. Of course it would not be possible for me in a letter to go so fully into the matter as to expect you to give a decided answer. But if you say that you approve of the principle of the company, and would be willing to be one of the first Board of Directors provided the details, plan of organization, the other men interested etc met with your approval we would see that a place was kept for you. We would have of course to be satisfied that the capitalists were men of reputation, and Mr. Huey quite realized that this is a sine qua non to any of us going into it. We will have another meeting with Mr. Huey and his friends on the 27th and I would like to hear from you by that time. As there will hardly be time for a letter you might wire me saying whether you approve the plan generally and whether you will accept a seat on the Board pro-

vided you approve of the details when you know them. I understand Mr. Huey's plan is that the stock should be divided into \$100. shares of which 10% would be paid up. To qualify for director it would be necessary for you to subscribe for one share apart from the benefit such a company would be to the working classes—and I do not think this could be overestimated—I think the company can be made a great financial success.

Although this was not spoken of at our meeting Mr. Powderly and I will take it upon us to say that if you would like to associate some other good railway man, whom you would like to have with you we will make room for him. In that case mention his name in your telegram.³ Also if you accept say whether you can attend a meeting for a full and final consideration of the enterprise.

Awaiting your reply I am with best wishes

Faithfully Yours
A. W. Wright

ALc, CaOOA, Labour Archives, Wright Collection.

1. Alexander Whyte Wright (1847-1919) was born in Canada and was the first Canadian member of the Knights of Labor general executive board. He edited the *Knights of Labor Journal* and the *Toronto National Labour Reformer*.

2. Samuel Baird Huey (1843-1901) conducted a large and successful corporate law practice in Philadelphia and was president of that city's board of education.

3. Debs's telegram to Wright has not been found, but in another letter from Wright to Debs, dated February 6, 1893, Wright expressed sorrow that "you cannot join us."

Terence V. Powderly to EVD

January 26, 1893
Scranton, Pennsylvania

Dear Sir and Brother:

Our General Executive Board meets this week in Philadelphia and the Rochester boycott will receive our attention there. I see that Brother Hughes¹ has been sent up for a year. I would not say it publicly, nor, would I care to express the sentiment to any one save yourself, but there is no disguising the fact that the officers of N.T.A. 231 acted very indiscreetly, and I am strong in the opinion that some of the officials in Rochester have not acted in good faith. It is unfortunate that our working people will seek to take advantage of others even while they are contending against a grasping employer who endeavors to get the upper hand of themselves.

I am not of a hopeful temperament, but having an object in view I strive for its accomplishment; the knowledge that failure may attend my effort has never prevented me from doing my best; but I confess to you, Brother Debs, that it has often been with a sinking heart that I championed the cause of men who foolishly plac{ed} themselves in false positions and who with a little foresight and good judgement could have shown the real justice of their cause to the world instead of holding its blackest side up [to public?] view. The trial has been so hard that I often wonder [if the?] workingman is not his own worst foe. Enough of moralizing.

Will you let me have a subject that you would particularly like to have me write upon for your magazine? In my hit or miss fashion I may please your members and while that is not my particular desire yet I would like to write something that would be of benefit to them even though they did not like my letter or the writer. I never care to write what is popular or in favor with the majority, something that will cause men to think and in thinking stub their toes against the truth.

With very best wishes, I remain,

Sincerely and fraternally yours,

T. V. Powderly

TLc, DCU, Department of Archives and Manuscripts, Terence V. Powderly Papers.

1. James Hughes was master workman of the Knights of Labor Assembly in Rochester. His activities during the clothing boycott there led to his prosecution and conviction for extortion. The New York Court of Appeals upheld a one-year sentence for Hughes on January 17, 1893.

EVD to Henry Demarest Lloyd¹

July 29, 1893
Chicago, Illinois

My Dear Sir: —

I have your favor of the 15th inst. advising me that I have been set down on the programme of the LABOR CONGRESS² for an address on the 30th prox., and it affords me pleasure to say that I shall be able to respond in person. Please inform me how much time will be allowed each speaker, or what limit, if any, is placed upon the time to be occupied by the addresses. Kindly direct your reply to me at Terre Haute.

Thanking you for the courtesy of the invitation which I appreciate, I am,

Very truly yours,
Eugene V. Debs

TLS, WHi, Lloyd Papers.

1. Henry Demarest Lloyd (1847-1903) was born in New York City and received an A.M. degree from Columbia College in 1869. His "Story of a Great Trust" in *Atlantic Monthly* in March 1881 established him as a forerunner, or first, of the muck-rakers in American journalism. Lloyd's most well-known work, *Wealth Against Commonwealth* (1894) was one of the most widely read books in the reform literature of the Populist-Progressive era.

2. The Labor Congress met at the Columbian Exposition in Chicago during the week of August 28, 1893. An outdoor session of the congress, held outside the exposition grounds on Chicago's lakefront on August 30, attracted 25,000 people, who heard speeches by Henry George, Samuel Gompers, Clarence Darrow, Thomas Morgan, and others. Debs was not able to attend.

EVD to Henry Demarest Lloyd

August 22, 1893
Omaha, Nebraska

My dear Mr. Lloyd,

Your favor of the 25th inst. has just reached me here and I note what you say about changing the date of my address to the 30th which will be entirely agreeable to me. I am now on an organizing tour in the interest of the American Railway Union¹ and as the present is a critical time in railroad affairs and there are demands from many quarters for immediate organization, I may be prevented from reaching Chicago to deliver my address in person, and to prevent disappointment I have written our printer at Terre Haute, with whom I left the copy of my address, directing him to send you at once two copies in printed form and in the event of my enforced absence, which now seems probable, you can use these in any way you {may} deem proper.

Thanking you for your courtesy and regretting my inability to be with you in person, I remain

Very truly yours
Eugene V. Debs

ALS, WHi, Lloyd Papers.

1. The American Railway Union was organized on June 20, 1893, in Chicago by

about fifty dissident railroad labor leaders who shared Debs's disillusionment with the aristocratic leadership and selfish interests of some of the railroad brotherhoods and disappointment at the failure of the separate brotherhoods to remain united during strikes and other crises. With Debs as president (and chief organizer), the new union grew rapidly, claiming 150,000 members at the time of its fateful national convention in Chicago in June 1894, when the decision was made to organize a sympathy boycott of Pullman cars.

EVD to James Whitcomb Riley

September 27, 1893
Terre Haute, Indiana

YOU MUST BE HERE TOMORROW EVENING¹ IF YOU POSSIBLY CAN
FOUR THOUSAND ENTHUSIASTIC FRIENDS WILL GREET YOU IT WILL
BE THE OCCASION OF A LIFETIME BUT IT WILL NOT BE COMPLETE
WITHOUT YOU

EUGENE V DEBS

Telegram, EVD Foundation, Debs Home.

1. The "occasion of a lifetime" was a banquet celebrating the opening of the new Hulman & Co. wholesale grocery building in Terre Haute. Debs's speech to the crowd, estimated at 2,000 by the local papers, traced the growth of the Hulman enterprises from their beginning in 1849.

EVD to James Whitcomb Riley

December 16, 1893
Terre Haute, Indiana

My dear Riley,

I need not say that the news of the death of your honored father¹ has afflicted me with that real heartfelt sorrow which a friend ought to feel for a friend when overtaken by any of the tribulations which come to us "poor wanderers of a stormy day."

I do not write in the expectation that any word of mine can assuage your grief, but simply to remind you that my heart is touched by your bereavement and that you have my profoundest sympathy.

I am, my dear Riley

Most truly your friend
Eugene V. Debs

ALS, EVD Foundation, Debs Home.

1. Riley's father, Reuben Alexander Riley, died in Greenfield, Indiana, on December 8, 1893.

EVD to Frank X. Holl

[April] 16, 1894
Terre Haute, Indiana

Confidential

Dear Sir and Brother:

I am just advised of a carefully devised secret scheme to break up the A.R.U. on the Great Northern System preliminary to sweeping reductions of wages in every department.¹ Some of our best men have been discharged at various points for no other reason than that they were active A.R.U. men. The scheme is to discharge our local leaders at various points and thus demoralize and stampede the Order, reducing the members to a headless, disorganized mob, a condition under which it will be unable to resist the sweeping reductions of wages that are to be made. Some reductions have already been made. Others and greater ones are to follow.

There is but one hope. Everything depends upon immediate action. Organize solidly at every point. Get every good man into your Union at once. There must not be a moment's delay. The agreement with the Company has been shamefully violated. Men have been indiscriminately discharged. Wages have been reduced and unless prompt measures are taken the men on the Great Northern will be reduced to a horde of slaves. The issue will be pressed by the Company. We must prepare to meet it. The reinstatement of the men discharged without cause will be demanded. The A.R.U. will stand by them with all its resources. Not only this, but if the case demands it I propose to go over the Great Northern in person; hold popular mass meetings at every point; appeal to the whole people to stand by us in this unholy massacre of our rights. Get together promptly. Organize thoroughly. Stand up and be men. You may rest assured that you will not want for the support of courageous, manly men. Let me hear from you at once.

Yours fraternally,
Eugene V. Debs

TLS, TxU, Holl MSS.

1. A series of wage reductions on the Great Northern Railroad in the fall and winter of 1893-94 led to an eighteen-day American Railway Union strike against the

line in April 1894. Debs's confrontation with the Great Northern's president, James J. Hill, and an arbitration panel's subsequent approval of almost all the union's demands elevated Debs to national prominence.

EVD and George W. Howard to James J. Hill

April 19, 1894

St. Paul, Minnesota

Dear Sir:—

We beg to be informed in behalf of the American Railway Union, an organization embracing a large majority of the employees on the Great Northern System, if you will receive an authorized committee of your employees and confer with them with reference to the existing difficulties between the management and the employees with a view of having the same, if possible, speedily and satisfactorily adjusted.

The acknowledged gravity of the situation prompts us to address you this communication, and trusting to receive an early and favorable reply, we have the honor to be.

Very truly yours,
Eugene V. Debs, President
G. W. Howard, Vice-President

TLc, MnHi, Great Northern Railway Company Records.

James J. Hill to EVD and George W. Howard

April 19, 1894

St. Paul, Minnesota

Gentlemen:—

I beg to acknowledge your favor of this date, and in reply have to say that the Company is always ready to receive and hear its employees or their representatives, on all matters affecting their relations with the Company.

Yours truly,
Jas. J. Hill,
President

TLc, MnHi, Great Northern Railway Company Records.

EVD and George W. Howard to James J. Hill

April 19, 1894
St. Paul, Minnesota

Dear Sir:—

Your acknowledgement of even date has been received and we beg to thank you for your courtesy.

We shall at once summon our committee and as soon as they appear will advise you and meet you in conference at such time as may suit your convenience.

Yours very truly,
Eugene V. Debs, President
George W. Howard, Vice-President

TLC, MnHi, Great Northern Railway Company Records.

James J. Hill to EVD and George W. Howard

April 19, 1894
St. Paul, Minnesota

Gentlemen:—

The following communication has been duly received from you:—

“St. Paul, Minn. April 19th, 1894

“Mr. J. J. Hill,
Pres't Great Northern Ry.,
St. Paul, Minn.

Dear Sir:—

Your acknowledgement of even date has been received, and we beg to thank you for your courtesy.

We shall at once summon our committee and as soon as they appear will advise you and meet you in conference at such time as may suit your convenience.

Yours very truly,
(Signed) Eugene V. Debs, President
G. W. Howard, Vice-President.”

and in reply I beg to refer you to my previous letter of this date, which is as follows:

“Messrs. Eugene V. Debs and G. W. Howard,

Gentlemen: —

I beg to acknowledge your favor of this date, and in reply have to say that the Company is always ready to receive and hear its employees, or their representatives, on all matters affecting their relations with the Company.

Yours truly,
(Signed) Jas. J. Hill, President."

You will note its limitation to the men in our employ, or their representatives.

I shall be glad to see you personally.

Yours truly,
(Signed) Jas. J. Hill, President.

TLC, MnHi, Great Northern Railway Company Records.

EVD and George W. Howard to James J. Hill

April 19, 1894
St. Paul, Minnesota

Dear Sir:

Replying to your note of this date, just received, we beg to say that we had not noticed the *limitation* in your previous communication, to which you now call attention. If we correctly interpret *your meaning*, you do not regard as employees the men now engaged in a strike, and in this case the standing committee in charge would not be received by you in accordance with the intent of our first communication.

Replying to the closing paragraph of your letter, we beg to say that we will be glad to call in person, as requested, with a committee of employees *now* in your service.

For reasons that readily suggest themselves, it would not be consistent for us to meet you without being accompanied by such a committee.

If this meets with your approval, kindly name time and place of meeting, and oblige,

Yours very truly,
Eugene V. Debs, President.
G. W. Howard, Vice-President.

TLC, MnHi, Great Northern Railway Company Records.

James J. Hill to EVD and George W. Howard

April 19, 1894

St. Paul, Minnesota

Gentlemen:—

Replying to your favor of this date, just received, I beg to say that your understanding of my meaning is not correct. The Company is ready to receive the men in its employ, or their representatives. This includ[es] all men on the Company's pay-rolls. The Company can have no knowledge as to who will represent its employees, except as they themselves may designate.

Yours truly,
Jas. J. Hill, President.

TLc, MnHi, Great Northern Railway Company Records.

Knute Nelson¹ to EVD

April 23, 1894

St. Paul, Minnesota

Dear Sir:—

For several days, a strike of considerable dimensions, seriously interfering with the traffic and travel of the citizens of our State, has been pending on the various lines of the Great Northern Railway. I am not clearly nor fully advised as to the grounds for the strike, nor am I qualified to sit as umpire in this matter. But the interruption of public business has become of such a grave character, that I, as the Chief Peace Officer of the State, have been appealed to for assistance.

The people of our State have justly gained and always maintained a reputation as a peaceful, law-abiding and orderly community, where force or violence has never been in the ascendant, and where all controversies have been adjusted by agreement or due process of law. I am loath to have this reputation darkened or a shadow cast upon it and therefore, in no spirit of criticism, I deem it my duty to enquire of you whether it is not possible by some plan of arbitration to adjust and settle the controversy involved in this strike, and to suggest to you that earnest efforts be made in this direction as speedily as possible and in such manner as to avoid further delay and interruption to the public business and loss to all concerned.

In the mean time, while such efforts are pending, law and order

must be maintained and the property of the Company must be preserved from injury or destruction at all hazards.

Respectfully yours,
[Knute Nelson]

TLC, MnHi, Great Northern Railway Company Records.

1. Knute Nelson (1843-1923) was born in Norway and emigrated with his mother to the United States in 1849. He served as a Republican member of Congress from Minnesota from 1883 to 1889, as governor of the state from 1892 to 1895, and as United States senator from 1895 until his death.

EVD and George W. Howard to James J. Hill

April 23, 1894
St. Paul, Minnesota

Dear Sir:—

We respectfully request that you advise us by bearer at what time it will be agreeable to you to meet a committee of your employes, members of the American Railway Union, in reference to the differences now existing between the management and the employes of the Great Northern Railway Company. The committee proper consists of thirty-three members representing the various departments of the service, but a sub-committee of five members has been selected (with the President and Vice President ex-officio members) to present for your consideration the claims of the employes.

Awaiting your reply, we remain,

Very truly yours,
Eugene V. Debs President
G. W. Howard, Vice Pres.

TLS, MnHi, Great Northern Railway Company Records.

EVD and George W. Howard to James J. Hill

April 25, 1894
St. Paul, Minnesota

Dear Sir:—

Replying to your favor of the 24th inst., we beg to quote as follows:

“Inasmuch as the present troubles on our line have been largely the acts of men who are not employed by the Company, etc.”

The foregoing statement, permit us to say, is not supported by the facts. The truth is, and it is susceptible of overwhelming proof, that your employees entered upon the strike in which they are now engaged of their own free will and accord and any intimation that they were influenced by men "not employed by the company" is not only unwarranted, but does violence to their common intelligence.

We quote further as follows:

"x x x as the company has existing agreements with a large number of men it will save the time of all concerned if the committee is prepared to show what men in the Company's employ it actually represents."

It is well understood that the schedules until recently in effect were set aside for new schedules which were proposed by the company, and as the latter have not been accepted by the men they are not regarded as being in force, or as having any binding effect whatsoever.

In answer to the question in the closing paragraph, we beg to say that the committee of the American Railway Union in whose behalf this communication is written, represents *all classes* of your employees and are fully authorized and empowered to act for them in all things touching their differences with the Great Northern Railway Company.

To bring the matter properly before you, and to avoid further delay, we herewith file a copy of the articles covering the grievances of your employees.

The representatives from the various points on the system are instructed by their various unions to present said articles as a basis of settlement. They desire a restoration of the wages that, as they firmly believe, have been reduced without good and sufficient cause, and which reduction precipitated the strike now in progress.

We may say in closing that the committee is a unit in this matter, having eliminated the articles about which there were differences of opinion and upon the signing of the accompanying proposition the strike will be promptly declared off.

If agreeable, the committee will be glad to make further explanation in person.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) Eugene V. Debs, President

(Signed) G. W. Howard, Vice-President

TLc, MnHi, Great Northern Railway Company Records.

James J. Hill to EVD and George W. Howard

April 25, 1894
(St. Paul, Minnesota)

Gentlemen:—

Your favor dated this morning just received, and in reply I beg to say that the conditions, as they are represented in your letter, are entirely different from the facts as we have them of record in our office. To save your time and our own, I think it will be better for you to bring your committee down, and give us an opportunity to compare the conditions, and to discuss the matter without the delay necessitated by correspondence.

I will be ready to receive your Committee at any time on half an hour's notice.

Yours truly,
[James J. Hill]
President.

TLc, MnHi, Great Northern Railway Company Records.

James J. Hill to EVD and George W. Howard

April 26, 1894
St. Paul, Minnesota

Gentlemen:—

Your communication of this date received at 3-30 this P.M., in which you decline the written offer made by me on behalf of this company to submit any difference as to rates of pay that cannot be promptly adjusted between the company and the men in its employ, to full and final settlement by arbitration. Your conclusion that the proposition is unfair, and that it aims to divide and disorganize the employes, is neither the intention of the company, nor the effect of the offer as made. You do not say in your letter whether the objection is to arbitration as a method of settlement, or whether there is objection made to the plan proposed for organizing the board of arbitration. The offer was made by this company with a view to place within the reach of all of its employes a simple and effective method of adjusting any question as to rates of pay that may exist in its service, and to place the responsibility of any failure to so adjust where it belongs.

Bearing in mind the great advantage to all concerned that will follow a just and peaceful settlement of any matter of difference that may exist, I desire again to ask you to consider the question of arbitration, and before making up your minds to decline it, that you compare the present rates of pay with those in effect last year; and to the end that you may have the correct figures as to present rates, I suggest that you bring your sub-committee to our office tomorrow, at 11 A.M., for the purpose of comparing these lists. In the meantime, as I am not standing on any matter of form, I will be glad to hear from you as to whether you decline to recommend arbitration on the grounds above stated, or whether you have a better plan for forming a competent and impartial board of arbitration.

Yours truly,
(Signed) Jas. J. Hill,
President.

[statement attached]

In view of the fact that the American Railway Union claims to represent a majority of the various classes of the employees of the Great Northern Railway, and that since the meeting this morning the old organizations claim their members are not and will not be represented by the American Railway Union, or any other than their respective and duly authorized representatives; and whereas, the Company's rolls do not show that the committee here present represents the men on its pay-rolls on the various divisions; and whereas, men who have heretofore represented some of the different organizations on the various parts of the railway being here under the authority of their organizations, prepared to speak for the men they claim to represent, the company desires to avoid unnecessary delay and loss to the public, to the men and to itself, growing out of the claims of rival organizations. The Company proposes that it will submit to its employees, for immediate reply, the following:

Any class of men in its service who have any grievance or complaint as to their rates of pay shall, either personally or through representatives chosen by themselves, state such grievance to the Company, and in case it cannot speedily be adjusted between such representatives and the Company, the matter shall at once be referred to a Board of Arbitration, composed of three disinterested men, who have knowledge of railway service, one to be chosen by the men or their representatives, one by the Company, and the third by the two so chosen; and in case they cannot agree, the third member of such board shall be named by either the Hon. R. R. Nelson¹ or the Hon. A. D. Thomas,² Judges of the United States Court, or by both of them

together; and the finding of the majority of such Board of Arbitration, on matters submitted to them, shall be final and shall bind the men and the Company.

The positions of agents and dispatchers, being places of trust, the Company desires to deal with these men individually. As regards the shopmen, car inspectors, bridge carpenters, etc., the Company expects to pay wages in accordance with the service rendered, and at rates that average as high as the same service receives on neighboring roads. As to the section and other laborers, who are irregularly employed and are mostly composed of floating men, who are here to-day and gone to-morrow, and cannot be bound by any representatives or organization, an agreement with them would bind the Company and would not bind the men. In regard to these men it has always been the Company's custom to reduce both the number of such men and their rates of pay during the Winter months, while there is little work for them to do besides patrolling their sections. On the opening of Spring the wages of these men have been advanced in the past, and the Company expects to follow this course as heretofore.

This proposition is made on the condition that the men immediately return to work in their various places, and that the business of the Company with the public be no longer delayed and further loss of time to the men be avoided.

Any changes in the rates of pay made by such conference or arbitration shall take effect as of the date when work is resumed.

TLC, MnHi, Great Northern Railway Company Records.

1. Rensselaer Russell Nelson (1826-1904) was United States District Court judge in Minnesota from 1858 to 1896.

2. Albert D. Thomas (1841-1925) practiced law in Crawfordsville, Indiana, before joining the Indiana Court of Appeals in 1873 and earning a reputation as one of the state's leading jurists. *New York Times*, November 15, 1925.

James J. Hill to EVD

May 8, 1894

[St. Paul, Minnesota]

Dear Sir:—

In the memorandum submitted, of conditions on which the Great Northern Railway employees recently on strike would return to work,¹ Article II read as follows:—

“That the switchmen in Great Falls, Helena, and Butte, receive

the same rate of wages, the rate to be adopted which is now in force at Butte”

Across this Article I noted:

“Deferred, with privilege of men at Great Falls and Helena to be heard.”

Article V. read:

“That there will be no prejudice upon the part of the management against any particular employee, or department of employees, who have taken part in the adjustment of the affair of wages which has terminated in this strike.”

This was granted, with certain exceptions, which I noted in the margin, as follows:

“U.S. violation law; malicious interference; leaving trains on main track bet. stations.”

The parties who violated the U.S. laws will answer for their acts before the Court. No case of malicious injury to the property has turned up. There has been one case of abandoning train on main track, the circumstances of which you were familiar with; a second case is reported from the West, but it is claimed, and may be correct, that a freight car was off the track a mile or so in front, and of course under those conditions a man could not move his train.

I desire that our agreement shall be carried out and executed as it was made. I believe that, outside of my memoranda, no full notes were taken of the specific matters agreed upon. I trust you will refresh your memory fully, and wire me your recollection of our agreement in regard to the articles above quoted.

Yours truly,
[James J. Hill]

TLC, MnHi, Great Northern Railway Company Records.

1. After rejecting the three-man arbitration board proposed by Hill, Debs, ARU Vice-President George Howard, and Louis W. Rogers, editor of the union's paper, *Railway Times*, agreed to a May 1 meeting with Hill before a committee of Minneapolis and St. Paul businessmen, headed by milling tycoon Charles A. Pillsbury. The settlement that emerged from the meeting, the *New York Times* reported, “gave the strikers nineteen-twentieths of their demands,” including Hill's agreement to restore the 10 percent wage cuts made during the previous year.

Jane Lathrop Stanford¹ to EVD

July 1, 1894

[Dunsmuir], California

The trainmen offered their services to take me safely home. They have kindly brought me in my private car with 2 servants as far as Sissons. They have just telegraphed me that, while they are still willing to take me—desire that I obtain your permission² & sanction. It is almost an absolute necessity that I should be in San Francisco on Tuesday July 3rd to attend to important business.

Most of the men in your organization are old & devoted friends of my husband, and it is to testify to their respect for his memory that they are anxious to take me safely ~~home~~ over the Road to my home.

I will be ready to leave Dunsmuir Monday morning and go & be taken to Sacramento. The next day proceed to S.F.—traveling only by daylight.

Kindly answer to Dunsmuir & oblige

Mrs. Leland Stanford.

ALS, CSt, Archives.

1. Jane Lathrop Stanford (1825-1905) was the widow of Leland Stanford, California railroad entrepreneur, governor (1861-63), and United States senator (1885-90). Following her husband's death in 1890, Mrs. Stanford devoted much of her time to philanthropy and an active interest in Stanford University, founded in memory of Leland Stanford, Jr., who had died the previous year at the age of fourteen.

2. At the first annual ARU convention held in Chicago in June 1894, the delegates unanimously approved a boycott of trains handling Pullman cars in sympathy with the striking workers at the nearby Pullman Palace Car Company. Within days of the ARU boycott decision, a strike paralyzed the western half of the nation, tying up the economic life of twenty-seven states and territories. Debs had cautioned against the boycott action but energetically led it after the convention decision was made.

EVD to Jane Lathrop Stanford

July 2, 1894

Chicago, Illinois

THE TRAINMEN WILL HAUL YOUR CAR TO ITS DESTINATION ON PRESENTATION OF THIS TELEGRAM IF THERE SHOULD BE ANY FURTHER INTERRUPTION PLEASE ADVISE ME AND I WILL BE GLAD TO AS-

SIST YOU IN ANY WAY IN MY POWER IN SAFELY REACHING YOUR DESTINATION

EUGENE V DEBS

Telegram, CSt, Archives.

Jane Lathrop Stanford to EVD

July 2, 1894

Dunsmuir, California

I APPRECIATE MORE THAN I CAN EXPRESS YOUR KIND ACT. I ACCEPT IT AS A TRIBUTE & A MARK OF ESTEEM TO THE MEMORY OF MY HUSBAND, WHO FOR 25 YEARS WAS HELD IN VENERATION BY ALL OF HIS R.R. EMPLOYEES. IT WOULD HAVE PLEASED YOU TO HAVE SEEN THE JOY IN THE FACES OF THE REPRESENTATIVES OF YOUR ORGANIZATION HERE TO CARRY OUT YOUR SANCTION OF THEIR DESIRE.

GRATEFULLY YOURS.

MRS. LELAND STANFORD

Telegram, CSt, Archives.

Samuel Gompers to EVD

July 5, 1894

New York City

Have protested Tuesday to President against base action judiciary and improper use of military.¹

Regret inability go Chicago now.²

Samuel Gompers

TLC, DLC, Gompers Letterbooks.

1. Begun on June 26, 1893, the ARU boycott of trains pulling Pullman cars had been joined by more than 100,000 workers and had disrupted railroad traffic running west from Chicago to California. On July 2, Judges Peter Grosscup and William A. Woods of the federal court in Chicago handed down a blanket injunction that, among other things, prohibited the leaders of the ARU from any action in aid of the boycott. Two days later, on July 4, President Cleveland, on the advice of his attorney general, Richard Olney, and at the urging of the railroad management consortium in Chicago, the General Managers Association, sent federal troops from Fort Sheridan into Chicago and approved the deputizing of hundreds of special marshals to prevent interference with interstate commerce and disruption of the mail.

2. Debs later believed that Gompers's inability to go to Chicago to lend his prestige and support to the ARU was a key factor in the defeat of the Pullman Strike.

J. A. Woodburn¹ to EVD

July 7, 1894

Ann Arbor, Michigan

My dear Mr. Debs:

I cannot refrain from sending you my congratulations upon your conduct of the great strike up to this hour. When I read your announcements to the men last night I felt inclined to telegraph you: "Congratulations on your address.² You can win victory only through peace. Save the men from violence."

I keep the issue distinct between Labor and Corporate Capital. Avoid an issue with the Federal Government and by no means in any way encourage resistance to its authority. It is to be hoped the dire time may never come, it certainly is not now, when the laborer should resist the powers that be and appeal to war for the surety of his rights.

J. A. Woodburn

ALS, InU, Lilly Library, Woodburn MSS.

1. James Albert Woodburn (1856-1943) was head of the history department at Indiana University from 1890 to 1924.

2. In a message on July 6 to all the ARU men on strike, Debs had repeated his call for "respect for law and order" and called "those who engage in force and violence . . . our real enemies."

EVD to Jean Daniel Debs and Marguerite Bettrich Debs

July 16, 1894

Chicago, Illinois

My darling Parents,

Have just a moment. You are always in my heart & keep it warm through all these trying days. This is humanity's struggle. In doing what I am I am simply true to myself. No matter about what some people say, I am eternally right and the *people* are with me. The fight *will be won*. If I happen to go to jail¹ don't worry. I would rather a

thousand times be a man in prison than a free poltroon. Thousands of the world's best & noblest have occupied prison cells. After all I shall go into history right.

Give yourselves my love and my kisses. Your dear sweet faces are in my vision. You need have no fear that I will dishonor the name or the family traditions.

Always & always

Your devoted son
Eugene

ALS, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. On July 10, Debs and George Howard, Sylvester Keliher, and Louis Rogers were indicted for conspiracy by a federal grand jury in Chicago. They were released on bail of \$10,000 each but rearrested on July 17 for violating the July 2 injunction. Refusing bail, they were kept in the Cook County Jail until July 25, when they were released on bond and their trial set for September 5.

EVD to Jean Daniel Debs and Marguerite Bettrich Debs

July 24, 1894
[Chicago, Illinois]

My sweetheart Parents:

Cook County Jail 6 P.M.—

Just returned from Court. The opening is all in our favor & everything seems to look bright. Our attorneys¹ feel confident that we will come out O.K.—Meantime, no matter what the dispatches say, the strike is on harder than ever on the principal roads. Most of them are paralyzed, dead. All the switchmen are with us & no power on earth can break their ranks & without them the roads can't get along and that's all there is to it. *We shall whip Pullman* and make him settle. Mark it! We shall also secure satisfactory terms with the railroads.

This P.M. a special correspondent of the *Paris Figaro* called with a cablegram order to get a full & complete history of my life. I had Kude² take him to the hotel & there Emma & Kate³ will do him up to a queen's taste. John Swinton⁴ the great New York author is writing a book on the great strike. It will contain 500 pages. The publisher has just sent me advance pages of the (chapter) on "E. V. Debs." Swinton sets me up as the greatest American of the century. The country has been shaken up as never before & the harvest will come.

I am mentally and physically in the very pink of condition, never more myself than now. I feel myself equal to any task that fate or

fortune may impose. Kate & Em & Kude (with his big horn) all well & unite in warmest love. Will see you soon.

Always yours son—
Eugene

ALS, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. The attorneys representing the ARU included William Erwin, a well-known Minneapolis labor lawyer, and Clarence S. Darrow (1857-1938), a close associate of Illinois Governor John P. Altgeld and at this time general counsel for the Chicago & North Western Railway, from which position he resigned to defend Debs and the other ARU officials in the injunction case.

2. Theodore Debs.

3. Debs's sister and wife, who had joined him in Chicago during the Pullman Strike.

4. John Swinton (1829-1901) wrote sympathetically on the "labor question" for a number of New York newspapers and for the widely read and respected *John Swinton's Paper*. His *Striking for Life*, published in 1894, contained a chapter on and an article by Debs.

EVD to Henry Demarest Lloyd

July 24, 1894
Chicago, Illinois

My dear Mr. Lloyd,

Your very kind and cheering letter of the 19th inst. has been received. A thousand thanks for your friendship and solicitude. We are still in custody and our trial for "contempt of court" for violating a drag-net injunction is now in progress. We spend the days in court and the nights in jail. Having only acted in this matter in obedience to the dictates of our consciences and our judgment we shall accept with philosophic composure any penalties, however severe, the courts may see fit to impose.

The one great result of this agitation has been to call the attention of the country to the flagrant abuses of corporate power of which working people have so long been the patient and uncomplaining victims.

I am inclined to be optimistic and do not hesitate to believe that all these things are working together for the emancipation and redemption of men from the thralldom that has so long held them in slavery and degradation.

Rogers, Howard and Keliher,¹ my fellow felons join in cordial regard and greeting. We are not unmindful of the fact that your great

heart throbs in unison with every movement that has for its purpose the regeneration of the children of men.

Thanking you again and again and hoping that you may be revived and invigorated by your sojourn at the sea side I am

Very faithfully yours
Eugene V. Debs

ALS, WHi, Lloyd Papers.

1. Louis W. Rogers, editor of *Railway Times*; George W. Howard, ARU vice-president; and Sylvester Keliher, secretary-treasurer of the ARU.

EVD to Henry Demarest Lloyd

August 15, 1894

Terre Haute, Indiana

My dear Mr. Lloyd:

Your good letter enclosing check for \$81.50¹ was duly received, but illness which has confined me to my bed for the past 10 days has prevented an earlier acknowledgment. The check has been forwarded to Mr. Keliher our Secretary who, when the further check of the Typographers Union for \$1850 is recd. will credit you with \$100.00 and for this very liberal contribution we beg you to accept our profound thanks. We shall hope some day to be able in some manner to reciprocate your very valuable aid.

I note what you say about pressing action against the Railroads and when I return to Chicago shall see Mr. Erwin as to what can be done in the matter. All you say is carefully noted. We shall be prepared at every point and the trial day will find our armor plate free from "blow-holes" or other defects.

You have been nominated for Congress² and we shall all unite in giving you the vote in your district. Only wish there were a Lloyd in every Congressional District in the country. Where they have the right man & nominate him there will be no trouble about electing him on the People's Party ticket this fall, no matter what the previous political complexion of the district. The People's Party will come into power with a resistless rush as did the Republican party a little more than 30 years ago.

Count me always

Yours faithfully
E. V. Debs

ALS, WHi, Lloyd Papers.

1. The ARU sought \$100,000 for a defense fund for attorney's fees and other expenses growing out of the injunction case.

2. Lloyd was defeated in his race for Congress as the National People's party candidate in 1894.

Samuel Gompers to EVD

August 16, 1894

[unknown]

Dear Sir and Friend:—

You will remember the very interesting conference had between you, Mr. P. J. Mc-Guire and myself at the Revere House Chicago Ill. on Sunday afternoon July 15th.¹ It has left a deep impression upon my mind. I am sure that the many important topics we discussed ought and will no doubt bring forth good fruit.

You remember our mentioning the fact that at the meeting of the Executive Council of the A.F. of L. an appropriation of \$500.00 had been made to be contributed towards your legal defense before the courts, and that an appeal would be made for contributions towards a legal defense fund for you. In compliance therewith I enclose to you herein a check for \$670.10 which in the name of the A.F. of L. and the other donors I ask you to accept with our best wishes.

In presenting this to you we desire to convey more eloquently than I can find words to express our unqualified disapproval of the attempts on the part of the governmental officials and the courts in throwing the weight of their influence in favor of corporate wealth and against the most necessary, useful and liberty loving people of the country—the wage workers. We offer it to you as a protest against the exercise of class justice, and as a further protest against the violation of rights guaranteed by the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence.

It would be superfluous to say to you in this letter that the end of the struggles of the masses is not yet, that the workers must thoroughly organize upon practical lines to maintain their manhood, to prevent their liberty from being filched from them, to achieve that success for which all previous contests were but preparatory to the attainment of that justice looked forward to by all lovers of mankind.

I kindly ask you to forward two separate receipts to Secretary Chris. Evans,² one for the \$500.00 donated by the American Federation of Labor, and another for the balance \$170.10 at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely hoping that you may be successful in confounding the

enemies of labor who are trying to secure your incarceration, and with kindest wishes, I am,

Very Truly Yours
 Samuel Gompers Pres.
 American Federation of Labor

TLC, DLC, Gompers Letterbooks.

1. Gompers had gone to Chicago (belatedly, Debs thought) on July 12 to attend an emergency meeting of the AFL executive council, which decided to issue a call for all AFL members then striking in sympathy with the ARU boycott to "return to work" and "for those who contemplate going out on sympathetic strike . . . to remain at their usual vocations."

2. Chris Evans was secretary of the AFL from 1889 to 1894. One of the founders of the United Mine Workers of America, he served as the international union's statistician for many years and completed a two-volume *History of the United Mine Workers of America* before his death in 1924.

EVD to Frank X. Holl

August 22, 1894
 Chicago, Illinois

My Dear Holl:

I have yours of the 13th and take in all you say. I am grieved to learn of your having been sacrificed in the recent changes at Ft. Snelling. If efficiency and fidelity to duty counts for anything you would have been among the last victims of the decapitating program, but I do not doubt you will soon find an opening worthy of you. With the influential friends you have who appreciate your worth you will not be a "Coxeyite."¹

I am glad you are to go to the Harrisburg convention.² You understand the situation as few do and you will be able therefore to render the cause special valuable service. If a majority of the delegates are broad viewed and liberal minded as yourself there will be no difficulty in finding and pursuing the proper course.

I note what you say in regard to Senator Voorhees³ and at the right time will do what I can to secure his influence as suggested. The Senator, however, is a very sick man ~~and~~ {as} I am informed by a personal friend of his who knows his actual condition. The truth is that his friends are very much alarmed about him and some go so far as to say that he will not appear in any active capacity in public life again. It is to be hoped their estimates are exaggerated. This reference to Senator Vorhees [*sic*] is confidential.

When you reach Harrisburg I wish you would have a talk with Brother Hanihan.⁴ He understands my position and views thoroughly and is the only one of the Grand Officers with whom I have had any opportunity to discuss the matters personally during the past two months and it is not likely that I shall see any of them before the convention assembles.

Brother Howard is here and joins me in cordial regards to yourself and Mrs. Holl. When you see Lieut. French⁵ remember us all to him with profound esteem. He is one of God's noblemen and we all hold him in the highest admiration. Count me always,

Your friend,
E V Debs

Dict

TLS, TxU, Holl MSS.

1. The march on Washington by the followers of Jacob Sechier Coxey (1854-1951), an Ohio businessman, in the spring of 1894 dramatized the devastating effects of the panic of 1893 and the deep economic depression that followed.

2. The national convention of the BLF was held in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, in September 1894. Debs's speech to the convention did not prevent its approval of Grand Master Frank P. Sargent's refusal "to endorse a sympathetic strike" with the ARU's Pullman boycott. Debs's ties with the union were severed soon thereafter.

3. Daniel Wolsey Voorhees (1827-97) represented the Terre Haute district in Congress from 1861 to 1866 and again from 1869 to 1873. He served in the United States Senate from Indiana from 1877 to 1897. A personal friend of Voorhees, Debs placed his name in nomination for reelection to the Senate by the Indiana General Assembly in 1885.

4. John J. Hannahan (1856-1925) was grand organizer and instructor of the BLF from 1885 to 1902 and grand master of the union from 1905 to 1908.

5. William Edward Pattison French (1855-1940) attended West Point from 1875 to 1877 and was serving at this time as a second lieutenant in the Third U.S. Infantry at Fort Snelling, near Minneapolis. French's poetry appeared in the *Railway Times* and after his retirement from the army in 1900 he wrote a number of books—*We-ism*, *The Religion of Humanity*, and *What Is Socialism?* among them—which he hoped would "usher in the Collectivist Commonwealth."

Samuel Gompers to EVD

October 18, 1894

[unknown]

Dear Sir and Friend:—

Enclosed please find a check to the amount of [\$70.35?] contributed in aid of your legal defense before the courts of this country. I also enclose a blank receipt which kindly sign and return to the office.

With kind regards and trusting that you may be entirely successful in securing an early release¹ I am

Very Truly Yours
Samuel Gompers President.
American Federation of Labor

(Two enclosures)

TLC, DLC, Gompers Letterbooks.

1. Debs's imprisonment had not begun. His six-month sentence for contempt for violation of the July 2 injunction was handed down by Judge William A. Wood in November 1894. He reported to the McHenry County Jail at Woodstock (about fifty miles northwest of Chicago) on January 7, 1895.

EVD to Frank X. Holl

November 28, 1894
Chicago, Illinois

My dear Holl,

Yours of the 25th is recd. & next time I will correctly address my letters to you. Note with interest what is said about Fort Snelling & hope everything will come out as you expect. If the snobbery & horrible inequalities on acct. of rank were squelched at all those army posts it would be in the line of greatly needed reforms.

I expect to quit the B. of L.F. at the close of this quarter.¹ It is dead, as are all the rest of the old orders so far as *protection* is concerned. All the old orders are dead by their own hands and in the graves of their own digging. They were delivered to the General Managers' Association and are absolutely under its control and I can prove that they are maintained in the interest of the *corporations* and to down railroad employes. The A.R.U., I am happy to say, is coming nobly to the front. Its members are *men*, not boot-lickers. Have just received reports of 2 unions organized in the East and 1 in Wellington, Wash.—Wish you and Mayo² would get some of the boys together and get the thing started for a revival of the whole Northwest. Soon as things get in shape for a good meeting I will be with you and we will hold meetings both in St. Paul and Minneapolis. I shall make a thorough campaign in the interest of the Order after Jan'y 1st.

If you see Mayo, tell him I have his letter and will answer in a day or two.

Cordial regards to Mrs. Holl. She has all the beautiful graces that

adorn womanhood and she has also the spirit and resolute purpose of a hero. I shall never forget her fealty.

Yours till the trumpet sounds
Eugene V. Debs

ALS, TxU, Holl MSS.

1. Debs remained in the BLF until the end of 1895. On September 10, 1895, he wrote from Woodstock instructing his brother, Theodore, to "pay my B. of L.F. dues for the quarter ending Dec. 31st."

2. Edward B. Mayo was master of the Northwestern (Minneapolis) Lodge of the BLF and a member of the ARU.

EVD to Ida Husted Harper¹

December 8, 1894
Terre Haute, Indiana

My dear Mrs. Harper,

I beg you to receive my profound thanks for your beautiful words in the December issue of the Magazine² which have touched the very depths of my heart. You have always been my friend and I shall always be yours. How the months and the years have sped by since "in the days of small things" we began work upon the Magazine. Another such "brief span" and we shall verge on—

"Old age serene and bright
Lovely as a Lapland night."

I shall have no regrets for with me, as with most "poor wanderers of a stormy day," the pathway has been steep and crooked and thorny.

I hope you and your lovely daughter³ are enjoying these days and that the holidays may bring you an abundance of the good things of the season.

With cordial esteem in which Mrs Debs and all our family join I am as ever

Faithfully your friend
Eugene V. Debs

ALS, CSmH, Harper Papers.

1. A native of Franklin County, Indiana Ida Husted Harper (1851-1931) moved to Terre Haute following her marriage in 1871 to Thomas W. Harper, a young lawyer practicing there. Thomas Harper served as the city's prosecuting attorney during Debs's tenure as city clerk, and in 1885, Debs put Ida Harper in charge of a newly created women's department of the *BLF Magazine*. A prominent feminist in her own

right, Harper wrote a three-volume *Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony* (1899, 1908), assisted Anthony in preparing *The History of Woman Suffrage* (1902), and in 1922 published two additional volumes that brought the history down to 1920.

2. In a farewell statement to *BLF Magazine* readers, Harper praised Debs's "sterling honesty of purpose, dauntless courage, and fidelity to his convictions."

3. In 1893, Ida Harper enrolled as a student at Leland Stanford University, where her daughter Winnifred was also enrolled.

EVD to Henry Demarest Lloyd

December 10, 1894
Terre Haute, Indiana

My dear Sir:—

I have much pleasure in acknowledging the receipt of your great book "Wealth against Commonwealth" for which please receive my sincere thanks. From only a hasty examination of the contents and from the wide and favorable notice it has received, I am confident the work is a valuable contribution to the reform literature of the times and will have a powerful influence in righting the social and industrial wrongs with which the Republic is afflicted. Permit me to felicitate you upon the great work you are doing for the amelioration of the oppressed and suffering poor whose cause you have espoused and defended with a courage and fealty worthy of the highest commendation.

Wishing you long life and happiness I am

Very truly yours
Eugene V. Debs

ALS, InTI, Debs Collection.

EVD to Frank X. Holl

December 31, 1894
Terre Haute, Indiana

My Dear Holl:

Your favor of the 28th has been received and I note all you say. It is singular you have not been informed that I will be in Minneapolis and St. Paul on the 5th and 6th. I do not know how the dates are placed as Brother Goodwin¹ went there to make all the arrangements.

I will be with you on one day or the other. Please see to it that we have the largest possible audience and extend a special invitation to the ladies.² I want to hold if I can, an afternoon meeting composed wholly of A.R.U. men. I want to put in every minute I am there to the best possible advantage. The purpose uppermost in my mind now is to put the A.R.U. in shape. And the work is progressing as if by magic. Unions are springing up and asserting themselves everywhere. In six months' time, in or out of jail, the A.R.U. will again be at the head of the labor procession.

The cartoon you enclose is very suggestive. It typifies the stupidity of the old orders and the genius of the A.R.U.

I will let you know later when I shall arrive at Minneapolis. I tried to make the dates 7th and 8th so as to conform to your wishes, but could not do so as I had also to go to Duluth and must be in Chicago to report for jail on the 8th.

Remember me most kindly to Mrs. Holl. Mrs. Debs and I join in cordial good wishes for the Happy New Year.

Yours as ever,
Eugene V. Debs

P.S.:—I send you under separate cover some circulars which you can distribute where they will do the most good.

E. V.

TLS, TxU, Holl MSS.

1. Roy M. Goodwin of Winona, Minnesota was a director of the ARU and had been given a three-month sentence by Judge Woods for his role in the Pullman Strike at the same time Debs received his six-month sentence.

2. In his presidential address at the ARU convention in June 1894, Debs had called for equal pay for women who performed the same work done by men, and in the March 1894 issue of the *BLF Magazine* he published an editorial, "Equality of Men and Women," in which he traced the history of "man's savage brutality toward women" and argued for woman suffrage as the surest means of bringing their "oppression" to an end.

EVD to Jean Daniel Debs and Marguerite Bettrich Debs

January 8, 1895
Woodstock, Illinois

My dear old Pards,

Haven't had a chance to write before as we have been kept extremely busy. Am in the very best of health and spirits. We are in the

best jail in the state,¹ out in the country where we eat with the sheriff's family, have clean, comfortable beds, lots of room & everything we care for. Would you believe it? The sheriff Mr. Eckert² is an Alsacian & a noble man. The daughters treat me with the greatest kindness. The heart of of the country is with us. No President was ever accorded a greater ovation than I in the Northwest. Thousands turned away who couldn't get into our halls. Saw Ingersoll at Milwaukee & he is quietly at work in my case. This will be the *cause celebre* of the century. Hold your heads up. Don't be in the least anxious. I am only to be envied. Thousands would gladly exchange with me. In a very few months you will have reason to be proud. I may see you within 10 days. Reward & vindication will not be long delayed.

My address is

Woodstock, McHenry Co. Ills.

Am about 50 miles Northwest of Chicago in best jail in state. My heart's with you all the time. We will hold a glorious reunion soon. Tell Eugenie to send all my mail & papers here.

With love and kisses in rich abundance I am always faithfully

Your son
Eugene

ALS, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. The McHenry County Jail in Woodstock, Illinois.

2. Debs's tribute, "A Sheriff I Loved," was published in *St. Louis Labor* and other papers at the time of George Eckert's death in 1923.

EVD to Jean Daniel Debs

January 14, 1895
Woodstock, Illinois

My dearest Father:

Your letter filled with kindness and cheer, characteristic of the stock, especially when the times are on that "try men's souls," is with me. I have immense satisfaction in knowing that you and mother, notwithstanding your years, are as proud, heroic and defiant as the rest of us and even our enemies admit that we have the courage of our convictions. My imprisonment is doing much to arouse the public conscience. No disgrace attaches to the family. You need not blush. In good time the right will prevail and then reward and vindication will come. A steady stream of letters is pouring in here from all parts of the country. No one can imagine what a wave of indignation is

rising. Judge Woods¹ is not so much at ease as [I am?]. My jail quarters are large, airy, clean and comfortable and I am perfectly at home with the sheriff's family whose residence adjoins the jail. Sunday Charley Gould² was here and we spent the afternoon in the Sheriff's parlors, regaling ourselves (after a good dinner of stuffed roast chicken) with a musical concert. Saturday Governor Waite³ of Colorado was with us from 11 till 2, taking dinner with us. He is a fine old man of about your age. He is chock full of fight and don't care what the plutocratic press say about him. We may get out pending the decision of our case by the U.S. Supreme Court⁴ and in that event I will see you before the close of the week. The signs of the times are all hopeful and the future is full of cheer. You and mother must carry yourselves like the Spartans of old. This is not the time for sighs or tears but for heroic fortitude which does not waver, no matter how trying [the?] ordeal. If the night is dark the dawn is near. Our day is coming. Just a little patience and we will celebrate our jubilee with becoming *eclat*.

My heart is with you always. Kisses to you both and to Eugenie. The jail but makes our attachment the stronger.

Your devoted son
Eugene

ALS, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. Judge William Allen Woods (1837-1901) was appointed to the Seventh United States District Court by President Benjamin Harrison in 1892. Criticism of his decisions to hand down the blanket injunction in the Pullman Strike and to impose the six-month sentence on Debs for violation of that injunction led Woods to write an article in defense of his position (which was sustained by the Supreme Court), "Injunction in the Federal Courts," which appeared in *Yale Law Journal* in April 1897.

2. Charles Gould was a Terre Haute musician and boyhood friend of Debs. His father, Charles N. Gould, was an architect who had designed several of the buildings on the campus of St. Mary of the Woods College near Terre Haute.

3. Davis H. Waite (1825-1901) was one of the founders of the Populist party and won election as that party's candidate for governor of Colorado in 1892. His sympathetic policy toward the miners during the Cripple Creek strike in 1893 made him a hero to labor but did not prevent his defeat in his reelection bid in 1894.

4. Debs and the other ARU officials were released from Woodstock on January 18 pending their appeal to the Supreme Court. Their appeal for release on habeas corpus, presented to the court on March 24 and 25 by Clarence Darrow; Stephen S. Gregory, former city solicitor of Chicago; and former Illinois Senator Lyman Trumbull, was denied in a unanimous decision by the court on May 27, 1895.

EVD to George A. Schilling¹

January 17, 1895
Woodstock, Illinois

My dear Schilling:—

I write to ask if you can procure a copy (containing the full text) of Governor Altgeld's² message. I had it clipped from the papers but as there is no privacy here it has disappeared. If you can secure two copies so much the better. Please mail to me at *Terre Haute Indiana*.

We shall be admitted to bail to-morrow or next day pending our hearing before Supreme Court.

Governor Altgeld's message adds fresh lustre to his fame. It is a *state paper* in the best sense of the term. The *Chicago Herald* sent their special correspondent to interview me about it and I gave him about 500 words, which I had prepared in writing, but only a very small part of it appeared. It was probably too strong to suit the Herald.

In the next issue of the *Railway Times* I have an extended review³ and when I reach home I will send you a copy of it. Altgeld has the head of a statesman, the heart of a humanitarian and the magnificent courage of a Spartan.

I hope these days are bringing you your full share of the good things of life.

Yours always
Eugene V. Debs

Please mark "*personal*" what you address to me.

ALS, IHi.

1. George A. Schilling was born in Germany in 1850 and after emigrating to the United States rose through the ranks of the Coopers International Union and the Knights of Labor in Chicago to become head of the Illinois Bureau of Labor Statistics under Governor John Altgeld.

2. John Peter Altgeld (1847-1902) was the son of German immigrants and as Democratic governor of Illinois from 1893 to 1897 one of the most controversial political figures of his time. His pardon of the surviving Haymarket Riot prisoners in June 1893 and his protest to President Cleveland against the use of federal troops during the Pullman Strike the following year led to attacks on him as an anarchist and "defender of crime." Altgeld was defeated in his reelection campaign for governor in 1896, but he ran well ahead of the Democratic presidential ticket.

In his message to the Illinois state legislature on January 10, 1895, Altgeld attacked the criminal justice system as a "relic of barbarism" and the crushing of the Pullman Strike as "government by injunction."

3. In the January 15, 1895, issue of the *Railway Times*, Debs quoted large sections of Altgeld's message, which he characterized as "standing deservedly at the head of

the list" of all the governors' messages, "embodying statesmanship of the highest order."

EVD to Jean Daniel Debs and Marguerite Bettrich Debs

March 22, 1895
Portland, Oregon

My darling Parents:

I'm way over here across the continent but my heart is at the old home and in fancy at least I see you all and hear the melody of your old voices. This is the rainy season here & it keeps it up 24 hours a day & 7 days a week. Despite this I am having great houses and enthusiastic receptions. Mr. Benedict¹ doubtless shows you the papers which I send him daily. If not, ask him to hand them to you.

I'm in perfect health and stirring up this whole section of the country. Talk about a boom for President, you'll see this whole country come to the front demanding my nomination. I've told them I wouldn't under any circumstances accept but that doesn't alter their determination.

I shall meet Theodore at San Francisco on the morning of the 24th and shall lecture there on the 26th. The trouble there will be that their greatest auditorium will not begin to hold the vast throngs of people. I shall see Mrs. Rive² and the family & will tell them all kinds of nice things for you.

My love and kisses are with you and Eugenie and Gertrude³ and all the dear ones at home.

Tell Eugenie to get some papers I sent Benedict & hand them to Fred.⁴ He can send them to John⁵ to show him whether the people are for or against me. In love eternal

Your son
Eugene

ALS, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. Louis P. Benedict served as private secretary for the ARU officers and edited the ARU paper, *Railway Times*, during the imprisonment of Louis W. Rogers. The telegraphic message "Save your money and buy a gun," sent over Debs's signature during the Pullman Strike, was acknowledged by Benedict in the paper on June 1, 1895, to have been his own, not Debs's.

2. Like Debs's parents, Philip Rive and his wife operated a grocery store in Terre Haute. Following Rive's death in 1882, his widow moved to the San Francisco area.

3. Gertrude Toy Debs (1871-1954) was Theodore Debs's wife.
4. Frederick Heinl, Debs's nephew.
5. John G. Heinl, Debs's brother-in-law.

EVD to Frank X. Holl

May 15, 1895

Terre Haute, Indiana

My Dear Frank:

I have yours of the 12th. Just before receiving it I mailed you a package of photos in fulfillment of a promise of longstanding. Please see that the package is delivered to Mrs. Holl.

I note all you say about affairs at Minneapolis. I am specially pleased to know that Mayo is in the chair and that you also have got on the official harness. With such an official equipment as you now have I have no doubt the union will forge to the front. As a matter of course you found things in bad shape—about as I found the B. of L.F. when I accepted official duty. But you will pull through and in due course of time will make the union a glory forever. The jeers of those narrow minds to which you refer will turn to cheers before 12 months. I know the craven creatures. They lick success and kick defeat totally regardless of what they represent. They are such lickspittles as follow in the wake of their masters, kiss their foot-prints and licking their boots for such thrift as follows degenerate sycophancy.

You are level-headed on the subject of strikes. We want none for the present. We must devote our whole time and all of our energy and ability to the upbuilding and equipping of the order. At one year of age the A.R.U. shocked the country and jarred the world. It was not half organized and in no way prepared for the great contest. The railroads knew this and it was this that prompted them to force the issue. We shall take our time and have all our machinery in running order and have our men trained and drilled and educated for action.

I hope to see the unions at St. Paul and Minneapolis take advanced ground, reach out and all around set an example for that whole section. Now is the time to do the work and not a moment should be lost for even the most casual observer can see that all the resources of labor will [be] put to the severest test within probably the next 24 months unless workingmen have concluded to allow themselves to be crushed to atoms and ground into the dirt without protest.

I cannot say when I shall be able to be with you as I am doing some office work now of great importance. During the past fifteen

months the office has in many regards been neglected because of having been compelled to yield to more urgent demands. It is now my purpose to have the office thoroughly organized and systematized and lines laid in all directions so that in future we shall always be in close touch with every union and thus be able to harmonize, control and direct the entire membership from headquarters. Remember me most kindly to Mrs Holl. I think of you both very often. Some of these days it will be my good fortune to find myself once again in your sweet cottage home. Mrs. Debs joins in many good wishes,

Yours always,
Eugene V. Debs

TLS, TxU, Holl MSS.

EVD to Theodore Debs

June 16, 1895

Woodstock, Illinois

My dearest Kude:¹

Have your letter and have read it with greatest pleasure and satisfaction. Since reaching here on Wednesday² we have been so busy entertaining visitors and the mails have been so heavy that I haven't had a chance to write. Tell Benedict I have his letters & will answer soon. The weather is delightful and our quarters are very comfortable. Tell the folks I am in best of health and that everything is well with us.

There's a boy waiting to take this so as to catch the next mail.

My love & kisses to you all. Will write again soon.

Your devoted brother
Eugene

ALS, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. Debs's nickname for his brother, Theodore.

2. Six of the ARU officers—Keliher, Rogers, Elliott, Burns, Hogan, and Goodwin—were taken back to Woodstock on June 11; Debs returned there on June 12, explaining that he was delayed because of illness caused by "eating cucumbers."

EVD to Theodore Debs

June 27, 1895
Woodstock, Illinois

My Dear Kude:

Have yours of 25th and your statement for said date. It will not be necessary to send me a statement *daily* but I wish you would send one *weekly*, making it up say every Saturday afternoon, so I will get it Monday morning. I will then have the boys here bombard each point and I know we can work up a good deal of business that way. If [Wild?]¹ and Sherman² show no *returns*, we will advance them no more money & I have written Benedict to write them to that effect. We now must have *actual* returns or we will do our work from the office.

Send me a draft for \$60.00 payable to George Eckert to pay our board for 3 weeks ending Saturday the 29th. It is not quite 3 weeks, but we have agreed to make it so as Mr. Eckert treats us with great kindness. Thereafter, when you send your weekly statement, enclose with it a draft for \$20.00 payable to Geo. Eckert to settle our week's board. This will only last six weeks as the time of all but myself expires then & the whole expense will not be great.

The returns of 512 are O.K. Receipt for them & send their cards. The I.C. Co's product is for railroads & besides they are a railway Co. & operate their own roads.

Phelan³ has not succeeded in reinstating the discharged employes, but he will do well in getting the men lined up. Tell Benedict if there are no returns from St. Cloud to notify at once the President and any other members whose address he may have. Phelan writes me there must be something rotten as the men he has met there claim they have 125 paid up members. This should be attended to at once. Tell Louis to go to Butler⁴ at depot & pay my dues (B.L.F.) for quarter ending September 30th. This must be paid on or before 1st July. Hold receipt & make ticket against me. All well here & getting along splendidly. Time passes rapidly & will soon be up. Love to all and always

Your devoted brother
Eugene

ALS, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. Mark Wild was the ARU organizer for Indiana and Ohio.

2. Charles O. Sherman was an organizer for the ARU and later was general secretary of the United Metal Workers International Union, an AFL affiliate. In 1905, Sherman was chosen president of the newly founded Industrial Workers of the World.

3. Frank W. Phelan was a former railroad conductor from St. Louis whom Debs appointed to head the ARU during his imprisonment.

4. William J. Butler was an engineer at the Union Depot in Terre Haute. Like many other engineers, he had retained his membership in the BLF when he “moved from the left side to the right side” of the locomotive.

EVD to Theodore Debs

July 3, 1895

Woodstock, Illinois

My dear Kude:

Have your telegram this morning & have the express man posted & whatever comes will be delivered to me promptly. Enclosed find \$25.00 which credit to Legal Defense Fund from W. H. Harvey¹ & send me the receipt. He sent it for my personal use, but I told him I could not so accept it & would apply it to defense fund. This is the Harvey of “Coin’s financial School.” He’s a noble fellow.

By even mail I send you *Chicago Journal & Minneapolis Times* in which you will find articles from my pen. I’m litterly up to my eyes with work & can’t begin to keep up. The great papers are all demanding interviews, articles etc etc. If you have not yet shipped the supplies I ordered the other day send with it 50 of the big #11 envelopes with “Return to Eugene V. Debs” on the corner—also 200 newspaper wrappers. We will soon have the order booming & the money rolling in. Love & kisses to mother, Jennie & all.

Yours always
Eugene

Fred was here yesterday & will tell you all about it

Look for this week’s “Coming Nation”² & “Twentieth Century”³

ALS, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. William Hope (“Coin”) Harvey (1851-1936) was a leader in the Free Silver movement whose *Coin’s Financial School*, published in Chicago in 1894, described in simple language and with often glib reasoning the necessity for the unlimited coinage of silver as a solution to the nation’s economic problems.

2. The *Coming Nation* was founded in 1893 in Greensburg, Indiana, by Julius A. Wayland, later the publisher of the *Appeal to Reason*, whose editorial staff Debs joined in 1907. Debs’s article “The Coming Workingman” appeared in the July 13, 1895, issue of the *Coming Nation*.

3. Originally a religious weekly, *Twentieth Century*, under the editorship of Daniel O’Laughlin, became a leading reform periodical. Edward Bellamy was a regular contributor to the magazine, which broadcast the ideas of direct legislation, propor-

tional representation, and the co-op movement. Debs's article, "Liberty's Anniversary," appeared in the magazine's July 4 issue.

EVD to George A. Schilling

July 5, 1895
Woodstock, Illinois

My dear Schilling,

My wife is stopping at *Arlington Hotel* and I shall esteem it a favor to have your friends at Hot Springs¹ call on her. I have written Rev. Mr. Carwardine,² Pullman, requesting him to send you one of his books. You may quote and credit as reliable authority. I am flooded with correspondence and have found it necessary to employ a stenographer and type-writer.

Hope you reached home safely. Yesterday[']s] delightful visit is still fresh with me. Such wholesome regalement lifts us starward—to nobler elevations. In all your hopes, aspirations and high endeavors count me with you. I need not assure you it gives me pleasure to subscribe myself

Yours faithfully
Eugene V. Debs

ALS, IHi.

1. In a letter to Frank X. Holl on July 9, Debs explained that his wife was "in Hot Springs where she is being treated for Rheumatism." The *Arlington Hotel*, the largest and considered the best hotel in Hot Springs, was formally reopened in 1893 following a half-million-dollar renovation.

2. *The Pullman Strike*, published by the Rev. William H. Carwardine (1855-1929) in 1894, was a spirited defense of the strike and the ARU boycott that followed. Carwardine's sympathetic views toward the strikers brought threats against his life and censure from the leadership of the Methodist Episcopal church in Chicago. He was for twenty-five years religion editor of the *Chicago Herald-Examiner*.

EVD to Theodore Debs

July 8, 1895
Woodstock, Illinois

My dear Kude:

Have yours of 5th, also statement and receipt. Some time before the 29th inst. wish you would get a draft for \$243.70, as per enclosed

notice, & mail it to J. W. Harris¹ whose address is stamped on notice. If the money in bank to our credit will admit of it, draw that amount and charge it to my account. If not, let me know & I will write to Ben. Cox to let you have it. Wish you would send draft for \$20.00 to pay our board for week ending Saturday evening, July 6th. Also send \$25.00 and charge it to my personal account. I notice last statement is a little improvement on previous one and I'm certain this week's will go better [corner of page torn] We are now on the climb and [each week] will show better returns.

The picture of the "Geazer"² and myself is great. I have it before me & wouldn't swap it for the best farm in Illinois. Glad to know she is getting fat and that eight teeth are now in line for action. When you write Gertrude give her my love and through her let me be affectionately remembered to Mr. and Mrs. Toy³ and the family. Soon as you have a picture of baby and yourself to spare please send it to Kate. Address her *Arlington Hotel* Hot Springs. Wish you would see Mother Danaldson⁴ and remember me to her with profound tenderness and kindness. She is a dear old soul and although she is well advanced in years I shall hope it may be many years before I shall be called on to perform the sad duty to which her partiality has assigned me. I have mailed her copy of *Chicago Journal* and *Twentieth Century*. Have you seen the latter? I have some extra copies here of all these papers & if you will send me the address of Gertrude I will, unless you have already done so, mail her one of each. Have a most beautiful letter from a Denver gentleman which, when I have answered it, I will send you. I have written father three times & have the "chipperest" kind of answers from him. I know how loyal Gertrude is and no words in the language can express my appreciation. I'm going to get into the *Arena*⁵ next and then I'm going to make for the *North American Review*. Have you seen Sunday's *St. Louis Post Dispatch*? It hasn't come yet but should have a 2 or 3 column article the subject matter of which I wrote out myself. Tell Benedict the "ritual" copy will be mailed to-day or to-morrow. I'm chock full of business and the rest are all at work boring for an A.R.U. gusher.

Tell mother my health is better & I'm ~~better~~ heavier than ever in my life. Nearly one third of my time is gone by & the rest will go swiftly. Love and kisses to all.

Always your brother
Eugene

See that a receipt is returned for the N.Y. Life remittance.

ALS, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. Terre Haute agent for the New York Life Insurance Co.
2. Theodore Debs's daughter, Marguerite Debs Cooper (1894-1987).
3. Theodore Debs's wife, Gertrude, was the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Solomon J. Toy of Denver. Solomon Toy (1836-1901) amassed a fortune in real estate and mining interests in Colorado.
4. Sarah J. Danaldson died in Terre Haute on July 25, 1895, at the age of 89.
5. Debs's article, "The Significance of Labor Day," appeared in the October 1895 issue of the *Arena*.

EVD to Frank X. Holl

July 18, 1895
Woodstock, Illinois

My dear Frank:

Yours of the 12th, forwarded from Terre Haute, reached me today. Surely Mrs. Holl is not going to have her pains all over again about the picture. The one I have is a masterly achievement and unless there are reasons of your own for it I would not think of permitting Mrs. Holl to paint another. My favorite photo¹ is the one I sent Mrs. Holl in which I am standing, with my coat open and, I think, thrown back on one side. If that one has been marred I can have Theodore send another. There may be some objection to this picture that I know nothing about. Next to that picture I prefer the side view taken at Harrisburg. I would like to have the dress coat used in this if it should be selected. I prefer by all odds the one first suggested in which I stand leaning on a chair, coat open & one side thrown back. Perhaps the one you got was not a good one. I can promptly send another if desired.

We are all hard at work here from 6 A M to 10 P.M.—have a type-writer & stenographer & our work shop is the busiest you ever saw. We have strict rules and no "monkeying." You should see the piles of letters, pamphlets, documents etc. we are sending out. The A.R.U. is progressing grandly and is now striking into the Eastern country. We are making immense inroads into the old orders & they are practically dead. The portrait attracts immense attention and elicits numerous compliments and great praise. It grows stronger as the days go by and now seems like a living counterpart. Remember me to Mrs. Holl with the love and greeting of an elder brother.

Yours always
E. V. Debs

ALS, TxU, Holl MSS.

1. In Debs's letter to Anne Love Holl, Frank Holl's wife, dated April 25, 1895, he assured Mrs. Holl that he had "not forgotten the promised photo" and would be sending it "in a few days." The *Railway Times* sold, for twenty-five cents each, "handsome cabinet photographs" of Debs.

EVD to Terence V. Powderly

August 1, 1895

Woodstock, Illinois

My dear Mr. Powderly:—

We are getting out a Labor Day edition¹ of the "Railway Times," which is to excel all previous efforts. We desire an article from your pen of five hundred words, more or less, copy to be mailed to RAILWAY TIMES, TERRE HAUTE, IND. and to reach the office by Aug. 15th. If you can favor us we shall be forever grateful.

Very Truly Yours,
Eugene V. Debs

Dict. E. V. D.

TLS, DCU, Department of Archives and Manuscripts, Terence V. Powderly Papers.

1. The special edition carried short articles by an impressive array of contributors, including William Jennings Bryan, Henry Demarest Lloyd, Mary Elizabeth Lease, Coin Harvey, and others, but none by Powderly.

EVD to Jean Daniel Debs

1895

[Woodstock, Illinois]

My dear old Comrade:

It is not required I should say that your letter of the 28th gave me great pleasure and satisfaction. There isn't a line in it that doesn't flash and sparkle. Bully! At three score and ten you are tramping the highlands, with the partner of all your woes and joys by your side, a little warped and weatherbeaten, perhaps, but with steady and stately steps and heart throbbing forward marches to still greater elevations. Gods, what a sunset! The spectacle is inspiring and like the old soldier in the trenches, saluting his old regiment, I reverently uncover and wave my salutation. Its glorious to be young at 74. Better still, it's

sublime. The mark of genius is upon it. Mediocrity withers and croaks but genius everlastingly rejuvenates itself at the fountain of knowledge, which is the fountain of youth.

All you say about Emma touches a responsive chord. There is not on this planet a nobler specimen of womanhood. I agree with your conclusions on the subject of New York. The extremes of luxury and extravagance on the one hand and soul-harrowing poverty and wretchedness on the other are so great as to stagger credulity and create alarm. It can't remain so. The end is sure to come and when it does, the snobs and the whole plutocratic crew will think hell is loose. To the ear attuned, the mutterings can already be heard and they are "skating on mighty thin ice," *I tell you* — You may rest assured that when the storm breaks I will be in it — I received the paper you sent me from George Francis Train.¹ Poor fellow has a screw loose but he's full of the electric flashes of genius & properly connected would be one of the great men of the world. Do you remember the time you and I (and somebody else I can't remember) went to the Dowling Hall² to hear Geo. Francis Train speak? I was a kid and fell asleep. I remember it all very well but forget who was with us. It was about 26 or 27 years ago —

Note what you say about the pictures, yours & Theo's and mine. Thank you from my heart for your thoughtfulness. You never forget. I'm anxious to see them all but will be patient till Christmas. You say "the flies have nothing in common with the pictures." That's good enough for Bill Nye³ and I have laughed about it several times and will to-night, when the lamp is lighted, read it to the boys.⁴ It was a happy suggestion too about the fellow who wrote from "heaven." An answer from the opposite end would be eminently proper.

Too bad about Col. Hunter.⁵ He had some excellent qualities & was always a good friend of ours. I received a beautiful letter from his son Robert⁶ the very day before his death. Note what you say about papers & will have lots for you from now on. Have a lot here, but have not yet had time to go through them. When you read some of the accounts you will throw your head back, pull your hat down over your eyes like Col. Maynard⁷ and look around for somebody to knock a chip from your shoulder.

You can *bet* that there are no flies on Col. Maynard these days. He's got a fight on hand at Indianapolis by introducing a resolution in the Hendricks club⁸ denouncing the Court and many of the judges belonging to it. But he says he'll clean out the whole d — — d capoodle

& I'll bet he'll do it. I affectionately kiss you and mother at long range and press you in my arms in fancy till I can in fact.

While the stars shine

Your son *without a flicker*
Eugene

ALS, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. George Francis Train (1829-1904) was a railroad construction promoter in the United States, Europe, Asia, and Australia; a leader in the commune at Marseilles in 1870; a record-holding (sixty days) round-the-world traveler; a public lecturer; and the author of a dozen books, most of which described his varied and flamboyant career.

2. Next to the Opera House, Terre Haute's leading public auditorium.

3. Edgar Wilson Nye (1850-96) was one of the most popular humorists of his time. His early fame rested on the sketches he published in his *Laramie* (Wyoming) *Boomerang* between 1881 and 1885, and he became a national figure after joining the *New York World* in 1887. From 1885 to 1890, Nye and James Whitcomb Riley lectured together on the lyceum circuit. Bald and bespectacled, Nye often was said to resemble Debs.

4. Sylvester Keliher, Louis Rogers, Martin J. Elliott, William E. Burns, James Hogan, and Roy Goodwin, officers and directors of the ARU, were sentenced to three-month terms in the Woodstock jail.

5. William Robert Hunter (1830-95) was the owner of a Terre Haute carriage and buggy manufacturing firm.

6. Wiles Robert Hunter (1874-1942) was a native of Terre Haute whose home was only a few blocks from Debs's home. Hunter became actively involved in the social settlement movement of the day in the United States and England. His best-known book, *Poverty*, which appeared in 1904, was based on his experiences in New York and Chicago settlement work. In 1905 he joined the Socialist party, ran as the party's candidate for governor of Connecticut in 1910, and regularly wrote for the socialist press until he left the party in 1914.

7. Jacob Beckwith Maynard (1819-1902) was the chief editorial writer for the *Indianapolis Sentinel* whose friendship with Debs dated back to the 1883 annual convention of the BLF, at which Maynard was a principal speaker.

8. The Hendricks Club in Indianapolis was a Democratic party social-political club named for Thomas A. Hendricks, Grover Cleveland's first-term vice-president from Indiana.

John McBride¹ to EVD

August 3, 1895

[unknown]

My Dear Debs:—

In reply to yours of 1st allow me to say that I shall endeavor to comply with your request and furnish a short article² for the Railway

Times, providing, of course, that time permits of my doing so before the 15th. inst.

I trust that the health of yourself and the members of your Board who are confined with you is in excellent condition.

I also desire to assure you that the indications from all sources evidence the fact that the cause you represent has lost and will lose nothing by your imprisonment, which is recognized by all men who love freedom, as pure and unadulterated persecution.

Kindly yours,
John McBride
President A.F. of L.

TLc, DLC, Gompers Letterbooks.

1. John McBride (1854-1917) was one of the founders of the United Mine Workers of America in 1890 and became president of the union in 1892. He was at this time serving his one-year term as president of the AFL and lost to Samuel Gompers by eighteen votes his bid for reelection to the post in 1895.

2. McBride's article, "A New Declaration," compared the American Declaration of Independence with the workers' demands for better wages and working conditions.

James Whitcomb Riley to EVD

August 6, 1895
Indianapolis, Indiana

Dear old friend:

It's mighty glad your cheery letter makes me, with its "rushing flume," "whirring spindles," "shifting shuttles," and the rest of our moving oratory's darling timber. It reminds me gloriously of our old sessions of delight, which, please God, we're to have over and over again, as wholesomely as ever in the rapturous past. But just now I'm virtually bound hand and foot from any *near* hope of answering your good request for your "Railway Times"¹—being, aside from engaged magazine work, at labor on two separate books—else I should at least make an *attempt* at some just and worthy contribution, honoring, in most reverent Longfellow spirit,

"The nobility of labor, the long pedigree of toil."

But you will be patient with me, I know—just as you are patient with everything—and hale of soul and stout of heart.

With this I venture to send you a copy of the best book I've read in last ten years—Ian McClaren's "Beside the Bonny Brier Bush."²

Do, please, *don't have* read it long ere my copy reaches you—as I want to give you this vast and all enduring ecstasy myself.

As always your faithful and affectionate friend,
James Whitcomb Riley.

AL, InU, Lilly Library, Riley MSS.

1. Riley's poems were regular features of the *Railway Times*.

2. John Watson (1850-1907) was a Scottish clergyman and writer who used the pseudonym Ian Maclaren. *Beside the Bonnie Brier Bush* was published in 1894.

EVD to Theodore Debs

August 8, 1895

[Woodstock, Illinois]

My dear Kude:

Have yours of 7th with receipt etc. Tell Col. Maynard¹ he is to get \$100. for August in addition to the \$50. already sent him. I wanted him to have that \$50. for he has been working for us since way last December on small pay. We'll have money soon. I'm sure that Goodwin & Hogan² who are to take in the Great Northern & Canadian Pacific, station by station, & take time enough to work each point thoroughly, will turn in money. Have word this A M that Local No 1 at Chicago will take in 38 {new} members at next meeting. We will soon have them coming with a rush. Glad you'll wash Fay,³ old man. Some day when you're in jail I'll give Swift⁴ a turkish bath. Enclosed I hand you page from *Minneapolis Tribune* with a short article by me on the "Coming Woman."⁵ I have special reasons for wishing that article reproduced in next *Sundays Express*.⁶ Take it to old man Allen⁷ or George Allen⁸ & ask them to get it in. I know they will *gladly* do it. Benedict can attend to it, or even Louis. I have special reasons for wanting it in that issue. Two weeks from today the boys leave.⁹ I'm in the finest trim in the world—weigh 185½ & work like hell—am in better physical shape than ever in my life.

Yours all over—
Eugene

ALS, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. Jacob Maynard's poems were printed in the *Railway Times*, but the nature of his other services to the ARU is not known.

2. James Hogan was the youngest of the ARU officers imprisoned at Woodstock. Born in Maine in 1867, Hogan was a brakeman and a conductor before joining the

ARU as an organizer in 1893. He was elected a director of the union at its June 1894 convention.

3. Debs's hunting dog.

4. Theodore Debs's dog.

5. "The Coming Woman," printed in the *Tribune* on July 28, predicted "the dawn of the day . . . when women will wear the crown of citizenship and sovereignty."

6. The *Terre Haute Sunday Express* printed "The Coming Woman" on August 12, 1895.

7. Charles Henry Allen (1830-1907) had served for twenty years on the *Washington Post* before going to Terre Haute to become proprietor of the *Terre Haute Express*.

8. George Allen (1853-1901) succeeded his father as editor and proprietor of the *Express*.

9. The three-month terms of Keliher, Goodwin, Hogan, Elliott, Rogers, and Burns expired on August 22.

EVD to Samuel Huston¹

August 15, 1895
Woodstock, Illinois

My dear Sir and Friend:—

I have received a very pitiable story from Ellen M. Lappin, now an inmate of the Vigo County Jail. She informs me she is but 16 years of age, a mere child I should judge and that she is in jail on a charge of larceny because of her failure to give bond. I, of course, know nothing of the merits of the case but have written her saying I knew you well and would write to you in her behalf. If her story is true, or but half true, it seems harsh to have imprisoned her under the circumstances. I know you will not suffer her to be subjected to a wrong and yet in your multifarious duties I thought the case might have escaped your personal attention and hence this letter. I am quite sure it is only necessary you should understand the case to insure justice being done. With cordial regards and best wishes, I am,

Yours Very Truly,
Eugene V. Debs

Dict. E. V. D.

TLS, EVD Foundation, Debs Home.

1. Samuel Huston was elected Terre Haute prosecuting attorney in 1894. In May 1894 he had delivered the welcoming address in Terre Haute on the occasion of Debs's return from the successful prosecution of the Great Northern strike.

EVD to Theodore Debs

August 16, 1895

Woodstock, Illinois

My dear Kude:

We have just held final Board meeting & will need to start men with money as follows:

L. W. Rogers	225
James Hogan	125
Sylvester Keliher	125
M. J. Elliott ¹	125
R. M. Goodwin	100
W. E. Burns ²	75
Total	<u>\$77500</u>

Make tickets against each as above & send separate drafts. Each director is to send in more money than he draws. We are *sure* of future. By Jan'y 1st we will have more money than we have use for. Just now we have got to strain a point. We are *dead sure* of coming right for the whole world is bound to come our way.

If you can't get [refund?] ([ten words scratched out—illegible]) go to Ben Cox & get amt. of money you are short to send drafts for directors. Send soon for the boys leave here *early* Thursday A.M. 22nd. Have a mail that would surprise you. By all the gods in a bunch we are coming.

Yours
Eugene

Arnold³ wants to know if, as press said, I had made serious charges against old brotherhoods. I have salivated him you bet—

ALS, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. Martin J. Elliot was born in Pennsylvania in 1860. He had worked as a miner in that state and in Colorado and as a switchman and brakeman on railroads in Wyoming and Montana before joining and being elected a director of the ARU in 1894.

2. A native of Maryland, William E. Burns celebrated his thirty-ninth birthday on the day of his release from Woodstock on August 22, 1894. He had been a locomotive fireman and active member of the BLF during all his adult working career before his election to the ARU's board of directors in 1894.

3. Frank W. Arnold, Debs's successor as grand secretary-treasurer of the BLF.

EVD to Henry Demarest Lloyd

August 27, 1895
Woodstock, Illinois

My dear Mr. Lloyd,

Your favor of the 13th was duly received. I beg you to excuse me for not answering more promptly as I have been literally deluged with correspondence during the past few weeks and I have been utterly unable to answer my letters with any degree of promptness.

First of all I must thank you in behalf of my associates for your great kindness in sending each of them a copy of your book.¹ In answer to your inquiry I beg to say that you missed but one of them, *Roy M. Goodwin, 672 Harriet St. Winona, Minn.* They were all greatly pleased to receive the book from you, for besides the personal compliment which they fully appreciate, the work will be of immense value to them.

Next I must thank you for your kindness in sending an article to the Labor Day edition of the *Railway Times*.² This seems like imposition and I feel that we have overtaxed your generosity, but permit me to assure you that we are not wanting in gratitude and that we shall esteem it a privilege to serve you at any time and in any way in our power. The *Times* shines much brighter because of your excellent contribution and I am sure that thousands will read it with profit and satisfaction. I will send you half dozen copies and as many more as you may wish will be forwarded with pleasure.

I shall at my earliest leisure read the book you sent me. For the present I am kept busy 16 hours a day with my correspondence and Labor Day writings.

Our imprisonment, it seems to me, will not be without its compensations. Unless I mistake all the signs the people are *beginning* to wake up. Their patience and endurance defies characterization and yet I believe the limit has almost been reached. The last two decisions of the Supreme Court³ were most fortunate and are having their effect.

I look for some interesting developments soon after the sun of the new century lights the world.

With cordial esteem and a thousand good wishes I am

Yours faithfully
Eugene V. Debs

ALS, WHi, Lloyd Papers.

1. *Wealth Against Commonwealth*.

2. Lloyd's article, "Boomerang Law," traced the conflict of liberty and despotism from the American Revolution through the abolition of slavery to the imprisonment of Debs.

3. In the *E.C. Knight* decision, with only Justice Harlan dissenting, the court had ruled that the nearly monopolistic "sugar trust" was not a violation of the Sherman Act and beyond the power of congressional control, and in the *Pollock* decision the court ruled that the income-tax provision of the Wilson-Gorman Tariff of 1894 was unconstitutional. The decisions were condemned by Debs in *Railway Times* as "pre-saging the destruction of our free institutions."

EVD to Samuel Huston

August 31, 1895
Woodstock, Illinois

My dear friend:—

Your favor of the 30th in answer to my communication in reference to Ella Lappin, has been received and I thank you for your courteous explanation in the matter. Since writing you I have noticed by the papers, which come to me from Terre Haute, that hers is a most curious case and I concluded from the public statements, which you now substantially verify, that she was probably demented and irresponsible. She has since written me another letter but I have not answered it. I felt and knew that if she was the victim of unfortunate circumstances and especially of tender age, that you would not suffer any wrong to be done her so far as undue or harsh punishment was concerned. My object in writing was to have the case brought to your personal attention and now that I know this has been done, I have no suggestion to offer, feeling perfectly satisfied that you will do what in justice should be done in the matter. Please accept my thanks for your kind words in allusion to myself personally and with kind regards and with best wishes, I am,

Yours very truly,
Eugene V. Debs

Dict. E. V. D.

TLS, EVD Foundation, Debs Home.

Agreement: EVD, Thomas J. Morgan, J. Keir Hardie, and Frank Smith

September 4, 1895
Woodstock, Illinois

McHENRY COUNTY JAIL

Woodstock, Ill. Sept. 4th., 1895

We, the undersigned, hereby agree to organize the International Bureau of Correspondence and Agitation.

OBJECT.

To bring into active and harmonious relation all organizations and persons favorable to the establishment of the Industrial Commonwealth founded upon collective ownership of the means of production and distribution.

[Signed] Thomas J. Morgan¹
J. Keir Hardie²
Eugene V. Debs
Frank Smith³

Provisional Officers.

Eugene V. Debs, President.
J. Keir Hardie, Vice President.
Thomas J. Morgan, Secretary.
Frank Smith, Assistant Secretary.

TDS, IU, Illinois Historical Survey, Thomas J. Morgan Papers.

1. Thomas John Morgan (1847-1912), a native of England, became active in the American labor movement during the depression following the panic of 1873 and was an organizer of the Chicago Trade and Labor Assembly, a member of the Socialist Labor party, and that party's candidate for mayor of Chicago in 1891. Later, Morgan was the Socialist party's candidate for a number of offices in Chicago and Illinois and was the editor of *The Provoker*.

2. J. Keir Hardie (1856-1915), a native of Scotland, was a co-founder of the English Independent Labour party and won election to Parliament as that party's candidate in 1891. Defeated in the 1895 election he returned to Parliament in 1900 and in 1906 was chosen to head the growing Labour party delegation in Parliament. As controversial in England as Debs was in America, Hardie gave Debs a copy of one of Karl Kautsky's books on socialism during his visit to Woodstock. After Hardie's visit, Debs described him to a *Chicago Chronicle* reporter as "a socialist of the constructive school."

3. Frank Smith was Hardie's private secretary. He accompanied Hardie on his visit to Debs at Woodstock.

EVD to Jean Daniel Debs

September 8, 1895

Woodstock, Illinois

My darling old Comrade:

Your good and cheerly letter of the 14th duly reached me and I have had you in mind constantly ever since, but to save my life I haven't had a chance to answer. My mail is enormous and the visitors are so numerous that with my best efforts I find it impossible to answer all my letters. Labor Day was the one eventful day of all my life. The love and devotion of my countrymen poured and roared and rushed in at every crevice of my jail quarters. I haven't time to write nor could I begin to describe the bristling, stirring, soothing, cheering, inspiring incidents with which [the] day was pregnant from early dawn till late at night. I send you a few papers. This morning's Chicago *Tribune* devotes two pages to me. One article on "Debs for President" and the other "Eugene Victor Debs at Woodstock."¹ The latter article is illustrated. The writer spent two days here. The paper is the intensest foe I have, but it finds it necessary to give me space without limit. I think this paper would be what you want to send to Europe. I will get some, if they are to be had, & send them on. Swinton said in his Auditorium speech at Chicago:—"Eugene Victor Debs is worthy to succeed Jefferson, Jackson Lincoln and the "Father of his Country"—he is much like the last of these and greatest of them all." I note all you say and I'm with you this instant. I can "hear your heart throb in unison with my own. My fancy serves me well and often I'm in the old kitchen with my arms about you and Mother trying to kiss you both at once. George Francis Train writes me of you most charmingly. He says: "Like sire, like son." Right you are about taking a few hunts. I'll be with you Nov. 22nd and between then & January 1st we must go out half a dozen times, or one day each week. And we'll not play *Will Dorsey* on the rabbits. Gods, but when you & I get at them their cotton will fly. We will make it so hot for them that they'll think the world's a fire. We'll keep Ma busy putting them in vinegar and later on our chops, like "the mills of the gods" will begin to grind and keep it up at regular intervals through the long, dreary days of winter.

Kate is with me, but she is rheumatic. I'm afraid she's an invalid.

She looks well but many days she is totally helpless & sometimes she suffers frightfully. A little later, I want mother to come & spend two or three weeks with me. Tell Eugenie I received & greatly enjoyed her lovely letter. My kisses are on your lips and my love is always with you. Till the sun goes out & the stars fall

Yours in devotion
Eugene

ALS, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. The latter described how Debs "spends his time in work and enjoys many liberties" at Woodstock.

EVD to Theodore Debs

September 10, 1895
Woodstock, Illinois

My dear Kude:—

Your favor of the 9th has been received. Enclosed I hand you receipt. Have noted statement of weeks business which indicates some improvement. This month will undoubtedly show a large increase, not only because our men are again in the field but on account of the railroad business which is now at its best. Yes, I wish you to send a weekly statement to each director. This was ordered at the meeting of the board just before the boys left here. You can have them made in manifold on the type-writer. This will enable each director to see what the other directors are doing, for it can be determined by the returns who is doing business and who is not and the agreement was that those, if any, who could not show up in *actual results* must drop out and I will see to it that this was done. Each man now stands on his merits and if he cant do business, we will not have to carry him. So dont fail to send out a weekly statement to each director. I have written a pointed letter to Burns about the postal operators and ordered an immediate and thorough investigation. He is to write to you direct. If you do not hear from there in a satisfactory manner within a week let me know. No card is to be issued to any man under any circumstances unless he lost his job in the Pullman strike and is still out of work. If the 37 operators did not pay, they get no cards and I will raise the devil about their having been admitted. I have given Burns full instructions and you will hear from him. We want no repetition of the old way of doing business. I am aware that Dr Gerstemeyer¹ is our friend. He has always stood by us. This is easy

to account for. The doctor is a man of brains; he does not run altogether to sawdust. You might come over here for a hunt during the latter part of November. They tell me there are quite a number of chickens about here. You might come and stay in jail while I go out hunting. Will write to Mike Carey.² Of course I know now who he is.

Yours as ever,
Eugene

Dict. E. V. D.

TLS, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. Dr. Charles Gerstemeyer (1844-1922) was a native of Germany and graduated from Ohio Medical College in 1867. When he moved to Terre Haute in 1875, he organized the Vigo County Medical Society. During Debs's 1912 presidential campaign, Dr. Gerstemeyer was one of a number of prominent Terre Haute residents who wrote articles praising Debs in a pamphlet, *What Debs's Neighbors Say About Him*. In his contribution Gerstemeyer called Debs "a friend [who] is strictly honorable and more than honest in his dealings with his fellowmen."

2. Debs first knew Michael Carey when Carey was a brakeman on the Vandalia line. Carey was at this time an express agent at the Terre Haute depot.

EVD to Theodore Debs

September 10, 1895
Woodstock, Illinois

My dear Kude:—

Please send me by first mail two hundred two cent stamps and one hundred one cent stamps. I must have these to mail out my acknowledgements, so hurry them along. Hand enclosed letter from Kurzdorfer¹ to Jennie and have her answer it at once and send him copy of circular four, copy of Labor Day Times and write him a stirring letter. His union is dead but he can be carried as a member of the General Union. Jennie can tell him what amount to remit. He should be able to get us a few subscriptions beside his own. Who is Parker,² writer of enclosed? Is he not a member of the A.R.U.? Have lately had several letters from Terre Haute members who want to reorganize. I wish this done if possible before I return. Have Louis see a few of them about holding a preliminary meeting. They could use the office for this purpose. Surely they can get ten together and elect officers and get things started. On my return we will hold a corking meeting under A.R.U. auspices, which will put them on the boom. I am in communication with several good men at Indianapolis

and will soon have them going there. Have a letter from Keliher this morning. He has established his office and is beginning to put them in. He guarantees big results in the next 30 days. Have Louis pay my B. of L.F. dues for the quarter ending Dec. 31st. This payment must be made before Oct. 1st. Send the receipt here. Love to all. Hope father and mother are well.

As ever,
Eugene

Dict. E. V. D.

TLS, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. The destruction and loss of most of the records of the ARU have made it impossible to identify many of the members mentioned in Debs's letters written from Woodstock during this period.

2. John A. Parker was chairman of the state committee of the People's party in Kentucky. He sent Debs a copy of a resolution deploring his imprisonment passed at a party meeting in Paducah on September 3, 1895.

EVD to Frank X. Holl

September 28, 1895
Woodstock, Illinois

My dear Holl:—

Enclosed find promised article for our friend, Lundberg. I assume his paper is still running. If not please return the article I had not forgotten my promise but I have been pressed for every minute of time I have had here and I could not possibly write sooner. You will be gratified to know that the A.R.U. is sweeping through the Eastern States like a prairie fire. We now have four unions working in Buffalo. One of these took in 110 paid members in one evening, a day or two ago. We also have four unions in Philadelphia. All over the country the A.R.U. is carrying things as if by storm. The Labor Day demonstration gave us a tremendous boom. The A.R.U. was cheered everywhere. At Chicago, the A.R.U. boys in line received a continuous ovation from the assembled thousands and as a result all our unions there are again in full blast and Burns writes me he has more business than he can do. No use trying to down the A.R.U. It cant be done. The blacklist of the General Managers¹ was the boomerang that helped us more than anything else. The railroad men are leaving the old orders as the leaves drop from the trees in the autumn winds. Mrs

Debs is here and joins in kindest remembrance to yourself and Mrs Holl. As ever and always,

Yours faithfully,
Eugene V. Debs

Dict. E. V. D.

TLS, T_xU, Holl MSS.

1. Following the Pullman boycott, thousands of ARU members were dismissed and blacklisted by the railroads affiliated with the General Managers Association in Chicago.

EVD to Theodore Debs

October 11, 1895
Woodstock, Illinois

My dear Kude:

Have 3 your letters of 9th. Busy as devil & will have to rush this. Send me Walton's¹ address if you have it on Firemen's mail list. The old man is with us at last. Will have Keler in soon.

Sherman² or Bruce will be at Terre Haute by the 20th ready to start for Atlanta. Give him the route & such papers as you have. He can doubtless organize Birmingham, Algiers, New Orleans etc. Tell Benedict to make a note of everything in that section, so that when Sherman arrives he can give him "lay-out." Write Boatf[illegible] send him some literature. Ry. [Times?] etc. Write Grimes also to address Welter gives & send him a few documents, *Times* etc. Send Welter some circulars about organizing, charter applications constitutions & a pckge of *Times* for distribution. You need not write him as I will do so. Hand enclosed letter to Sherman when he comes.

Send me 4 copies Ry. *Times Oct. 1st* and 2 copies of Sept. 16

Tell Benedict his letter of 9th is here & it's O.K. — Tell him Board did make taking of "*Times*" compulsory in all cases where applicants are attached to Genl. Union. I explained this to him in my last.

You remember I sent you a letter some time ago from Denver to send to Gertrude to find out if the Toys knew the writer. Have you got that letter yet? If so, please send it to me.

Damn near crazy with work. Its simply hell to keep up with all the God damned calls of every description, visitors etc. that find their way here. Love to Gertrude & all

Your brother
Eugene

ALS, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. Henry Walton of Philadelphia was a member of the grand executive board of the BLF.

2. Charles O. Sherman of Chicago was described in *Railway Times* on May 1, 1895, as "a first rank organizer" for the ARU. He was elected president of the Industrial Workers of the World in 1905.

EVD to Theodore Debs

October 28, 1895
Woodstock, Illinois

My dear Kude:—

4.15 P.M.

Yours of the 26th and 27th have been received. Please have Jennie write to Lusby whose letter I enclose, and tell him how to get his card renewed. He can be attached to General Union. Perhaps he may get some subscribers and otherwise help us. Have her ask if he can not organize a union there.

Send me one copy each of "Railway Times" of each issue from Sept. 2nd to date and six copies of the issue of Nov. 1st.

Send A. H. Spencer, mentioned in Johnson's letter, 3 circulars of instruction about organizing, 3 constitutions, a couple of applications for charter and 3 or 4 copies of the "Railway Times" with a subscription blank. I have written him from here. Referring to Williamson, the other man he mentions, Bassett sent his name some days ago and I wrote him then and ordered some supplies sent him. Tell Benedict to send Johnson an organizers credential and otherwise fit him out as an organizer, allowing him same commission as the others receive. Tell Johnson for me that I ordered him appointed as organizer. He is a valuable man as well as a hustler and on account of being an engineer can reach engineers and firemen. Tell him to turn loose and do what he can towards organizing and getting subscriptions for the TIMES.

I have examined financial statement and will write Directors.

DeAkers¹ is the man whose address I wanted.

I will see that you get the copies of the "Press" hereafter.

Note that you have not yet called on Ben Cox for the money. Don't do so now and destroy the order I sent you. I have myself borrowed some money and want to get the amount you need from another source. John Hill² will let me have what is needed. Let me know how

much you will want and I will have it sent at once. Am very much in a hurry.

As ever,
Eugene (Y)

Dict. E. V. D.

TLS, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. Robert L. DeAkers helped organize the American Telegraph Union in New York City in March 1895 "upon the same general principles as the American Railway Union." *Railway Times*, May 1, 1895.

2. John Alexander Hill (1858-1916) was editor and publisher of the *Locomotive Engineer* during the years Debs edited the *BLF Magazine*, in the August 1889 issue of which Debs published a biographical sketch of Hill, whose life, Debs said, "ought to be accepted by thousands of firemen as an example." Hill later amassed a fortune through his inventions for the railroad and mining industries and in publishing. In "Debs at Elmhurst" (*Debs Magazine*, January 1923), Debs recalled his long friendship with Hill (who became president of McGraw-Hill Publishing Company) and the fact that, "during railroad union troubles [Debs] could always borrow an unlimited amount from Mr. Hill, with the assurance that there was no necessity to return the loan."

EVD to Theodore Debs

November 5, 1895

Woodstock, Illinois

My dear Kude:

Yours recd. No, don't send another dollar. I had just written Keliher refusing him money. All requests for money tell them you haven't got a dollar & that you have got to refer the requests to me. If the G.N.¹ men want to fight let them put up their own money. We put up all the money we had for them in '94 and as soon as they got their pay raised they let the order go to the devil. Sorry you sent that hundred, but let it go. I told Keliher he would have to raise money enough to [support?] himself. Don't send another dollar to any of them unless I notify you to that effect. I have written them all & they must understand that they have got to do something themselves. We can't carry any dead-weights. Schwerzgen² told me they took in 21 men in No1 a few days ago, all men that are working. Did you get their capita tax? If not tell Ben³ to write Burns & ask him why it has not been sent—tell Ben to write Burns that I wrote to inquire if it had been {received} ~~sent~~ & if not to call on him to know if it had been sent.

I sent you an order on Ben for \$100.—Let me know how much

more you will need *at once*. I have written you about this but you have not answered. Let me know immediately.

Tell Benedict to tell the committee⁴ that I will return via Indianapolis at 6-45, that I have business at latter place & will return that way.

Had a beautiful birthday.⁵ Schwerzgen has just left here. The "reception" will be an "eye-opener." There will be such an outpouring as to startle the natives. You come so as to reach here Wednesday evening. Leave there Wednesday 5 A M & get here that evening.

Love and kisses to all,

Your devoted brother
Eugene

ALS, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. Great Northern.
2. Joseph H. Schwerzgen was an ARU organizer working under William Burns in Chicago and chairman of the committee planning the reception for Debs in Chicago following his release from Woodstock on November 22.
3. Louis Benedict, the ARU secretary.
4. The Terre Haute committee planning a reception for Debs upon his return to Terre Haute.
5. November 5 was Debs's birthday.

EVD to Eugenie Debs Selby

November 5, 1895
Woodstock, Illinois

My darling Sister:

Your dear letter of the 4th is with me. My heart is burdened with a sense of gratitude {and} affection no words can express. The "box" came and I divined that you and mother had prepared the contents. This day the jail is a temple in which the holiest emotions of the heart and soul have refuge. On this 40th anniversary neither iron bars nor distance separate us. Our hearts are linked together indissolubly until all are dust. Forty years! In toil and tears it is a long time, but measured by its joys it is as a flash. What shall the future bring? We shall [be] the future! We shall see. Certain I am that it will be all I [am] capable of making it. Not a scar or blemish shall there be upon it so far as I am concerned.

The outer affairs of life are serious—it has been with me a perpetual struggle but it has also had its compensations. The inner life, the home [life] is the sustaining element. We must make this as beau-

tiful as love and constancy can make it. We must *all* be in closest touch, in warmest sympathy, and vitalize and strengthen one another in every hour of trial. I am gratified beyond expression to hear {of} Howley's¹ wonderful improvement. Kiss him for me several times. Tell him I [am] proud to hear such reports of my nephew and on my return I shall want to have him a long time all to myself. Bart (the stenographer & secretary while Gene was serving his six months in Woodstock Jail. I'm not sure, but I believe the name in its entirety, was Bart Young, but I am not certain of the family name² — Theodore Debs) is pleased and proud to have to have cake by your special direction. He is a noble-hearted {boy} and knows each and all in our whole family. He is going to Chicago on the day of my release. Joe Schwerzgen and his wife are coming today. He will make final arrangements for the 22nd. The [“]Reception[”] will be “an eye-opener” and no mistake. I shall be delighted to see you at Chicago. We can see about this {a little later.} We are to have the good things you sent for Dinner today. As all feast we will think of you with grateful hearts.

Thank Mary for her goodness in sending the cake and Robert³ and all.

Be assured that I am thinking of you all. I have written to Kate and to you and my thoughts are with you in all the circling hours of this day.

With loves and kisses, abiding, and enduring, I am always

Your devoted brother
Eugene V. Debs

Transcript by Theodore Debs, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. Howard Debs Selby, Eugenie's son.

2. Debs's letter to Theodore on November 10, 1895, instructs him to send a “draft for BC Young.”

3. Robert Heintz, Debs's nephew.

EVD to Thomas J. Morgan

November 5, 1895

Woodstock, Illinois

My dear Friend: —

Your favor of the 4th is received and I thank you for your kind and approving words in reference to {my letter to} the Trade & Labor Assembly of Chicago.

I shall be obliged to decline taking hold in connection with the

Bureau of Correspondence¹ etc. I am besieged with visitors and overwhelmed with work. Indeed, the exactions are such that I am utterly unable to meet demands. To make announcement of the organization at this time would bring on an endless train of inquiry and involve ceaseless explanation which I have not the time to make. My head and hands are already full to overflowing. The accumulations of a year now confront me in my official affairs and I shall have to give them attention to the exclusion of all others. I prefer to tender my resignation in favor of some one who can give some time to it. It is physically impossible for me to take on any more burdens at present.

With sincere regards,

Yours faithfully,
Eugene V. Debs
(Y)

Dict E. V. D.

TLS (typed signature), IU, Illinois Historical Survey, Thomas J. Morgan Papers.

1. The International Bureau of Correspondence and Agitation proposed in the document signed by Debs during J. Keir Hardie's visit to Woodstock on September 4, 1895.

EVD to Theodore Debs

November 10, 1895

[Woodstock, Illinois]

My dear old Kayouldle,

Have report for wk. ending Nov. 10. It is not brilliant, but its not bad. I have looked up & compared reports for past 4 wks. & find that in capita tax & ad. fees we are getting in an average of 130 or 140 new members a week which is not bad. We will get them coming more and more. At heart the men are with us & they'll come to us soon as they get a show.

Send me one of the blank receipts such as you send with draft for B C Young. I have money enough to pay him & will make the receipt & send it to you, so you will not need send any more money here. Did you get the \$1000 check I sent Benedict from O'Donnell, Boston? When you come here Kate will give you my overcoat and a pair of shoes. Pls. bring them with you. Wish you would leave Terre Haute at 5 A.M. Wednesday the 20th, so as to get here Wednesday evening at 6.45. The Demonstration at Chicago will open your eyes old man,

sure as you're born. The "*people*" are with us against the world, the flesh & the devil.

Give my love & kisses to Gertrude & to all the folks.

With a swipe in the lip & a poke in the eye

Yours all the time

Eugene

[sketch of a quail]

Ask Pa if he cant do something in the sausage line—I'm hungry for one of pa's sausages as a she wolf—actually think I could eat a string long as a cable line—

ALS, InTI, Debs Collection.

EVD to Theodore Debs

November 15, 1895

Woodstock, Illinois

My dear old Kude:

Yours of 14th recd & noted. Send Hogan the \$50.00 *at once*. I have borrowed \$400.00 from John Hill & Ed. Schmidt¹ which will be here in a day or two & I will send it to you. On my return to Terre Haute I shall borrow a thousand dollars & place it to our credit, so we will have something to do business with. I know the order will go when I get among them & *I am going among them old man as I never did before*. It will *be all business* with [me] from the 22^d on till my days are ended—and don't you forget it. Buffalo says one speech there will surely give them 200 new members & I believe it. Note what you say about Big Four to Indianapolis which is O.K.—

Here's a real picture of my quail [sketch of a quail, feet in the air, and double barrels of a gun, firing]

See how many shot struck him? And see the feathers fly? Didn't have room for the gun.

Tell dear old Dad to get his gun ready for by the gods we're going out every nice day till the season is over.

You don't know how glad I'll be to see your d——d old bugle turn the corner. You leave Chicago at 3.30 via Chicago & Northwestern (Wells St. Depot) and get here at 5.45 Wednesday evening & I will have Bart Young at depot to meet you. If there should be any change let me know as I will look for you at 5.45 Wednesday evening.

Why didn't you send me blank receipt I asked for? Send at once—

I have money to settle with stenographer & want blank receipt to fill out so I can pay him for this month & take his receipt.

I'll jump your structure on sight. Love & kisses to Gertrude & Marguerite. Gods I'll be happy to see that kid.

Your brother
Eugene

ALS, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. Edward Schmidt (1859-1915), who served in the Indiana General Assembly with Debs in 1885, amassed a fortune in real estate and brewery interests in Indianapolis.

EVD to Theodore Debs

November 17, 1895
Woodstock, Illinois

My dear Kude:

Enclosed find draft for \$200.00. Have Louis cash it and take \$10000 to Kate *at once* and place \$100. to the credit of your A.R.U. account. I will get another draft for \$200. from John Hill in a day or two which I will send if it comes in time to reach you before you leave. Hand enclosed clipping to father. Everything is O.K. here and I'm laying for you with a big club. Love to Gertrude. Kindest & sweetest [home?]-love to father & mother and "Stern."¹

Your brother
Eugene

ALS, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. Debs's sister, Louise.

EVD to George A. Schilling

December 13, 1895
Terre Haute, Indiana

My Dear Schilling:

I have received the complimentary souvenir volume of your report¹ for which please accept my best thanks. I have examined the contents and have no hesitancy in declaring it one of the very best reports of

its kind ever issued. It is something more and vastly better than a mere statistical report. It is filled with vital facts clearly and cogently stated and will be a great help to workers in the reform movement. [Above paragraph circled and marked: "Important"]

I have also to acknowledge receipt of the magnificent address of Governor Altgeld at Chickamanga.² It rings in every line and sentiment with patriotism and statesmanship of the highest order. The Governor is steadily expanding in mental and moral proportions and is now universally conceded to be one of the truly great men of the republic.

Renewing my assurances of fraternal regard and sincere esteem, I am, always,

Yours faithfully,
Eugene V. Debs

TLS, IHi.

1. Twenty thousand copies of Schilling's *Biennial Report on Taxation* (1895) were printed to satisfy public demand for it.

2. Altgeld's address given at the dedication of the Civil War battlefield "to the uses of a National Park."

EVD to Theodore Debs

January 9, 1896
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

My dear Theo,

Enclosed find draft for \$5250. Send receipt for \$50. to Wm Vogt, Treas. Federated Trades Council Milwaukee. See list of subscribers enclosed. You will note that 5 of them for 6 Mos. are paid & I send \$2.50 for them, making total remittance \$52.50. ~~3 subscribers~~. Four subscribers have not paid but are O.K. — Send them the paper & after they have received 2 copies, mail each of them a bill for his subscription & they will remit. They didn't have the money with them. Hogan got above subscribers.

Have just obligated a Wisconsin Central Switchman (who is working) who came from Waukesha for that purpose. I collected \$1.50 from him & will send his name & money with my next. Hold a R.R. meeting here at 1 P.M. tomorrow & expect to get a few members at least. Meeting last night was a mammoth affair. The ovation can not be described. The audience was one of the most magnificent that ever congregated in Milwaukee. The vast hall was packed to the doors &

hundreds turned away and not a soul of the 4000 people left till at 11 P.M. the last word of my two hours speech died on my lips. The uproar {& enthusiasm} that followed made it impossible to call for subscribers, but I shall try this at other points. Receipt for the \$50.00 as "Lecture account"—In haste—

Love to all.
Eugene

Early and late the visitors pour in—

ALS, InTI, Debs Collection.

EVD to Henry Demarest Lloyd

February 1, 1896
Terre Haute, Indiana

My Dear Mr. Lloyd:

Returning after several weeks absence I find your kind note of the 2nd instant awaiting me. I note particularly what you say in reference to the marked article in Thos. Watson's¹ "People's Party Paper." I agree with you entirely that Mr. Watson has no rational conception of what "Socialism" really is, and it is not likely that his tirade will injure those against whom it is directed any more than it will help himself. I do not permit myself to be much disturbed by self-appointed censors. Permit me to thank you most cordially for your kindness in the matter. In my travels I meet very many of your friends and admirers to whom I am proud to be able to say that I number you among my personal friends. I feel profoundly grateful to you for many valued favors received at your hands and beg you to believe that I should esteem it a privilege to be of service to you at any time and in any way in my power. Believe me always,

Faithfully your friend,
Eugene V. Debs

TLS, WHi, Lloyd Papers.

1. Thomas Edward Watson (1856-1922) was elected to one term in Congress in 1890 as a Farmers' Alliance candidate from Georgia, became a leading spokesman for the southern wing of the Populist party, and was that party's candidate for the vice-presidency in 1896 on a fusion ticket with William Jennings Bryan. From 1893 to 1921, when he returned to Washington as United States senator from Georgia, Watson devoted most of his time to writing (biographies of Jefferson, Jackson, Bonaparte), publishing (*Tom Watson's Magazine*, *Watson's Jeffersonian Magazine*, the *Weekly Jeffersonian*), and periodic candidacies for office on the declining Populist party ticket.

His racism, religious bigotry, and nativism contributed to the revival of the Ku Klux Klan.

EVD to Frank X. Holl

March 24, 1896

Terre Haute, Indiana

My Dear Holl:

Yours of the 17th is just received and all you say is noted with interest. Some days ago I wrote to Mrs. Holl in answer to a letter received from her and this has doubtless reached you ere this. My long absence from home will account for the delay. I regretted very much having missed seeing Miss Love at Atlanta. I fully intended calling on Dr. Love,¹ but found it impossible to do so. I was only there for a short while and I was so besieged with visitors that I did not have a moment's leisure. It was exceedingly kind in the young lady to call and had I not been pressed up to the very time of leaving I should have called in person and made my acknowledgments. In my letter to Mrs. Holl I asked her to make my apologies in her next letter to her good people and this I doubt not she will do if she has not already done so. I would not have Mrs. Holl's family suspect for even an instant that I lack either in appreciation, gratitude or good manners.

I have read the clippings. The G.N. men are reaping what they have sown. With an ingratitude which seems monstrous they kicked their benefactor, the A.R.U., and spat upon it and now they are being kicked and spat upon, and they have got to take it. They invited just what they are receiving and should blame no one but themselves. They worked directly against the A.R.U. and in the interest of the company and now they must look to the company for redress for their grievances. I would not have been cruel enough to have inflicted such treatment upon the men as they have inflicted upon themselves. Were I guilty of such a crime I am inclined to believe I would commit suicide. The A.R.U. put hundreds of thousands of dollars into their pockets² and to accomplish this for them it strained every nerve and exhausted all its resources, financial and otherwise, and as soon as they had what they wanted they turned against the order and when a little later it had another battle for the right they renounced and denounced it and abandoned it to its fate. And now they are simply harvesting their own apostacy. Perhaps they will profit by the experience. It is to be hoped so. You will be glad to know that the order

is building up again more rapidly than at any time in its history. In the southern states the oldest men in the service are flocking to us. They have been treated just as the men have on the G.N. and their orders have not even lifted a finger to help them. The oldest engineers and conductors in that section are joining our order. I am glad to know you are to call on Mr. Gronlund.³ By all means call on and cultivate him. I regard him as one of the brainiest men of our times. When you see him present him my compliments and my warmest regards. I hope you will also see our friend Blackman when you can. He is a loyal heart and I am sure you will like him. I am quite aware of Mrs. Holl's unvarying kindness and unwavering friendship and I feel myself in her debt for many a defense nobly made when I was assailed. I need not assure you and your good wife that I shall never forget. Mrs. Debs joins me in love and best wishes, and hoping this finds you in the enjoyment of all things that make life worth the living, I am, as ever,

Yours faithfully,
Eugene V. Debs

TLS, TxU, Holl MSS.

1. Sister and father of Anne Love Holl, Frank Holl's wife. Dr. William Graham Love was an Atlanta physician specializing in diseases of women and children.

2. During the Great Northern strike in April 1894.

3. Laurence Gronlund (1846-99) was born and educated in Denmark and emigrated to the United States in 1867. His *Cooperative Commonwealth* (1884) was the first comprehensive work in English on socialism and Debs told the Pullman Strike Commission in August 1894 that his ideas had come from Gronlund rather than Marx.

EVD to Jean Daniel Debs and Marguerite Bettrich Debs

May 29, 1896
Memphis, Tennessee

My precious old Darlings:

We are gradually rounding the circuit & will soon be in your arms again. We have had admirable success & our health is unimpaired, although the heat has been intense. This morning before Kude was awake I caught him by the nose & made him apologize for the numerous grievances I had stored against him. Tell Jennie I recd. her letter & have noted contents with great satisfaction. She has done &

is doing nobly. I will not take time to answer as I shall be home in a few days.

Kude joins in love & kisses to you all. We have you in mind & heart all the time.

With all my heart

Your devoted son
Eugene

ALS, InTI, Debs Collection.

EVD to August McCraith¹

June 9, 1896

Terre Haute, Indiana

My Dear Sir and Brother:

I beg to hand you herewith communications from Mr. Gates,² our advertising agent, which will explain themselves. Please treat these documents as confidential. I have informed Mr. Gates that we cannot reinsert the ad in question without the sanction of the organization of Tobacco Workers³ and of the A.F. of L. Please inform me if there has been any change in the status of the case and if the boycott is still in effect, and if so, what chances there are, if any, for a settlement. If the boycott is still in effect the ad will remain out until the matter is settled to the satisfaction of your organization. Any information you can give me upon this subject will be appreciated. With cordial regards to yourself and associates, I remain,

Yours fraternally,
Eugene V. Debs

P.S. —

Please return enclosures.

TLS, WHi, AFL Papers.

1. August McCraith was secretary of the AFL.

2. William N. Gates of Cleveland was advertising agent for both the *BLF Magazine* and the ARU's *Railway Times*. His letter to Debs on May 9, 1896, had justified the *Railway Times*'s acceptance of an American Tobacco Company advertisement of "Seal of North Carolina Short Plug," in part on the grounds that he had "never met gentlemen more frank and sincere than the officers of the A.T. Co."

3. In its campaign to organize the American Tobacco Company, the National Tobacco Workers Union, an AFL affiliate, called for a boycott of American Tobacco products.

EVD to Henry Demarest Lloyd

July 25, 1896

Terre Haute, Indiana

PLEASE DO NOT PERMIT USE OF MY NAME FOR NOMINATION.¹

E V DEBS

Telegram, WHi, Lloyd Papers.

1. In 1894 and again in 1896, Debs was urged to run for governor of Indiana on the People's party ticket. Lloyd was a delegate to the party's national convention in St. Louis, where Debs had strong support for the party's presidential nomination. In the end, the convention endorsed Bryan for president and Tom Watson for vice-president.

EVD to William Jennings Bryan¹

July 27, 1896

Terre Haute, Indiana

My dear Mr. Bryan,

With millions of others of your countrymen I congratulate you most heartily upon being the People's standard bearer in the great uprising of the masses against the classes. You are at this hour the hope of the Republic—the central figure of the civilized world. In the arduous campaign before you the millions will rally to your standard and you will lead them to glorious victory. The people love and trust you—they believe in you as you believe in them, and under your administration the rule of the money power will be broken and the gold barons of Europe will no longer run the American government.

With all good wishes
believe me always

Yours faithfully
Eugene V. Debs

P.S.— Mr. Fitzgerald Murphy² has just stepped in and joins in cordial greeting.

ALS, DLC, Bryan MSS.

1. William Jennings Bryan (1860-1925) had served in Congress as a Democratic member from Nebraska from 1891 to 1895. He was the presidential candidate of both the Populist and Democratic parties in 1896 and the Democratic candidate (and

Debs's opponent) in 1900 and 1908. Bryan's defeat by William McKinley in 1896 was a contributing factor in Debs's public endorsement of socialism the following year.

2. Fitzgerald Murphy was born in Ireland in 1869 and came to the United States in 1882. He worked as a printer's devil on John Boyle O'Reilly's *Pilot* before joining the *New York Morning Journal* as a reporter. Murphy's poetry and his plays (in several of which he acted) enjoyed great popularity at the turn of the century.

EVD to Jean Daniel Debs and Marguerite Bettrich Debs

October 12, 1896

Chicago, Illinois

My old Darlings:

Send you papers this morning. Have spoken here 6 times & the people are wild with enthusiasm. It beats all I ever saw. Last night thousands fought like tigers to shake my hand. It is indescribable. Such exhibitions of love & devotion, men & women & children I never witnessed. I speak 3 times tonight & at each place thousands will be unable to get in.

Don't let Em.¹ go till I get back. I'm heartily sorry I didn't get to see her again before leaving. In this fight we are going to win & don't forget it.

I'm with you though far away.

Love & kisses to you all.

Your devoted son
Eugene

ALS, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. Debs's sister, Emily Mailloux, lived in New York City.

EVD to James Whitcomb Riley

November 16, 1896

Terre Haute, Indiana

My dear Riley,

On my return after an extended absence I was delighted to find a copy of your "Child-World"¹ awaiting me. Mrs. Debs and I feel greatly honored to be thus remembered. The "Child-World" is filled

from cover to cover with exquisite things, and how much we have enjoyed its treasures, I need not attempt to say. You have long since achieved fame by your incomparable literary work but your chief glory, as I believe, is in your having won your way by right divine to the heart of childhood, and you will have an abiding place there while the "Child-World" endures.

Thanking you for Mrs. Debs and myself for this priceless token and assuring you of our affectionate esteem, I remain

Yours always,
E. V. Debs

ALS, InU, Lilly Library, Riley MSS.

1. Riley's *A Child-World* was published in October 1896.

EVD to Henry Demarest Lloyd

December 12, 1896
Terre Haute, Indiana

My dear Mr. Lloyd:

I desire to see you soon after New Year¹ to advise with you in regard to the situation and the outlook and plans for the future. I have a matter of importance upon which I would like to have your views. Please let me know if you will probably be at home during the month of January. We can decide on definite date later on. I hope this finds you in good health and spirits.

Yours faithfully,
E. V. Debs

TLS, WHi, Lloyd Papers.

1. In the January 1, 1897, issue of *Railway Times*, Debs announced that he was a socialist, had long held "socialist convictions," and was finally convinced by McKinley's recent victory over Bryan that the ballot under capitalism could not serve workers' interests.

EVD to B. Fay Mills¹

December 24, 1896
Terre Haute, Indiana

My Dear Sir:

Absence from the city has prevented an earlier acknowledgment of your esteemed favor of the 12th. inst. containing the letter of

introduction from our mutual friend, Mr. Henry D. Lloyd. In reply to your inquiry I beg to say that I will be here during the next few days and then I shall leave for Leadville, Colo., in obedience to a call from the miners who are engaged in a strike there. How long I shall be obliged to remain there I do not know but probably not to exceed a week or ten days. I then expect to return here and with the exception of a few short trips, to points in this vicinity, to remain here until spring. I have read with special interest what Mr. Lloyd has to say in his letter of introduction and earnestly hope I may have the pleasure of meeting you at a not distant day. I shall be in Chicago in a few days on my way to Colorado and shall probably have an opportunity of meeting Mr. Lloyd. Should you visit there or any other point in this vicinity and will let me know I will try to arrange to see you. With best wishes. I remain

Sincerely Yours,
Eugene V. Debs

TLS, WHi, Lloyd Papers.

1. Benjamin Fay Mills (1857-1916) was a Congregational church minister and popular evangelist who left the church in 1897 to lead independent New Thought church groups in Boston, Oakland, Los Angeles, and Chicago before reentering the orthodox clergy as a Presbyterian minister in 1915. A number of Mills's books traced his religious odyssey.

EVD to Frank X. Holl

May 31, 1897

Terre Haute, Indiana

My dear Frank:

Yours of the 25th. with enclosure is received. I did not get to California and that is why I failed to receive Mrs. Holl's beautiful letter. I got no farther than Salt Lake. All you say is particularly noted. Wish most heartily you could be at convention.¹ Nearly all the eminent reformers will be there. The convention will take decided action. The time has past for resolutioning. Glad you are in touch with Blackman and Adams² and I am satisfied you will take care of that section. After the convention we will have a definite programme.³ The whole country is stirred up over the new movement. The large Eastern papers will have special correspondents on the ground. When you get next issue of Times you will see my last New York Journal letter. Am preparing another syndicate letter for middle state section. Glad Mr.

and Mrs. Gronlund were your guests. He has a clear heart [*sic*] in alliance with a noble heart. When you see him again give him my warmest regards. Mrs. Holl's kindness touches me deeply. I think of her as a dear, sweet sister. Give her my love. You will pardon my haste as I am fairly overwhelmed with work incident to the near approach of the convention which promises to be the most celebrated event of its kind in history. How much I appreciate the noble spirit of your letter no words can express.

An old and tried friend, next to woman, is God's best gift to man.

Yours always
Eugene V. Debs

Mrs. Debs and all of us send cordial greetings—
Theodore joins me in love to you & Mrs. Holl

TLS, TxU, Holl MSS.

1. The ARU convention at Handel Hall in Chicago on June 15, 1897, was attended by only a few dozen delegates, most of them ARU officers, and its chief order of business was to dissolve the ARU and create the Social Democracy of America, forerunner of the Social Democratic party (1898) and the Socialist party (1901).

2. W. P. C. Adams was an organizer for the ARU on the Central Pacific at the time of the Pullman Strike.

3. The short-lived Social Democracy of America adopted a utopian plan that sought to create a socialist colony in a sparsely settled western state, dominate the state, and eventually spread throughout the nation. Debs agreed to undertake an extensive speaking tour to raise funds for the new organization.

EVD to Henry Demarest Lloyd

July 10, 1897
Chicago, Illinois

YOU ARE OUR UNANIMOUS CHOICE FOR MEMBER OF COLONIZATION COMMISSION.¹ WILL YOU ACCEPT? IF POSSIBLE WOULD LIKE TO SEE YOU PERSONALLY ON THIS, EXPLAINING IMPORTANT MATTERS ANSWER TRADE BUILDING CHICAGO

EUGENE V. DEBS

Telegram, WHi, Lloyd Papers.

1. In February 1897, Lloyd had been one of the founders of the Brotherhood of the Cooperative Commonwealth. Its colonization plan was adopted the following June in Chicago by the newly formed Social Democracy of America, which created a commission to implement the plan.

EVD to Ignatius Donnelly¹

August 17, 1898

Terre Haute, Indiana

My dear Friend:

Your esteemed favor of the 11th inst has been received. In reply I beg to say that for two months past I have been unable on account of illness to give attention to my usual duties and it is not probably that I will be able to leave here for several weeks to come. I note your kind and urgent invitation to attend the meeting to be held at Cincinnati² on the 5th prox, but it is not at all probable that I can be present. To be candid with you I have little faith in the ability of the delegates to agree upon any definite plan of action. I am giving my whole time to the work of uniting Socialists and the task requires all the endurance at my command. When it comes to trying to unite Populists, Single Taxers, Labor Exchangers, Direct Legislationists etc etc it simply cannot be done and all time given to such efforts is wasted. The tendency is toward Socialism and I think it far better to make this fact clear and to unite those who grasp the true principles than to seek a union of elements who are at all the intermediary stages between capitalism and Socialism and who in this state are as difficult to harmonize as if they still adhered to the old parties.

But coming from you, the invitation is a strong incentive to my going and while unable to promise, if conditions are favorable I will do myself the pleasure of meeting you when the convention assembles.

Believe me always

Yours faithfully
Eugene V. Debs

ALS (in hand of Katherine Metzel Debs), MnHi, Ignatius Donnelly Papers.

1. Ignatius Donnelly (1831-1901) served three terms as a Republican member of Congress from Minnesota (1863-69) before leaving that party to become successively a liberal Republican, Granger, and Greenbacker before helping to create the People's party, for which he wrote the famous preamble to the 1892 Omaha Platform. A popular orator and writer, Donnelly's *Caesar's Column* (1891) was compared to Belamy's *Looking Backward* and rivaled it in popularity. After 1896, Donnelly was a leader of the Middle of the Road Populists and ran on their ticket as a vice-presidential candidate in 1900.

2. The Middle of the Road Populist convention, meeting in Cincinnati on September 5, 1898, chose Donnelly as chairman and, as Debs feared, agreed on little else, except to oppose fusion with Democrats and run an independent ticket in 1900.

James Whitcomb Riley to EVD

November 6, 1898

Boston, Massachusetts

My dear "Gene"

Thank you with all my heart for your hail across the spaces! Am here in advance of this city's date (the Eleventh), to meet near-lying ones at Worcester, Lowell, Hartford etc. Mighty good success has met us in our way—in every instance indeed we've "played packed houses," as the *prof's's'nl* phrase goes. — same to *you* continuously! is my prayer.

Glad through and through that you so cordially endorse the portrait—and it is the very best we've ever struck. Though I can't give you *details*—such as process, prices, and the like, I can commend you, for particulars, to our Artist and publishers:—*Potter, Photographer*, and *The Bowen Merrill Co.*, all of Indianapolis. Think the *publishers* can give you all particulars, as I know our portraits and programmes come direct from them. Say I have advised you to address them. As ever your old friend.

James Whitcomb Riley

ALS, InU, Lilly Library, Riley Mss.

Henry Demarest Lloyd to EVD

November 26, 1898

Winnetka, Illinois

My dear Mr. Debs:

I am going in a few weeks to Australia and New Zealand, to make a study there of their political and social novelties in Progressive Taxation, Land and Labor Legislation, Public Ownership, &c.,¹ I think that in this field I can get the most striking social phenomena of that province of political self-help which is the complement of that domestic or private self-help which I studied in the world of Labor Copartnership.²

One of the principal subjects of my investigations there will be the political power which the working-men of Australia and New Zealand have obtained and the use which they have made of it in turning the functions of government to equalizing the conditions of Labor and Capital and giving the working-men such an economic footing that

they are not there, as they are in this country, the mere bell-boys of the business men.

If I can serve you in any way in Australia, I shall be glad to do it by making inquiries or in any other way; and if you have any correspondents or acquaintance there to whom you can give me a card of introduction, I shall be very glad to receive it, as I know that the name of Mr. Debs is an open sesame the world over.

Faithfully yours,
[Henry Demarest Lloyd]

TLc, WHi, Lloyd Papers.

1. Lloyd's *A Country Without Strikes*, published in 1900, was based on his investigations in New Zealand and Australia, which led him to support compulsory arbitration of industrial disputes.

2. *Labour Copartnership* (1898) grew out of Lloyd's visit to England the preceding year.

EVD to Henry Demarest Lloyd

December 3, 1898

Terre Haute, Indiana

My dear Mr. Lloyd:

Absence from home has prevented an earlier acknowledgment of your esteemed favor of the 26th ult. For your kindness in offering to be of service on the trip you propose taking to Australia and New Zealand, I beg you to accept my best thanks. I have some friends in those countries whose names and addresses I would be glad to give you, but unfortunately my files are not at hand and I am obliged to hasten away to meet a series of engagements in Iowa. I hand you a general letter which may perhaps serve the purpose intended. If you have a little leisure, let me suggest that you call on my brother, Theodore Debs, Room 56. 126 Washington St. Chicago¹ and he may be able to give you the names and addresses of some of our correspondents, especially those editing reform papers or connected with Labor organizations. My brother can also give you my dates in case you wish to reach me. I shall, of course, be most happy to serve you in any way I can.

If possible, I shall do myself the pleasure [of] seeing you before your departure for the antipodes, where, I do not doubt, you will find a fallow field awaiting you.

With all good wishes to yourself and Mrs. Lloyd in which Mrs. Debs joins cordially, I remain,

Yours always,
Eugene V. Debs

ALS, WHi, Lloyd Papers.

1. Theodore Debs had moved his family to Chicago and was serving as secretary-treasurer of the new Social Democratic party, which had been formed the preceding June in Chicago by the Berger faction of the Social Democracy of America. Eugene Debs was named to the executive board of the new organization, which set aside the colonization plan of the SDA and adopted political action as its strategy and "Pure Socialism and No Compromise" as its goal.

Samuel Milton Jones¹ to EVD

December 30, 1898
Toledo, Ohio

My dear Mr. Debs:

For a long time I have thought I would drop you a line. I do not like to use a war simile, because I do not believe in war, but for the want of something better I will say that it is a good idea for the sentinels to exchange words of encouragement occasionally between the firing. I am glad to note from the published references that I see of you now and then that the truth that you are standing and speaking for is taking hold upon the hearts of the people. I was especially pleased at the reception you received in the East and in Massachusetts particularly. I saw some very encouraging extracts from the SPRING-FIELD REPUBLICAN.

I enclose an editorial clipping from the NEW YORK JOURNAL having reference to my annual message to the Common Council, in order that you may see that it is somewhat socialistic. I also send you, under another cover, the Christmas literature that we distributed among the employees at the factory.

I am very glad to know that you are to be here in February, and can promise you in advance a royal welcome and good big house full of people to talk to. Socialism has made tremendous strides in Toledo in the past two years. I have announced that I am again a candidate for re-election, and in reply to the question, stated I would accept the nomination from the republican party if they chose to give it to me, but whether they did or not, I would be a candidate any way. I may be wrong, but I feel that the thing for me to do is to work for

the truths of socialism where I am, in the church, in the lodge, or in the party; somehow I do not seem to be led into a new party just yet. I do not think the fact that I am not so led can be attributed to any selfish motive that I am nursing within my breast. You know I have stood here for non-partisan politics and I continue to stand so. Neither the republican machine nor the democratic machine, both of course purely capitalistic, have any use for me, or rather for the principles of equality that I advocate, and both are doing their best to defeat my re-election. I have no thought, however, that they will be successful; I believe that Socialism has gained tremendously in Toledo in the past year, and that the people will line up and vote for it at the poles [*sic*] when they have the chance.

I am going to Boston and New York and will make some addresses at both places during January. Anticipating with pleasure having the opportunity of talking these matters over at greater length when you come to Toledo, and again assuring you of a warm welcome, I am

Very faithfully yours,

S. M. Jones

TLS, OT, Jones Papers.

1. Samuel Milton Jones (1846-1904) was a native of Wales who was brought to the United States by his parents in 1849 and, with little formal education, amassed a fortune in the oil industry in Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Indiana, and Ohio. In his management of the Acme Sucker-Rod Company, founded in Toledo in 1893 to produce an improved oil-extraction device, he introduced a number of reforms—the eight-hour day, paid vacations, a minimum wage, the abolition of piecework and child labor—that were called socialistic by his opponents and applauded by the reformers of the time. Known as Golden Rule Jones, he was elected Republican mayor of Toledo in 1897, but his municipal-government reform policies—the eight-hour day and minimum wages for city employees, a merit system, public parks, and kindergartens among them—led to his repudiation by the Republicans. He was elected mayor of Toledo as an independent candidate in 1899, 1901, and 1903.

EVD to Henry Demarest Lloyd

January 7, 1899

Terre Haute, Indiana

My dear Mr. Lloyd:

The copy of "Labor Copartnership" kindly sent by your publishers at your request has been received for which I beg you to accept my thanks. I have also received the Brochures you were kind enough to send all of which I shall examine with care at my earliest leisure and

I do not doubt I shall find them of substantial value. I often have occasion to quote from your "Wealth against Commonwealth" and your authority always dismisses doubt and silences controversy.

Thanking you again and again I remain,

Yours very truly,
Eugene V. Debs.
K.

ALS (in hand of Katherine Metzel Debs, including signature), WHi, Lloyd Papers.

EVD to Samuel Milton Jones

March 6, 1899
Terre Haute, Indiana

My dear Mr. Jones:

Your telegram has been received and I am not surprised that you have been defeated for the nomination. As I told you when last I saw you I would have been surprised had you not been defeated. To be candid with you I am glad you did not receive the nomination. The Republican party is an organized conspiracy against the working class and you have no place in it any more than it has use for you. So the only way the Republican party could have honored you was by refusing you a nomination and having done this, you have my congratulations. You will, no doubt, run as an independent candidate. I need not say that you have my best wishes for a triumphant re-election. Permit me to express the hope that you can see your way clear to announce yourself a Social Democrat and place yourself squarely as such before the people of Toledo. You will not only strike terror to the Republican machine, but your campaign against the brutality and corruption of Capitalism will appeal to the whole country and inspire the people everywhere with new hope and fresh courage in their sad and weary struggle for emancipation from the thraldoms of the ages. Now, less than ever before, should there be compromising or trimming, even for the sake of high office. It is Capitalism or Socialism and I believe that with the issue clearly and courageously made, you can and will be elected in spite of all the power and boodle of plutocracy.

Believe me always

Yours fraternally,
Eugene V. Debs

ALS, OT, Jones Papers.

EVD to Mr. Thomas¹

March 15, 1899

Terre Haute, Indiana

Dear Mr. Thomas:

Your kind favor of the 13th with enclosures has been received. Thank you most warmly for your kindness in sending the invitations to Mr. and Mrs. Mailloux² and also for the one you enclosed for Mrs. Debs. I regret to say that Mrs. Debs will be unable to accompany me, but your kindness in extending the invitation is fully appreciated by her as well as myself and both of us heartily thank you—

Pardon the liberty I take in asking if the invitation intended for Mrs. Debs can be issued to Mrs. Mary E. Lease.³ Mrs. Lease is the guest of my sister, Mrs. Mailloux, and specially interested in the subject to be discussed, and I hope you will not consider me indelicate in asking that an invitation be extended to her, provided it is agreeable and will cause no embarrassment.

I shall be delighted to look through Mills Hotel⁴ with you. Thanking you again and again I am

Very truly yours,
Eugene V. Debs

ALS, EVD Foundation, Debs Home.

1. A native of England, John Lloyd Thomas (1857-1925) was secretary of the Nineteenth Century Club in New York City. The club was "an association of ladies and gentlemen, meeting together socially with their guests and not opening their doors to the public," for debates and lectures on current issues. Debs participated in a discussion of "What Is the Effect of Prison Labor upon Trade and Industry?" during a club meeting at Delmonico's on March 21, 1899.

2. Debs's sister, Emily, and her husband, Cyprien Odilon Mailloux, lived in New York City.

3. Mary Elizabeth Cylens Lease (1853-1933) was born in New York but grew up in Kansas and was admitted to that state's bar in 1885. She was one of the most sought-after Populist orators during the 1890s, and her advice to Kansas farmers to "raise less corn and more hell" was widely quoted. In 1897 she moved to New York City to join the staff of the *New York World* and to take part in numerous reform causes, birth control, prohibition, and woman suffrage among them.

4. The Mills Hotel was on Bleeker Street in New York City. Thomas was manager of the hotel and other Mills hotels and model dwellings in New York.

EVD to Samuel Milton Jones

April 4, 1899

Marion, Indiana

ACCEPT MY HEARTIEST CONGRATULATIONS UPON WHAT HAPPENED
TO JONES¹

EUGENE V DEBS.

Telegram, OT, Jones Papers.

1. Jones was reelected mayor of Toledo on April 3, 1899.

Samuel Milton Jones to EVD

June 22, 1899

Toledo, Ohio

My dear Mr. Debs:

I have been wondering if you could not make it convenient to spend a Sunday in Toledo with us and speak at Golden Rule Park, our corner lot where we have been having Sunday afternoon meetings for the last three years. If you will be able to plan some of your trips during the summer so as to drop off and spend Sunday here. I will be very glad to have you do so, and, of course, you have large audiences wherever you go.

I am anxious to have a long talk with you at the first opportunity and get your views of the situation and your opinion as to the progress that is being made towards industrial freedom. I suppose you know I have entirely cut loose from any affiliation with political parties. I am preaching Principle before party and trying, as best I know how, to practice it. This does not mean that I do not believe in organization; it is simply a denial of any part in the competitive idea; I can see nothing but evil connected with it, and do not believe there is any necessity for such a thing as party machine—at least, it does not appear to me now that there is. I do not see any short cut or cross lots way to socialism, and, the more carefully I study it, the more I am convinced that our question is purely a moral one, and our only hope lies in the education of the people. If I ever had any faith in the idea of coercion, of government resting upon physical force, I have lost it.

There is a growing demand, already very pronounced, for an in-

dependent movement in this state this fall with me as a candidate for governor.¹ I can regard an undertaking of that kind in no other way than with great dread on account of the great mental and physical trial that is involved. The innumerable army of submerged and disinherited that swoop down upon one who is brought into prominence as I have been, make a burden that {well} might make the stoutest heart quail to think of bearing. Because I plead their cause, they fancy I have some magic way of administering relief, and this, you know, is a simple absurdity. But much as I dread it, if the sentiment becomes so pronounced as to convince me that it is a matter of duty, I shall make the undertaking, and this is {one} particular thing that I would like to talk to you about and get your view on the question.

Will you have the kindness to let me know your programme of dates for the next few weeks? I have heard that you do not intend to go to the Buffalo Conference.² I wish you might be there; perhaps they might all be converted to your kind of socialism; I think it is a pretty good kind myself.

With sincere regards, I am

Very faithfully yours,
S. M. Jones

TLS, OT, Jones Papers.

1. During the summer, Jones acceded to the demand and launched an unsuccessful campaign for governor of Ohio as an independent candidate.

2. The National Social and Political Conference, held in Buffalo, New York, July 1-4, 1899, attracted delegates from the major and minor parties and from a variety of reform groups. Benjamin Fay Mills, who was chairman of the conference, called on Debs to represent the views of the new Social Democratic party, but Debs "did not respond," according to a *New York Times* story (July 1, 1899), so the new party's policies were presented to the conference by Corinne Brown of Chicago.

Julius A. Wayland¹ to Theodore Debs

June 28, 1899
Girard, Kansas

Private

Bro. Debs,

From my watch tower, I think it would be well for the SDP to drop the farmer's plank.² It is the one thing many socialists object to in the party—foolish, I think, but then we must take the people as we find them. I believe in changing tactics every day if it will advance the cause. I do not think it will draw a single farmer vote. If a farmer

is a socialist he will know that he needs no special care and will get none until the whole are uplifted. This will be good politics as I see it from my view of the field and none have a higher chair than the Appeal³ gives me.

If the SDP boys don't feel good at the position of the Appeal they must [be?] dead in the shell. The SLP⁴ will go to pieces before the end of the year. We are starting a row in a dozen places over the boycott.⁵ They made a mistake and will find it out. So far the income of the Appeal is not hurt by the move and the receipts are slowly increasing.

Kindly present my views to a few of the SDP workers.

J. A. Wayland

P.S.

I will send you by prepaid express today or tomorrow, a thousand or two of Appeals with a headline adv for the Herald.⁶ Put these where they will do some good to the cause if not to the Herald or Appeal.

J. A. Wayland

TLS, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. Julius Augustus Wayland (1854-1912) was born in Versailles, Indiana, and, after prospering in real estate in Colorado in the early 1890s, founded the *Coming Nation* in Greensburg, Indiana, in 1893. Debs wrote for both the *Coming Nation* and the *Appeal to Reason*, which Wayland launched in 1895. The *Appeal* eventually became the most influential and widely read socialist paper in the country and Debs served on its editorial staff in Girard, Kansas, from 1907 to 1913.

2. The Social Democratic party in 1898 had included in its platform "Five Demands for Farmers"—leasing public land to farmers, uniform rates for farm shipments, road improvement, and irrigation funds, etc.—but these were deleted in a party referendum in 1899.

3. The *Appeal to Reason*.

4. The Socialist Labor party (SLP) was organized in 1877, succeeding the Social Democratic Workingmen's party, and was a Marxist party from the outset. Dominated by Daniel DeLeon from 1892, when DeLeon became editor of the party's paper, *The People*, until his death in 1914, the SLP remained small in numbers but regularly ran presidential candidates and constantly denounced the ideologically less rigid Social Democratic party (SDP) and its successor (in 1901), the Socialist Party of America.

5. In the *Appeal to Reason* on June 24, 1899, Wayland noted that the SLP was "sending out members to organize boycotts of the Appeal."

6. At the organizational meeting of the Social Democratic party in June 1898, the ARU's *Railway Times* became the *Social Democratic Herald*.

Theodore Debs to Julius A. Wayland

July 6, 1899

Terre Haute, Indiana

My dear Comrade;—

Your valuable favor of the 28th. ult. has been received and carefully noted. I have refrained from answering until I could express myself more decidedly in reference to the Farmer's plank. After having consulted with several of my near associates including Brother Eugene I can say that we are in perfect accord with your views. Our conference¹ meets today and I am inclined to believe that the elimination of this plank will be agreed upon. With you we realize that the supreme demand at this hour is a clear-cut platform without an element of adulteration in it. We appreciate fully your kindness in imparting your views to us so candidly and wish to assure you that any suggestions you may have to offer will always be gratefully accepted. I do not flatter you when I say that our confidence in your integrity as a Socialist is absolute. Permit me to express the hope that in the not distant future you will yourself be a member of our party and give us the full benefit of your counsel and co-operation.

Accept our hearty congratulations upon the last issue of the Appeal. In the language of the day it is a "hummer." How socialists throughout the country will delight and how the bosses in Gotham will howl. Truly the day of Socialism in the United States is dawning. More strength to the Appeal and its courageous Editor.

A thousand thanks for the Appeals you were kind enough to send. Rest assured that they will be placed where they will do most good.

Yours fraternally
Theodore Debs

TLC, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. The national executive board of the SDP, of which Eugene Debs was a member, called a conference of delegates from all SDP locals to meet in Chicago to consider the demands for a party referendum dealing with the farm planks in the party platform. The subsequent referendum resulted in the elimination of the planks, which were viewed by left-wing members of the party as dangerous compromise with the "capitalist farmers."

EVD to Edwin Markham¹

July 18, 1899

Terre Haute, Indiana

My dear Prof. Markham:

Your good letter came in my absence. Permit me to thank you most warmly for your kind and generous expressions. The poem grows greater as the days go by, and continues to add fresh lustre to your fame. Rarely does it fall to the lot of man to arouse and electrify the world with a single stroke of his genius. And so I renew my congratulations and with them I beg you to receive my admiration and my love. Truly, the day of human brotherhood is dawning. Until I am permitted to meet and thank you in person believe me

Yours faithfully
Eugene V. Debs

ALS, NNWML.

1. Charles Edward Anson (Edwin) Markham (1852-1940) was an obscure public-school teacher-administrator and poet in California until the publication of "The Man with the Hoe" in the *San Francisco Examiner* in January 1899. The poem, inspired by Jean-François Millet's painting of the same title, provided reformers with a symbol of exploited workers and brought instant fame to Markham.

Samuel Milton Jones to EVD

July 20, 1899

Toledo, Ohio

My dear Mr. Debs:

Some one has sent me a copy of THE TOILER¹ containing a letter from you in which you seem to question the genuineness of my socialism, and from some things that you say I am inclined to the opinion that you are not thoroughly posted as to the successive steps I have taken. When you say that I "would have accepted the republican nomination" I think you are making an unwarranted statement. I never said even by indirection that I "would accept such a nomination {for governor}", and the only thing I hoped to accomplish by keeping silent was that enough of the independent Jones element might get into the convention to break up the slate of the G.O.P. and give the necessary impetus for an independent campaign. I cannot see any cross lots way to Socialism.

My views on the party question are suggested in a letter that I wrote to a friend yesterday, a copy of which I send you. I believe in all of the people, and while I feel that way I cannot wear a party label. I believe that the hope of Socialism at present lies through absolute independent political action—not always an independent movement, perhaps, but to educate the people away from the competitive or individualistic idea, it seems to me, is our mission at this time. I ask for nothing, I want nothing, will accept nothing for myself that I will not freely grant to others on the same terms.

I am having hundreds of letters urging me to be an independent candidate for governor. I may yet decide to do so. If I shall be led to believe that the time is ripe to make a campaign of education, I shall go into it without any concern as to the consequences.

I wrote you sometime ago, asking if you could give us a date for Toledo and have not heard from you; I will be very glad, indeed, if you can do so.

Assuring you of my love and sympathy, I am

Very faithfully yours,
S. M. Jones

TLSc, OT, Jones papers.

1. The *Toiler*, published in Terre Haute, reprinted a part of Debs's "The Growth of a Year Presages Success," which appeared in the July 1, 1899 issue of the *Social Democratic Herald*. In it, Debs expressed "only personal respect for Mr. Jones" but criticized him for refusing "to avow himself a socialist" and for "vague and hazy utterances" which "did not even mention Socialism."

EVD to Samuel Milton Jones

July 24, 1899

Terre Haute, Indiana

My dear comrade:

Prolonged absence from the city, on a lecturing tour in the West, must be my apology for the delay in acknowledging your esteemed favors of the 22nd ult. & 20th inst., with enclosures all of which have been carefully noted. I would be delighted to accept your invitation to visit Toledo & speak in Golden Rule Park, but for the fact that I am under a lecture engagement, which continues for at least another year. I am paying off the debts I assumed consequent upon the A.R.U. Strike¹ & so in certain important relations, I am not free to act as I wish, but do as I must. Perhaps at a later time, I may be able to accept

your courteous invitation & in the meantime, I feel as greatly obliged to you, as though I were able to be your guest.

Referring to my letter in the Social Democratic Herald, part of which was reproduced in "The Toiler," & to which you take exception, I can only regret that it is not possible for me to see you in person, that I might place my views fully & clearly before you & receive your own in exchange.

I have not, nor do I now, favor the new party movement² which has been developing in outline in Ohio. It has been persistently boomed, with you as its candidate for Governor by such capitalist papers as The Cincinnati Enquirer, in which I have no faith whatever, & as you may rest assured, with no honest intention to advance the course of Socialism. Nor, to be candid with you, have I been pleased to see such a paper as the N.Y. Journal, another capitalist publication, utterly destitute of conscience or moral character, cover you with its fulsome flattery. Were you an avowed, clearcut & uncompromising Socialist, the Journal would have no such interest in you & would drop you with amazing suddenness. The fact is, that the common enemy, with its sentinels on the watch towers, ever on the alert, see & *clearly* see, what is coming & are quick as lightening to discover a leader or an element that bids fair to assume decided proportions—& are as quick to make pretended concessions & by fawning & flattering recognition lay their plans to sidetrack or swallow up or otherwise dispose of the threatening leader or element. You & your Ohio movement are in this danger today. Of course, I have full faith in your integrity, nor do I underestimate your judgment & your intelligence, but you are dealing with the slickest politicians & the wiliest tricksters that ever enlisted in the service of the devil for his dirty gold.

If an independent party is formed in Ohio, it will be neither fish nor flesh & it will go to pieces, just as certain as all its predecessors have traveled the same road. I am a Socialist & being a *Socialist I am a partisan*. I have said & say again, that at this stage there are but two kinds of politics—viz. Capitalist & Socialist & there can be no sort of compromise between them. Every "step-at-a-time" movement will go to pieces. When it comes to the point for action, every fellow wants to take the step in a different direction. I am also committed to the doctrine of the class struggle. Capitalism created the classes & they exist & they are antagonistic & the fight will be fought out & Socialism realized on the basis of the class struggle, without reference to what our wishes or preferences might be.

If in my article I misrepresented you in the least, I am sorry for it & I shall certainly set you right. I have spoken your name from a hundred platforms or more, giving you the credit I felt you deserved

& this I did as a matter of duty to myself & not of favor to you. I do not hesitate to say, that I know of no man I would rather see President of the United States than yourself, provided only, you are the candidate of the Socialist Party & stand squarely on the platform of International Socialism, through which alone, in my judgment, Socialism can be realized.

The great work now before us, is to clear the heads of the mass. There has been compromise & confusion enough. The advice, from my standpoint, can be given to the mass in a few words: "Study Socialism, join a Socialist Party & vote a clean, straight Socialist ticket against the world."

I have read the copy of your letter to Walter Young³ of Los Angeles with genuine satisfaction. When you enumerate the scallaway, the plug-ugly, the harlot, etc., etc., & then declare: "They are all a part of me? I am a part of them," you rise to moral & mental grandeur equal to Whitman himself & I love you as a brother for having courage equal to such noble & exalting convictions.

I regret exceedingly not having more time, for there is much more I should like to say to you. But I have hundreds of unanswered letters before me & I know that you, too, are a very busy man & so I will forbear, hoping that in the not distant future, I may have the pleasure of having a personal interview with you.

In the meantime, believe me, with love and respect,

Yours fraternally,
Eugene V. Debs

ALS (Debs's signature but written by another), OT, Jones Papers.

1. An ARU debt of \$30,000, for legal fees, printing by the Moore & Langen firm in Terre Haute, and other costs, was assumed by Debs and finally paid off nearly twenty years later.

2. The Non-Partisan party, on whose ticket Jones campaigned for governor. Running third behind the Republican and Democratic candidates, Jones nonetheless received more than 100,000 votes, more than any other third party candidate in the history of the state.

3. Walter L. Young was a Los Angeles businessman in whose oil-drilling enterprise Jones invested \$1,000 in 1902, a friend of Stitt Wilson, and the author of *Rational Prohibition*, in which he argued that "the only rational prohibition is the abolishing of the profit system." Young to Jones, July 19, 1899; July 24, 1901; February 14, 1902; April 22, 1902, Samuel Milton Jones Papers.

Samuel Milton Jones to EVD

November 29, 1899

Toledo, Ohio

My dear Friend:

I have just learned that you are booked for a lecture here on Sunday, Dec. 10th. I very much regret that I did not know this before, as I have promised to speak for my friend Nelson¹ of St. Louis on that date, and as I have already changed the date once I do not see how I can well do so again; but I would like very much to be here to attend your meeting, as I certainly should do if I could be here.

I would like very much to have a talk with you, and wonder if you can arrange to reach Toledo on Saturday morning so that you could take lunch with us and we might have a little visit together. I shall have to leave at 5 o'clock for St. Louis.

I would like very much to talk over the social and political situation with you at length. Taking a broad view of the outlook, I seem to see much that is encouraging; little, if anything, to encourage one from any narrow or superficial standpoint. I find that I am inclining more and more to Walt Whitman's idea and view of life, that more and more I am coming to see that there is no possible way of saving a fragment of society, but the *whole thing* must be raised altogether; in short, I am coming to believe in the absolute unity of the entire race, and to understand that if I do believe in that, there can be no other philosophy that is at all tenable. I suppose it is this line of thought that has taken me away from the class conscious theory that to many seems to be the scientific thought.

I am much gratified with the result of the Non-Partisan campaign, indeed, no enterprise, public or private, that I have ever engaged in has brought me more genuine satisfaction than this campaign of freedom, where we had so much of plain declaration of the whole truth without any attempt at compromising or policy.

Hoping that you can arrange to pay me the visit, I am

Very faithfully yours,

S. M. Jones

Non-Partisan always.

TLS, OT, Jones Papers.

1. Nelson O. Nelson (1844-1922) was a successful St. Louis manufacturer of plumbers' and steamfitters' supplies and, like Jones, a dedicated social reformer. Nelson introduced a profit-sharing plan in his plants in St. Louis and in Le Clair, Illinois, and Bessemer, Alabama, and played an active part in the Single Tax and Cooperative movements of the day.

EVD to Jean Daniel Debs

December 2, 1899

Massillon, Ohio

My dearly beloved Father:

On Monday the 4th, your birthday,¹ my heart will be with you all day long. Though I shall not be near enough to look into your dear face and hear the music of your voice, I shall in fancy have my arms about you and whisper in your ears my love and congratulations. In all this world there is no man, dearest father, who has been truer or manlier in Life's sternest struggles than you have been, and every day of my life brings me to a fuller realization of that fact and increases the weight of my filial gratitude. From first to last you and dear mother were equal to every trial. In the storm you were flint and in the sunshine you were flowers.

Six children whom you dowered with the treasures of your own love have their arms about you and you will abide in their hearts until their throbbings are silenced forever.

Love and life and luck to you, my father, and may all good influences combine to make your birthday blossom like the rose.

From my heart of hearts I greet you and place a crown of loving reverence on your brow.

Your devoted son,
Eugene

ALS, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. Jean Daniel Debs's seventy-ninth birthday.

EVD to Morris Winchevsky¹

December 2, 1899

Massillon, Ohio

My dear Brother:

Your good letter reached me at Haverhill. For reasons that Mailly² has written you I could not touch upon the matter of *union* in my Haverhill speech, but every word your noble letter contains evokes unqualified approval in my heart.

The gods are with us and we shall soon be one.
 With a heart full of love and deathless devotion I am

Yours always
 E. V. Debs

ALS, NNYI, Winchevsky Papers.

1. Called the Ghetto Poet, Morris Winchevsky (1856-1932) was editor of *Die Zukunft* in New York City and one of the "One Hundred Well Known Social Democrats" listed in the party's Red Book of 1900. His writings, a ten-volume collected edition of which was published in 1927-28, appeared in Hebrew, Yiddish, and English, and in 1908 he dedicated an English-language book, *Stories of the Struggle*, to Debs.

2. William Mailly (1871-1912) was editor of the weekly *Haverhill* (Massachusetts) *Social Democrat* and one of the founders and later national secretary of the Socialist party.

EVD to Samuel Milton Jones

December 8, 1899

Manistee Crossing, Michigan

My dear Mr. Jones:

Your good letter of the 28th ult. is with me. I regret very much that you will not be in Toledo on Sunday as I had hoped to meet and have a talk with you. I understand, of course, the imperative nature of your engagement at St. Louis and if at all possible shall try to reach Toledo in time to see you at least before you take your departure. Your courteous invitation to take lunch with you is fully appreciated.

I must say to you candidly that I can see only disappointment in your nonpartisan attitude. I too am for all the people, but the fact that confronts us is that government is dominated by a class in its own selfish interest and that this class must be dislodged and I know of no way in which it can be done except by party organization or by violent revolution. I accept unqualifiedly the socialist theory that it is a class struggle and that we can only abolish class rule by conquering the capitalist class at the polls and taking control of government and having it impartially administered in the interest of the whole people. Such a struggle involves organization, party organization, and I am therefore a partisan at this stage in all the term implies.

In 1900 a great battle will be fought along this line and if you take any part at all, as it seems to me you are bound to do, it will have to be in support of one or the other of the parties engaged, that is

to say, as a partisan, and this will be a negation of your non-partisan doctrine.

For your lofty purpose to serve humanity and your unimpeachable integrity I have the greatest admiration, but I am convinced that sooner or later you will find your non-partisan position untenable and that you will {have to} yield to the unerring logic of the International Socialist class struggle. Hoping to have the pleasure of seeing you I remain

Yours fraternally
E. V. Debs

Waiting for a connection

Excuse this paper as there is no other at hand.

ALS, OT, Jones Papers.

Theodore Debs to Social Democratic Party National Convention

March 1, 1900
Chicago, Illinois

Office of the National Secretary—Treasurer of the
Social Democratic Party

Chicago, Ill. March 1, 1900.

To the S.D.P. in National Convention assembled at
Indianapolis, Ind., beginning March 6, 1900

Comrades:—

I have the honor to submit the following, my official reports as National Secretary-Treasurer for the period beginning with my election by the Executive Board, June 16th, 1898, and ending Feb. 28th, 1900, covering one year, eight months and fifteen days.

For convenience I have sub-divided the report into three periods, as follows:—

First; From June 16th, 1898, the day of my election, to and including Dec. 31, 1898, the close of the calendar year.

Second; From Jan. 1st, 1899 to December 31st, 1899, inclusive.

Third; From Jan. 1st, 1900, to Feb. 28th, 1900, inclusive.

It will thus be observed that in the absence of any provision in the constitution I have made the fiscal year of the national party corre-

spond to the calendar year in order that it might harmonize with the four fiscal quarters of the year in which, under the constitution, the dues of members become payable and are collected, and which quarters also begin and end with the fiscal year.

INCEPTION OF PARTY.

Comrades who were present at the memorable midnight meeting at the Revere House in Chicago in June 1898, when the present party evolved from the Social Democracy, will remember under what trying circumstances the new party began its career. Not only was the party without resources, but many of its members had lost confidence owing to the split in the Social Democracy¹ and the fierce dissensions incident thereto. It was therefore a difficult task from the very beginning to establish the party, but undertaken by the dauntless few who stood sponsor for it with a full knowledge of the obstacles that were to be overcome, they went to work with a will born of faith in their undertaking and from that day to this have battled untiringly for the success of the party. How well they have succeeded will appear in part in the report of the finances and membership.

Though seriously handicapped for the want of financial resources it will be gratifying to the comrades to know that the party has been able to meet every financial obligation and to maintain its credit unimpaired.

The volume of business transacted during the brief existence of the party shows the activity with which the work of organization and agitation have been carried forward.

In the following report is stated in detail the financial transactions of my office during the period of my incumbency. The official records and account books which accompany the report contain complete record and account of all receipts and disbursements and all other financial transactions in detail and I respectfully request that the convention authorize the proper committee to audit and inspect my official accounts and report the result of the same to the convention.

The receipts and disbursements appear in the subjoined tables:—

BRANCHES & MEMBERS.

The number of branches in active operation at this time is 226 with a dues-paying membership of 4536. This number does not, of course, represent the full membership of the party since there are thousands who support the party at the polls and act with it in all things who are not connected with it in the capacity of dues-paying members. As a matter of fact the latter consist of but a small percentage of the actual supporters of the party, the total number of

whom can be known only when the votes are counted and the election returns are made.

RAPID GROWTH.

While the progress of the Party has been eminently satisfactory from the beginning, I feel justified in inviting your attention to the extraordinary growth which has taken place in the two months immediately preceding the convention. During the months of January and February of this year 53 new branches were instituted and 985 new dues-paying members enrolled. This gratifying increase is going forward while this convention is in session. It bespeaks a year of tremendous increase in the number of branches, in the aggregate membership and in the scope and power of the party.

EXTENT OF ORGANIZATION.

The party has rapidly marched from ocean to ocean and from the lakes to the gulf. We are now organized in 32 states and territories and growing at a rate to make it certain that within the next few months the Social Democratic Party will be organized and will be a factor in every state and territory as well as in the nation at large.

CONCLUSION

In concluding this, my first report, I congratulate the convention upon the healthy condition of the party and the excellent outlook for the future. In our councils, national, state and local, harmony and good will prevail. There is neither jealousy nor dissension to mar the good feeling or retard the progress of the party. With zeal and enthusiasm our comrades are pressing forward in all directions bearing high the banner of International Socialism.

My own work has been a duty of love. I have had the aid and encouragement of true comrades and associates, especially in trying hours, I have also had the unflinching support of the rank and file and to one and all, I wish to express my thanks and the assurance of my lasting gratitude.

With the full faith that the convention will be harmonious in its councils, loyal in its obligations and wise in its deliberations, I have the honor to subscribe myself,

Yours fraternally,
Theodore Debs.

TDc, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. At the annual convention of the Social Democracy of America (SDA), which met from June 7 to June 11, 1898, "fierce dissensions" developed out of delegate

challenges, charges that some delegates were not Social Democrats, and a basic disagreement between delegates who wanted to press forward with the colonization plan and a growing number, including Debs, who thought the plan a failure and wanted to create a political party as the means toward building the Cooperative Commonwealth. The latter group, with Debs's support but not his presence, withdrew from the SDA convention and, in a meeting at the Revere House, organized "a new Socialist Party (named the Social Democratic Party), composed exclusively of socialists who subscribe to the principles and program of International Socialism."

EVD to Stephen Marion Reynolds¹

March 10, 1900

Terre Haute, Indiana

My dear Reynolds:—

I have but a moment in which to acknowledge your lovely letter of the 5th, each word of which touches my heart. I shall not be East until April and nothing definite about that. After {a} while I shall be settled down and then we shall see each other often. Glad you met Markham² and Owen. They are great—and so are you. Hope to meet them and also Traubel³ all of whom are giants in the vanguard of the new crusade.

Your paper was magnificent and served fully the noble purpose intended. Love and all good wishes to you.

I am always

Yours faithfully
Eugene V. Debs

Love and luck!

ALS (in hand of Theodore Debs, with note by EVD), InH, Reynolds Collection.

1. Stephen Marion Reynolds (1849-1948) was a Terre Haute lawyer whose home (the little Red House) became a gathering place for the town's radical and bohemian element. Reynolds traveled with Debs on the 1908 presidential campaign train, the Red Special, and wrote the biographical sketch for *Debs: His Life, Writings and Speeches* (1908). Reynolds and his family moved to Chicago in 1915, and he soon became estranged from Debs over the issue of America's participation in World War I. Their friendship apparently was not renewed after the war, but Reynolds remembered Debs with great admiration and affection in a letter written to Theodore Debs at the time of Debs's death.

2. Reynolds met Edwin Markham at the home of J. H. Johnston in Brooklyn, New York, in July 1899. Johnston to Reynolds (July 17, 1899), Reynolds Collection, Indiana State Historical Society Library.

3. Horace Traubel (1858-1919) was a literary executor of Walt Whitman, secretary

of the Walt Whitman Fellowship, and editor of the *Conservator* from its beginning in Philadelphia in 1890 until his death.

National Campaign Committee, Social Democratic Party to EVD

[August 13?] 1900

[Chicago, Illinois]

Dear Comrade.

By the same action by which you were selected as candidate of the Social Democratic Party for President of the United States, the undersigned¹ were elected a National Campaign Committee, to act in conjunction with you and Comrade Harriman² in the conduct of the Campaign of 1900.

We therefore fraternally notify you of our existence, Time and place of meeting and our hearty desire for your personal cooperation in the important work intrusted to us.

We have organized and notified the National Executive Committee and {have sent out notices to} the party at large and have also notified Comrade Harriman we desire if possible to have your advice and assistance in shaping our future work and shall delay action hoping to hear from you and better still to have you with us personally at your earliest convenience.

AL, IU, Illinois Historical Survey, Thomas J. Morgan Papers.

1. The letter was unsigned. Debs's letter of response on August 14 was addressed to Thomas J. Morgan, a leader of the Chicago Social Democratic party. Throughout the campaign of 1900 there were, in effect, two Social Democratic parties, one with headquarters in Chicago, the other in Springfield, Massachusetts. Both had the same candidates and the same platform.

2. Job Harriman (1861-1925) was the Social Democratic party's vice-presidential candidate in the 1900 election, but the Chicago faction of the party tried during the campaign to replace him and the *Social Democratic Herald* refused to mention his name as a candidate until September.

EVD to Thomas J. Morgan

August 14, 1900

Terre Haute, Indiana

Dear Comrade:

Your communication of the 13th inst. is received and in reply I have to inform you that I have already, as a candidate, committed

myself to the National campaign committee of the Social Democratic Party, of which I am a member, and whose headquarters are located at Chicago Ills.¹

The Secretary of said committee is Comrade Seymour Stedman.² As I am desirous, as every true Socialist must be, for harmonious cooperation between the party which you represent³ and the one of which I am a member, I suggest an early conference of the two committees and if such a conference be agreed to I shall endeavor to be in attendance.

Yours fraternally

Eugene V. Debs

K

Personal

My dear Comrade:

I note what you say in a personal way and am quite in accord with the sentiments you express. I shall try to see you in person when I reach Chicago.

Yours fraternally,

E. V. Debs.

K

ALS (in hand of Katherine Metzel Debs, including signature), IU, Illinois Historical Survey.

1. Debs refers to the campaign headquarters of the party, not its national headquarters at Springfield, Massachusetts.

2. Seymour Stedman (1870-1948) was a Chicago attorney, a founder of the Social Democratic party, and in 1920 Debs's vice-presidential running mate.

3. Morgan had joined the Socialist Labor party in 1891 and was its unsuccessful candidate for mayor of Chicago that year.

Thomas J. Morgan to Theodore Debs

August 17, 1900

Chicago, Illinois

Dear Comrade:—

The changes which have taken place in the organized movement of the socialists of the U.S., have reached a point where it becomes our duty to recognize the force which is greater than that of our own desires, and which shapes affairs in direct opposition to all our individual efforts. With such recognition it becomes our duty to work with and not against the great trend of affairs, and when that trend

is forward—tho not in the way ~~we have~~ we may have marked out for it—we should help and not retard the movement. We therefore ask you to recognize our existence, and the confusion which must ensue if the effort to maintain the old status is continued. We should be glad to have you confer with us, you will find us good reasonable comrades, worthy of your best thought and your active association.

We have written your brother and hope to have a personal conference with him soon.

Fraternally yours:—
The National Campaign Committee.
Social Democratic Party,
Thos. Morgan, Secretary.

TLS, InTI, Debs Collection.

Samuel Milton Jones to EVD

September 25, 1900
Toledo, Ohio

My dear Mr. Debs:—

During the past few days, the papers have been quoting you as saying in a letter to L. A. Russell¹ of my present attitude with respect to national politics, that “Mr. Jones has made a mistake and unless I am wholly mistaken about its consequences, He will never again be elected to *office*.”

Well suppose the prediction is true and I am never again elected to office! And supposing that in return for the implied deprivation, I have the consciousness of having been true to my highest convictions of *truth*, true to my own soul. Will not that be for me sufficient recompense?

I believe it was to [*sic*] your devotion to your conception of truth and not hope of any other kind of recompense that led you to submit with the heroism of a martyr to the indignity of imprisonment for six months in Woodstock jail in obedience to unjust law and the mandate of a more unjust judge. I believe the same devotion has sustained and carried you through many other trials equally as great though less conspicuous and my faith in humanity is such that I believe there are millions of souls ready to attest equal devotion to their conception of truth whenever the demand comes for them to do so.

We do not all see the truth in the same view point. We have not learned the lesson of faith in *humanity*, not learned to believe in the

good, (the God) in our fellow men. And when we reach the point where we can accept without question the integrity of our fellow men who see duty in a different line than we do, we are on the highway that leads us to the fullest kind of liberty. The conspicuous thing about our present stage of development is our lack of belief in people, our want of a social faith and our belief in and dependence on "Organization[;]" "Machines," "Parties," "Sects," "Fraternalities," etc. etc. All well and all of these are perhaps necessary a party [*sic*] of the programme that is to perfect the race and develop the (God man) the perfected man. Browning tells us that—

"Man is not man as yet
Nor will I deem his object served, his end attained
His genuine strength put fairly forth
While only here and there a star dispels the gloom
When the host is out at once to the despair of night
Each in his full blown powers. then, not 'till then, I say
Begins Man's general infancy.
Such men are even now upon the earth, serene amidst the
half formed creatures around."²

My faith and hope is not in any sort of machinery for separating humanity into fragments, not in any party that now is or ever shall be, but in the growth of the divine principle of unity, that in these days is quickly bringing many millions to dimly see over and beyond, and through all petty lines of separation whether of geography or race or creed or party, to see in short that the recognition of the absolute unity and equality of the entire race is the only rational ground of hope for socialism for equality and for the brotherhood of man. According to the light I have, I am, have been, and it is my hope to be true to these high ideals, by doing my utmost to destroy the infidelity that stands in the way of the realization, that is the infidelity of unbelief in our fellow men.

I am as indifferent to the ridicule of the Social Democratic Herald and the abuse of {a few of} the party socialists as I am to the abuse of the Chicago Times Herald, the Toledo Blade, and the other party republicans, who do not approve my course. I know this sort of work is incited by the spirit of *partyism* not patriotism or socialism and one kind of partyism is as hopeless to me as another. The unkind criticism of my course by a few {partisan} socialists is greatly over balanced by the kind words of many party Socialists who have written in the {most} considerate way concerning my "political attitude," and though expressing regret and some even sincere sorrow that I see duty in the way I do, they do not question my integrity or descend to the

use of the old party weapon of ridicule, but express the hope that "we may yet see eye to eye" for the cause, and this serves to confirm me in the non-partisan faith and it is a pleasure to again affirm that my hope is in *all of the people* and that I will never participate in the work of any "convention," "caucus," "primary," or other party machinery for usurping what is both a right and duty of the *people*. It is a duty of the people to govern themselves; to select their own candidates without the aid of the self constituted machines, "Organizations" or delegates which after all only take the place of the kings of olden time. *This is my belief*; I do not seek to impose it on others who differ from me. I do not believe in the democratic party a bit more than I do in the republican party. I am against imperialism in North Carolina as much as in *Luzon* and I am forever against the parent of every political evil that afflicts *us to-day and that is partyism*. As I see it, we must not only leave the "old parties," we must leave all parties and all party methods and learn the lesson of working together for the Good of All. This I am doing to the best of my ability, according to the light I have and I invite party republicans and the party socialists who think they are serving the cause of human liberty by trying to throw suspicion and doubt on the honesty of my purposes, to investigate close to headquarters. Ask those who know me best as to my sincerity. Ask my fellow men in the shops of the Acme Sucker Rod Company,³ my associates in this city government, and the people who meet me daily, and when you have done that, I believe you will admit my honesty though you may doubt my wisdom.

The old party system has done much to delay a revival of social faith by training the people to question the honesty of all those who are not with "*our party*" I hope the socialists will not fall into this error. Our only hope and all our hope is in the good that is in humanity itself. If we deny that the outlook is *indeed hopeless*.

In order to afford a practical example of my sincerity in this matter, I declined a Non-partisan nomination by petition as candidate for Congress of more than four thousand voters of this district. A nomination too that was universally conceded to be equivalent to an election. This action was ~~such~~ a surprise to the critics {who said I was for Bryan because I wanted to go to Congress.} ~~that~~ It silenced nearly all of them, and my point is gained.

I think the future is radiant with the promise of the better day, but I do not believe that any movement having anything so narrow as the word *party* connected with it will ever arouse the enthusiasm of the people in a way that will develop a Social faith that will give us the condition of Social peace and political justice that you and I

believe in and which we are both working for according to the light that we have.

“It takes great strength to live where you belong
When other people think that you are wrong;
People you love, and who love you, and whose
Approval is a pleasure you would choose.
To bear this pressure and succeed at length
In living your belief—well, it takes strength.

Very lovingly yours,

For the cause of humanity,
Samuel M. Jones
A man without a party.

TLSc, OT, Jones Papers.

1. Debs's letter to Lewis A. Russell, a Cleveland supporter and friend of Jones, was printed in the *Social Democratic Herald* on September 21, 1900.

2. The quotation is from Browning's "Paracelsus."

3. Jones's firm in Toledo.

George Candee¹ to EVD

November 2, 1900
Toledo, Ohio

Open Letter to Eugene V. Debs.

Comrade Debs;

I write to you not to defend Mayor S. M. Jones—he needs no defense from me or any one else—but to remind you of the great injustice you have done yourself and the cause of Socialism in writing your open letter to Mr. Jones of Oct. 8th.²

You insist that Jones is a Democrat; that he belongs to the 'Democratic' party; that the Democratic party is his party, &c. —*because* he intends to vote for Bryan.³ Does this follow? How could a man be an independent voter and not vote for some candidate on some party ticket? But does voting for a single candidate on a party ticket make a man a member of that party? Does he, therefore, belong to that party? Does it make that party "his party"? If so, then ~~Mister~~ Mayor Jones will have several parties, and he will belong to several different parties, for he intends to vote for candidates on several different party tickets as I have heard him say. It is impossible for a man to be an independent, non-partisan voter unless he makes up his own ticket

from the candidates on regularly authorized tickets. You do yourself an injustice to call Mr. Jones a Democrat simply because he votes for any one, or even {for} all, the candidates on the Democrat ticket, in an immergency.

Then you insist that he is helping the Democratic party to oppress the blacks in North Carolina because he is helping to elect Bryan.⁴ Does this follow? Then {it follows that} you and your followers are helping the Republican party to do all their evil work, for you are doing vastly more to help elect McKinley than Jones is to help elect Bryan.

Then your evil predictions against Mayor Jones for voting for Bryan only tend to offend, if not exasperate, a multitude of other sincere people, who, like Jones, are honestly expecting more good from voting for Bryan than for any other Presidential Candidate in the field. They may be mistaken. I think they are; yet they are the very ones whom ~~you~~ {we} must look to to help bring in the better day. They are classed with Jones and they will not take your vinegar as sweetly as Jones does. On the other hand they will try to bring the evil you predict for Jones upon your own head. They are more numerous {by far} than those who will discard Mayor Jones.

Yours for more sweetness,
Geo. Candee

P.S. Then further, the assumption that all true Socialists will vote the Social Democratic ticket, is not only untrue but it is very damaging to the cause of Socialism. It is very probable that there are as many fully developed Socialists who will not vote that ticket as there are who will. How about the men who vote the Socialist Labor ticket, and a large number of {true Socialists} ~~men~~, who like Mayor Jones, honestly believe that a vote for Bryan tends more directly and immediately toward practical Socialism than does a vote for the S.D. party?

Then there are hundreds of thousands {of} immature Socialists, who will be discouraged and set back by the assault of one {prominent} Socialist against another. Socialist must be Sociable with one another if they would win others to their way.

ALS, OT, Jones Papers.

1. George Candee (1831-1924) was for sixty years a Congregational minister in pastorates in Michigan and Ohio. He was at this time active in the Union Reform party in Ohio and a supporter of Toledo Mayor Samuel Jones, whose contributions helped finance several of Candee's pamphlets on prohibition, money, and other subjects. At the time of his death, Candee was described as Oberlin College's oldest graduate and as a founder of Berea College in Kentucky.

2. Debs's letter to Jones, dated October 8, was published in the *Social Democratic Herald* on October 13, 1900.

3. Debs described Jones's denial that he had joined the Democratic party as "puerile, if not disingenuous."

4. Debs challenged Jones's claim to be for all the people by citing the "poor negroes of the south who have been disfranchised by your [i.e., the Democratic] party."

EVD to Theodore Debs

November 9, 1900

Terre Haute, Indiana

My dearest Theo:—

I have your letter of the 8th. You are as full of sunshine as a rabbit is of fur, and I'm with you with a whoop.

I must first make final report of my trip. The meeting at Toledo was a grand one and the comrades were greatly elated over it. At Evansville the hall was packed & intense enthusiasm prevailed. At Linton I spoke in the open air on Monday afternoon to a very large audience. A delegation of the Linton comrades, accompanied by their band, came to Terre Haute with me & cheered lustily for our ticket all along the line.

The Terre Haute meeting Monday evening was all that could have been expected. The crowd was large and appreciative from start to finish. Comrade Reynolds presided.

Thus closes the campaign—and the results show that we got everything *except votes*.¹

I am serene for two reasons:

1st. I did the very best I could for the party that nominated me & for its principles.

2^d. The working class will get in full measure what they voted for.

And so we begin the campaign for 1904.

I wish you to say to Stedman that I have his letter & have read it carefully. Let the conference be held without me for it is simply out of the question for me to attend. The convention² should be held according to agreement & the call must appear in this week's issue. Otherwise we may get swamped—and above all, *prompt action* is what is wanted.

I am surprised at Stedman's intimation that we may have something to do with the other factions. Great heavens, haven't we got enough?

If there is any attempt to harmonize or placate, *count me out*. We

must go forward on our own lines & those who don't choose to fall in need not do so. There must be no *wobbling* at this time.

I thought our plan of action was clearly understood & now I am overwhelmed with pleas to attend a conference etc etc etc etc.

Hell! Don't we know what we want? Or are we crazy?

We held a deliberate board meeting & went over the whole ground in detail & agreed to call a special convention within 30 days after election. I wrote the call & mailed it to you. Stedman should have written Herron³ all about it as he agreed to do. We could all reach Chicago 2 or 3 days before convention & then hold the *conference*, but I don't see the necessity of a conference now & a convention in 3 weeks. It is simply a piece of damphoolism & reckless waste of time and money. If the conference is held then I suppose that does [a]way with the convention & in that case I stand branded as a liar before comrades of Iowa, Nebraska & comrades in the East to whom I confidentially communicated our line of action.

Stedman makes entirely too much of the "unaffiliated" & "{un}attached." I would not cater to them a damned bit. We have invited them to our convention & if they don't want to come let them stay out. A thousand men *organized* are better than ten times that number unorganized. Let us take care of those that are organized & the rest will take care of themselves.

I am well and in good spirits, but 20 hours a day for 6 weeks has told on me & I'm run down. I'll not go to Chicago, nor attend any conference till I'm rested. I would not be fit for service in my present condition. If the convention has been called *off* I feel {as} if I ought to pull out & let the whole thing go & attend to my own business, but I won't. I'll stick to the party, through the gates of hell, till it stands on rock and defies the thunderbolts of Jove.

Read this hasty letter to Stedman, Mrs. Brown⁴ Miss Thomas,⁵ Edwards⁶ & others interested. We are all right & all we want is a convention to make needed changes & above all to show that our party has nothing to do with other parties & that we mean business & propose to move straight along on our own lines & lose no time about it.

The Vigo County vote is small—about 325 The official returns are not yet in.

Note what you say about quail hunt & would be delighted to go,

but first of all must dispose of the *mass* of letters etc etc etc which have piled up like Alps all around me.

Best love & kisses to you & Gertrude & Marguerite and to all our comrades beloved.

Yours without a flicker
Eugene

ALS, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. Debs received only 96,978 votes, most of them from New York, Massachusetts, Indiana, Illinois, Ohio, Wisconsin, and California.

2. The SDP's national executive board scheduled a convention, for the purpose of uniting the various factions of the party, on January 15, 1901, in Chicago.

3. George Davis Herron (1862-1925) was born in Montezuma, Indiana, not far from Terre Haute. He served as professor of applied Christianity at Iowa College from 1893 to 1899, when he resigned under pressure from the college trustees. A leader of the Christian Socialists, Herron addressed a mass rally of socialists in Chicago on November 18, 1900, and called for unity among socialist groups. His speech, printed in the socialist press, helped build pressure for a unity convention.

4. Mrs. Corrine Brown of Chicago was a member of the national executive board of the SDP.

5. Elizabeth H. Thomas of New York City was listed as one of the "One Hundred Well Known Social Democrats" in the party's Red Book of 1900. Following her work in the Chicago office of the party she moved to Milwaukee, where she was an ally of Victor Berger in Wisconsin socialist affairs.

6. Alfred S. Edwards was an English socialist who was serving as editor of the *Social Democratic Herald* at this time. Edwards later edited the *Industrial Worker* before his expulsion from the IWW in 1906.

EVD to Mary Harris Jones¹

January 28, 1901

Terre Haute, Indiana

Dear Mother Jones:

I am very sorry I could not be with you this afternoon, particularly on your own account. But it could not be otherwise and so I yield without regret. In a day or two I leave to fulfil my Wisconsin appointments. When you get through at Indianapolis² I wish you would drop me a line here and advise me of your address so I can write you about a little business matter in which we can be of mutual service besides helping the cause. I am trying to build up a little book business³ out of which to make a living so that I shall not have to accept anything from any source for any service I may render the cause. I feel confident you can help me a little and at the same time help yourself as well as the movement.

I have been reading the papers and as usual find myself the victim of calumny. I have no complaint to make, but it does seem as if there should be a limit to such cruel outrages. The press dispatches spread the report broadcast that the statement was made on the floor of the convention⁴ that a Pennsylvania delegate collected money from starving miners for me and that I accepted it all. Of course the presumption is that a vast sum was paid me and that it was gouged from the lives of the famishing Miners. I can scarcely believe that such a villainous falsehood was uttered, and yet the effect with the general public is the same and I am once more freshly nailed to the cross. But I can stand it without a trace of resentment and if I can ever give a hand to the Miners in any struggle, if that hand is not freely extended as it has always been in the past, it will be because it is paralyzed.

You know without my telling you that I did not accept one dollar for my service from any one and that with the exception of a trifling part of my railroad fare, I paid all my own expenses besides. If any statement to the contrary is made it is maliciously false and in that case I desire you to ask the author of the statement how much money he gave me and if he names the amount, then challenge him to produce the receipt for it. If the press statement is correct the author of the statement is a self confessed criminal. He stands condemned out of his own lying mouth. What right had he to collect money from starving miners? and if {he did} so, is he not infamous to an extent that his word has no value? Next, is it likely that starving miners have any money?

Then again, on whom was he drawing for his own living expenses? Perhaps the operators might answer that latter question.

You have known me many years and you know if I would in any extremity take money from a striking, starving, miner. I would first destroy myself. I must correct you on a point touching the statement made by you as reported by the press in regard to the charges that were circulated about certain Labor Leaders receiving large sums of money for alleged services to striking miners in '97. Those reports originated at the Nashville Convention of the A.F. of L. held that year. The matter was discussed and charges and insinuations were made on the floor of that convention and they were exaggerated and telegraphed over the country. The files of the Nashville papers which were sent me at the time report the matter fully. Mailly,⁵ who was there at the time, will doubtless remember all about it. My name was included with the rest and not one was there to rescue it from the slander. I have had a number of personal apologies since in regard to it. The statements were made, not at the Columbus convention of the Miners but at the National Convention of the A.F. of L. I am

writing this simply for your information and not because I desire any defense or vindication. That will come to me in good time. That I am on all occasions made the target for calumny is simple evidence of the fact that the capitalist press is aware that I cannot be bribed or bullied and that therefore I must be undermined by slander; and that delegates to Labor Conventions are the active instrumentalities in coining and circulating such calumnies simply shows that the capitalist class and their corrupt political bosses have their miserable tools in the councils of Labor to keep the enslaved workers securely manacled and to prevent any ray of emancipating light from penetrating their dismal dungeons.

Ah, but Socialism cannot be kept out [of] a Labor organization any more than the rays of the rising sun can be prevented from dispelling the lists of darkness. Hail to Socialism, in which the miner can lift his bowed form from the earth and stand erect, a new being throbbing with immortal life.

I thank you from a grateful heart for your kindness Mrs. Debs joins me. Our only complaint is that you are too generous by far.

Give Mitchell,⁶ Wilson,⁷ Scott⁸ and all the boys my cordial greeting and best wishes, and believe me ever,

Yours sincerely
Eugene V. Debs

ALS (in hand of Katherine Metzel Debs), PHi.

1. A native of Ireland who was brought to the United States when she was five, Mary Harris ("Mother") Jones was associated in one way or another with almost every major industrial conflict of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. She was in Pittsburgh during the labor riots of 1877, in Chicago at the time of the Haymarket Riot in 1886, in Birmingham during the Pullman Strike of 1894, and wherever miners were attempting to organize or on strike. Mother Jones and Debs were allies in many of the nation's most controversial labor conflicts after the turn of the century, but during Debs's congressional campaign in 1916, Jones appeared in his district to campaign for his Democratic party opponent.

2. The United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) headquarters was in Indianapolis.

3. The E. V. Debs Publishing Company, founded in 1892 and devoted chiefly to the sale of railroad-related books and pamphlets, became the Standard Publishing Company in 1901 and sold mostly socialist books, pamphlets, and other materials.

4. The UMWA convention in Indianapolis earlier in January 1901.

5. William Mailly was editor of the *Nashville Journal of Labor* in 1897-98.

6. John Mitchell (1870-1919) was president of the UMWA and later, in Debs's view, high on the list of labor fakirs in the union movement.

7. William Bauchop Wilson (1862-1934) was secretary-treasurer of the UMWA from 1900 to 1908 and in 1913 was selected by President Wilson to be the first secretary of labor, a post he held until 1921.

8. W. S. Scott was a national organizer for the UMWA and editor of its *Journal*.

EVD to Morris Winchevsky

May 4, 1901

Terre Haute, Indiana

My dear Winchevsky:

I have been absent and very busy since your loving letter reached here and this will account for my belated answer. I need not be assured of your loyalty and devotion for that goes without the saying, and I am deeply sensible of the attachment and reciprocate the feeling in every heart-throb.

The letter of McDonald is a tissue of lies and the only way to properly characterize such a degenerate creature is as a cowardly, contemptible cur. In your capacity as correspondent you may properly notice his slanders, but I would not dignify them by denial, so far as I am concerned. The lies which McDonald¹ retails are not his own. He simply repeats them like a vulgar parrot, but I will venture to say that he will never come much nearer than a thousand miles to where I am when he empties his foul bill of its putrid collection. Such a liar is essentially a coward and if he were to muster all his courage it would not equal that of a sick rabbit. Each lie he tells carries its denial on its very face. It is a compound of asininity and venom that could only be exuded from the foul brain of such a repulsive creature. The damned miserable sneak would never attempt to discharge his bile in my presence, or anywhere near it. Like the Chinese, he throws his stink-pots at a safe distance.

Taking the questions seriatim,² I answer, that you may answer as follows:

1st, No, I did not so declare myself and in your answer, challenge him to produce proof.

2nd, Yes, I did stump for Bryan in 1896. In that year I was a populist in my party affiliations, and as Bryan was the nominee of my party I gave him my support. Not until January 1st 1897 did I cease to be a populist and on that day I issued a public letter avowing myself a Socialist and declaring that hence forth I would act with the Socialists.

3rd, I did say that the ballot, as it had been used in the old parties, had proved a failure, and I said this for the very purpose of influencing Trades Unionists to quit the old parties and ally themselves with the Socialists. Only a venal scoundrel would attempt to torture any other meaning out of what I said on this point. Challenge him to quote the full statement.³

4th, No, a lie out of the whole cloth without the shadow of a shadow to sustain it.

5th, No, a malicious lie and an idiotic invention

6th, This question is put as a sly and cowardly insinuation. I never handled a dollar of the Colony money.⁴ There was a treasurer for that purpose. Keliher who served in that capacity, accounted for every cent. You know about this for you were at the Convention and of the committee that examined the accounts.

7th, A dirty lie, and an imbecile fabrication. Is there a man in America who believes I travel on passes? The railroad companies tried their best to have me hanged, or at least sent to penitentiary. It is notorious that to this day a railroad employee who is caught speaking {to} me is discharged or reprimanded. For two years after the Pullman Strike I was followed by railroad detectives every foot I traveled from one end of the country to the other. These same railroads prosecuted me and sent me to prison, and would anyone but a double-eared ass or a human tarantula charge me with being the recipient of their favors? This lie, with a score of others were invented, made to order, because I would not join that contemptible little cabal who claimed to be the sole proprietors of the Socialist movement,⁵ and the reason I would not join was because it was dominated, as it is today, by such lying scoundrels as McDonald, but mind you, {and} do not fail to make the point, notwithstanding I have spoken in almost every town and city in the country, not one of these curs has ever dared to accuse or interrogate me in my presence or where I could get a crack at his reptilian hide, and you may safely say to McDonald that you will wager that if I ever get in reach of him he will be like his cowardly colleagues, silent as a clam.

Had I been corruptible I could not only be riding on passes but in private cars and have a million dollars besides. McDonald, who is himself a scoundrel and would sell himself if there were a bidder for such a vile and useless commodity, cannot possibly conceive of an honest man.

8th, Is included in its feeble-minded predecessor and requires no further answer.

9th, The Miners who live at some distance from Nelsonville and could get to the meeting only by railroad applied for the usual reduced rate to attend my meeting. I had absolutely nothing to do with it. On all such occasions, the said railroad company grants a reduced rate when 25 or more persons buy tickets. The Miners wanted to attend my meeting. I suppose the jack-ass McDonald would object to their securing a reduced rate and had them pay full fare. McDonald or DeLeon,⁶ or the devil himself can go to Nelsonville and the railroad

will do for him just what it did in my case if the given number of persons desire to attend the meeting and make application for the rate. In doing this the railroad is simply serving its own interest and such action no more indicates favor to me than if the same railroad allowed me to ride on its train when I paid full fare. This lie will serve the dirty purpose of McDonald in the printing of it but he would not dare to utter it at a public meeting where I had a chance to expose it and to riddle him and turn every decent man to kicking him from the hall.

14th, An absolute and unqualified falsehood. I went to Vancouver by invitation of the Trades Council and they gave me a hearty reception and were delighted with my lecture. They offered not the slightest objection to the lecture fee, which was larger than usual on account of the large expense required to enable Mr Rogers, my manager, and myself to reach there, as the free passes McDonald supplied in lie number 7, cost us 6 cts per mile, or 12 cts. per mile for the 2 of us, for every mile we rode to reach that remote point. Every body in the community was enthused over the lecture and the committee informed me that it was by far the most successful labor meeting ever held there. But a single croak was heard and that was from some S.L.P. man who had carded the paper before my arrival and was going to dissect me in public, but when the hour came did not dare to open his mouth, and if he had would have been thrown bodily from the hall for the people had become thoroughly disgusted with him and would tolerate him no longer.

You can also say that every dollar I received from my lectures was applied to extinguishing the debt of the A.R.U., every dollar of which I personally assumed to preserve free from blemish the name of that organization so dear to its members and so hated and feared by the railroads that they did not abate their efforts until they had crushed the last vestige of it out of existence. For six years I have devoted every dollar of my earnings to that purpose and I have worked until I have nearly fallen in my tracks in the pursuit of the self-assumed task. Prior to the Pullman Strike, in all my life I never accepted one cent for a speech, notwithstanding I delivered hundreds of speeches and addresses on all kinds of occasions in the interest of working men and I often paid my expenses from my own private pocket.

I quit a position that paid me a salary of \$4,000.00 a year and went to work organizing railroad men for nothing, paying my own expenses.

When I resigned the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, after thirteen years service, during which I handled nearly five million dollars of their funds, they unanimously voted me a donation of

\$2,000.00. I refused to accept it and it remains in their treasury today. I have refused offers of positions in which I would long ago have been a rich man, and if any one doubt it let him come here where I live, McDonald preferred, and I will pile up proof that will stagger him. I could tell you much more along this line if time and space allowed.

Let me add that when I went to Vancouver I paid my own railroad fare and also my own hotel bill.

Don't fail to note that the liar betrays himself. In question 7 he says in effect that I ride on passes; in question 17, I demand 5 pounds for railroad fare. The liar has thus pilloried himself in a way that every decent man can spit upon him.

As to barring questions at my meetings I have never done that, but in several instances the audience sat down so hard on an S.L.P. chronic interrupter that the report went forth that questions were barred at my meetings. When I first started out in the interest of the S.D.P., the S.L.P. of the McDonald breed gave it out that they would break up my meetings and drive me from the platform. They tried it three or four times and when I saw what their game was I adopted drastic measures in dealing with them and now you could not hire one of them to chirp at my meeting. Ask Comrade Miller⁷ to tell you about the Philadelphia meeting at which he was present. We had a magnificent meeting and the audience was fairly aflame with enthusiasm. All went well until the little S.L.P. gang broke loose. They had come to "ask questions." The leader was beastly drunk and clamored up on the stage and made such an exhibition of himself that the ladies turned away and the audience rose and made for the doors. This is the kind of "questions" that are barred at my meetings.

As to the sale of my pictures by my manager that is none of McDonald's business. He nor anyone else was asked to buy, and if scores of people who wanted a picture and paid for it come under censure we have a specimen of the kind of socialism McDonald would usher in, than which I would a thousand times rather capitalism should live forever.

He finds fault at every point, but he does not mention the fact that although I gave my whole time to the S.D.P. for two years I never accepted a cent of salary. The God of his idolatry, DeLeon, who was a failure and unable to make a living at everything else, has been a salary-drawer ever since he joined the party.

There is some excuse for such lying in the interest of the capitalist class, but none for a miserable sneak such as McDonald who calls himself a socialist and yet is a breathing specimen of the vilest elements of human degeneracy that the capitalist system has generated.

It is not often I indulge in this sort of thing. I have written, not to notice McDonald, but for you and I know that you will know that every word I have uttered is the unalloyed truth.

Thanking you from a grateful heart for your noble fidelity and wishing you and yours all the good things of life in abundance, I remain,

Your loving brother
Eugene V. Debs
K.

ALS (in hand of Katherine Metzel Debs), NNYI, Winchevsky Papers.

1. A McDonald letter to Morris Winchevsky is not in the Winchevsky Papers at the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research in New York City.

2. Winchevsky's letter to Debs has not been found.

3. The full statement is in the *Railway Times*, January 1, 1897.

4. Money collected for the Social Democracy of America colonization plan.

5. The Socialist Labor party. Its paper, *The People*, regularly used similarly abrasive language in discussing Debs and the Social Democratic party.

6. Daniel DeLeon (1852-1914) was the dominant figure in the Socialist Labor party and editor of the party's paper, *The People*. DeLeon, a consistent critic of Debs, and Debs cooperated in launching the Industrial Workers of the World in 1906, but Debs soon left that organization. At the time of DeLeon's death, however, Debs wrote an appreciative essay on DeLeon's contributions to labor and socialism in "A Tribute to Daniel DeLeon," which appeared in the August 1914 issue of the *Rip-Saw* and other papers.

7. Probably Walter H. Miller, a Philadelphia socialist who attended the organizational convention of the Social Democracy of America in Chicago in 1898.

EVD to Morris Winchevsky

May 16, 1901

Terre Haute, Indiana

My dear Winchevsky:

I have your note and also the copy of the May-day issue of "Justice"¹ which I have not yet had time to examine with such care as it deserves but will peruse with pleasure at my earliest leisure. Your American letter, which I scanned hastily, is eminently to your credit. It embraces a statement of facts embellished with felicity of expression, which makes it both readable and instructive. The facetious touch you have given the closing part of it makes it just spicy enough to tickle the palate and call for more. I am quite sure I should have seen your photograph between the lines even though your signature had not

been attached to it, and I think it quite complimentary enough to the writer that the letter is so entirely Winchevskian.

Yes, I read the "Worker"² and am much pleased with it. The spirit of its editorial policy is all that could be asked and the general tone is creditable to the party and the movement. I too believe the prospects for a united party are excellent and that our present and past contentions will soon culminate in a solidified, aggressive and well equipped party worthy the International Movement.

I regret keenly to hear of your impaired health. With your sensitive organism I can readily understand how severe the strain has been and can only adjure you to take care of yourself and conserve your energies for the demands of the future.

Believe me always

Your loving Comrade.

E. V. Debs,
K.

ALS (in hand of Katherine Metzel Debs), NNYI, Winchevsky Papers.

1. Published in London and edited by Harry Quelch, *Justice* was the organ of the Social Democratic Federation in England.

2. Publication of the anti-DeLeon faction of the Socialist Labor party, which merged with the Social Democratic party to create the Socialist Party of America in 1901.

EVD to Morris Winchevsky

July 10, 1901

Terre Haute, Indiana

My dear Winchevsky:

Pardon my seeming remissness as I have but recently returned and your letter and copy of "Justice"¹ came during my absence. I have carefully read your article and give it my hearty and grateful approval. You covered every point in controversy and although you may not stem the billingsgate of your unworthy competitor, you have effectively silenced him so far as fact and argument are concerned. As a controversialist you have the happy faculty of stating your case, not only with clearness and brevity, but with {such} calmness and good temper as to win respect and command approval. For the sake of truth you have discharged a not unimportant duty and I wish you to know that I am deeply sensible of it and hold you, if possible, in more loving esteem than ever before. As to my personal obligation to you for

having rescued my name from detraction I shall not offend your sensibilities by attempting to express it. I can only hope that some day I may be able to prove in some degree my appreciation of your beautiful devotion.

I regret that it is impossible for me to furnish the article you wish at present as I am pressed on all sides with exactions and find myself unable to write several already promised. You can scarcely imagine how busy I am and with what a variety of demands I am besieged. When I emerge from the thickest of the engagement I shall be happy to serve you in this or any other way.

Mrs. Debs joins me in loving regard to you and all you love.

Yours always
Eugene V. Debs.
K.

ALS (in hand of Katherine Metzel Debs), NNYI, Winchevsky Papers.

1. Winchevsky's article, "The Social Democratic Party and Its Traducers," appeared in the May 20, 1901, issue of *Justice* and was based in large part on the information provided by Debs in his letter to Winchevsky on May 4, 1901.

EVD to Morris Winchevsky

August 10, 1901

Terre Haute, Indiana

My dear Winchevsky:

Your note is with me and I am glad you have made use of my name. You know me well enough to know that you are at liberty to draw on me and that you need have no hesitancy about it.

Most earnestly do I wish the "Comrade"¹ success in large measure, pressed down and running over. I am only sorry that there are so many other demands upon my time that I cannot lend a vigorous hand.

The convention² wrote a page of socialist history that will be to the eternal credit of every delegate who had a hand in it. Succeeding years will add fresh luster to the achievement.

Mrs. Debs and I reciprocate your cordial greeting and join in love and all good wishes to you and all you love.

Yours always.
Eugene V. Debs.
K.

ALS (in hand of Katherine Metzel Debs, including signature), NNYI, Winchevsky Papers.

1. *Comrade* was edited by Winchevsky in New York from 1901 to 1905, when it was absorbed by the *International Socialist Review*. A Debs essay, "How I Became a Socialist," appeared in the April 1902 issue of *Comrade*.

2. The unity convention of the Springfield and Chicago factions of the Social Democratic party, the anti-DeLeon wing of the Socialist Labor party, and a few other groups was held in Indianapolis on July 29, 1901. The new party that emerged from the convention was called the Socialist Party of America, in part to counter state laws that were being passed to exclude from the ballot any party using the name of existing parties.

Elizabeth H. Thomas to Theodore Debs

September 2, 1901

Milwaukee, Wisconsin

Dear Comrade Debs:

Comrade Berger¹ has asked me to write to you on rather an unpleasant subject. It seems that there is an ugly story about the effect that the Chicago headquarters somehow made some money out of the movement and turned over the proceeds to us to start the *Herald* in Milwaukee.² Of course this tale is equally to the disadvantage of you and ourselves. It will also greatly injure the *Herald* and many who would otherwise assist it will now probably stand aloof.

Berger is very anxious that the *Herald* next week shall contain a financial statement of the S.D.P.³ Such a statement would make all clear to the doubting ones, and save our good names which are now in considerable jeopardy. I think that such a statement is due to our reputation as well as yours. The sooner it is published, the sooner people's mouths will be stopped, and it is better that the story should be stopped in the beginning, before it goes very far. Then it will be impossible to stop it with any statement. Therefore Comrade Berger earnestly requests you to make no delay, but send us the statement for publication so that it will reach us next Monday or Tuesday morning at the latest, in time to go into the paper.

Hoping you will be able to do so, I remain,

Ever your comrade,
Elizabeth H. Thomas

P.S. What seems to puzzle people most is the difference between the party debt as reported in the January Convention and as reported in the last Indianapolis convention, a difference caused, I understand by the fact of the Dietzgen debt⁴ being omitted in the early report.

If you can make this clear to their intellects, it will probably set all right.

TLS, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. Born in Transylvania and educated in private schools and at the universities of Vienna and Budapest, Victor Louis Berger (1860-1929) emigrated to the United States in 1878 and at once entered politics in Milwaukee, which was the base of his political power for the remainder of his life. A founder of the Social Democratic party in 1898 and the Socialist Party of America in 1901, Berger edited the *Social Democratic Herald* and after 1911 the *Milwaukee Leader*, two of the leading socialist papers of the time. He was the first socialist to be elected to the United States Congress (in 1910), and his election to Congress in 1918 was followed by that body's refusal to seat him because of his antiwar views. When Congress refused once again to seat Berger following his victory in a special election, his seat remained vacant for the remainder of the term. After the war, Berger served in Congress from 1923 to 1929. Allies in the early years of the Socialist party movement, Debs and Berger eventually drifted apart, in part because of Debs's belief that Berger had introduced bossism in the party in Wisconsin and at the national level.

2. The first Milwaukee edition of the *Social Democratic Herald* was published on August 17, 1901.

3. The "Springfield faction" of the party reported to the unity convention an indebtedness of \$677.02, the "Chicago organization" one of \$1,083.77.

4. Eugene Dietzgen, a Chicago businessman and member of the anti-DeLeon faction of the SLP, lent the SDP \$200 at the time of the party's founding in 1898, and the debt remained unpaid when the SPA was launched in 1901.

Elizabeth H. Thomas to Theodore Debs

September 7, 1901

Milwaukee, Wisconsin

Dear Comrade Debs:

Thanks for your good long letter; it will answer the purpose of a report very well for the present, for I will show it to a few of our leading members, and they will make all right with the rest. The main thing was to check the yarn before it had gone too far. When the final report is published it will clear up the last film of doubt. I am sure that in the end of ends, as the Russians say, your labors will be fully appreciated, and it will be remembered how faithfully and devotedly you labored for the movement. When this factional feeling has calmed a little, people will see a good many things in a new light.

I will write more when I get time. I am very busy just now getting ready for a short vacation—a flying trip home.

Love to Mrs. Debs and the little daughter.

Ever your comrade
Elizabeth H. Thomas

TLS, InTI, Debs Collection.

Leon Greenbaum¹ to Theodore Debs

October 30, 1901
St. Louis, Missouri

Dear Comrade:—

On October 24th. I received a letter from Comrade J. W. Kelley² Chairman of Arrangements Committee reading as follows:

Marion, Ind. 10/23 1901.

To Leon Greenbaum,
National Secretary, Socialist Party.

Dear Sir & Comrade:—

The committee on arrangements for unity convention to whom was referred the Referendum vote of the party on Unity³ Proposition are happy to announce in this our final report that not a single dissenting vote has been received all branches reporting unanimous vote in the affirmative.

J. W. Kelley,
Chairman.

While unity had already been effected on state lines in practically all of the states in which factions had previously existed, nevertheless I was obliged to delay the writing of this letter until receipt of formal announcement from Comrade Kelley. As you know the convention at Indianapolis, gave us instructions as follows:

RESOLVED, that upon the endorsement of the acts of this convention by general referendum vote of the S.D.P. with headquarters in Chicago, the Socialist Party here formed shall assume the indebtedness of \$677.02 as reported by Secretary Butscher⁴ of the Springfield organization, and the indebtedness of \$1083.77 as reported by Secretary Debs of the Chicago Socialist Party, Provided, however, that upon such assumption of the said indebtedness the

books, records, funds resources and liabilities on hand shall be turned over to the National Secretary of the Socialist Party.

In conformity with this resolution and the announcement by Comrade Kelley of the result of the referendum, I desire to say on behalf of the National Committee of the Socialist Party that we consider ourselves instructed to assume the indebtedness of \$1083.77 as reported by you at the Indianapolis convention together with the indebtedness of \$677.02 reported by Comrade Butscher of the Springfield organization both of which obligations, we shall endeavor to discharge as quickly as enabled by the means at our command. The resolution contains a provision regarding the archives of both parties which is the sole remaining condition for the assumption by the new party of the liabilities of the old parties. It affords me pleasure to perform my official part in this negotiation, both on account of personal and political reasons. Nothing affords me greater satisfaction at present nor animates me with more anticipation of joy in the future, than any opportunity which comes to me now or may come hereafter, to serve any or all of the Comrades who are battling for our common cause, regardless of differences that may have existed in the past or may exist in the future. The local quorum are animated with the same spirit and in their behalf as well as my own, we especially invite you to stop over in this city if possible should you at any time be in the vicinity; and we shall be pleased at any time to do anything in our power to serve you either in a personal or official capacity. With kindest regards, I remain,

Yours fraternally,
Leon Greenbaum
Nat'l Secy.

TLS, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. Leon Greenbaum of St. Louis was elected national secretary of the SPA at the Indianapolis convention at a salary of \$1,000 per year (if he could raise funds to cover that expense).

2. John W. Kelley (1857-1935) was a furniture dealer in Marion, Indiana, and was elected to that city's common council on the Social Democratic party ticket in 1900. He later ran unsuccessfully as the Socialist Party of America candidate for mayor of Marion (1905, 1909) and served on the party's national committee from 1911 to 1917.

3. The actions taken by the various factions that made up the Socialist Party of America at the Indianapolis convention were submitted to a party referendum.

4. William Butscher of Brooklyn, New York, had been national secretary of the Springfield faction of the SDP before the unity convention in Indianapolis.

Leon Greenbaum to Theodore Debs

November 23, 1901

St. Louis, Missouri

Dear Comrade:—

Your letter of November 18th received, enclosing bill of lading, letter from the Brooklyn Daily Eagle and statement of the Social Democratic Party with headquarters at Chicago, of receipts and expenditures from January first to September 30th, 1901, together with the statement of the liabilities of said party, amounting to \$982.45 and list of branches in the unorganized states. The National Committee in regular session, yesterday, voted to receive the statements rendered by you and to assume the obligation above named and authorized me to discharge the same from time to time as enabled by the finances of the party. Our financial condition is somewhat feeble in proportion to the manifold duties {placed} upon us. Some of the states have not {and} will not pay us dues until January, including such veteran states as New Jersey, Massachusetts and Wisconsin. However I feel that I need not make any apologies to you for any delay that may ensue in paying the debts of the party, as from your experience as National Secretary you know what difficulties we have to contend with. I desire to acknowledge the receipt of the office equipment shipped by you on the 18th instant. I thank you for your offer of assistance in weaving together the movement throughout the country and intend to avail myself of your kindness, should occasion arise at any time. With best wishes for your personal wellbeing and future usefulness to the Socialist movement, I remain,

Yours Fraternally,
Leon Greenbaum
National Secretary.

TLS, InTI, Debs Collection.

EVD to Theodore Debs

June 14, 1902

Helena, Montana

My Dear Theo,

Your letter of the 9th reached me here. In the last three letters from you mention was made of papers you sent at the same time.

Not one of these has reached me, and I am unable to account for it, except upon the ground that the papers were large and bulky and insufficiently stamped. I was particularly anxious to see the paper containing the article telling the truth, as you put it in your letter, about the Chicago strike.¹ When I left Denver I gave instructions to have any papers that might come restamped and directed to me here. But none has come, and I do not expect any, for papers somehow receive less attention and not infrequently go astray. If you send anything in that line hereafter, please clip it from the paper and enclose it with your letter, or in an envelope at least, and then I will be sure to get it.

The paper containing the Kidd interview,² like the rest, has not reached me. I cannot, therefore, comply with your request in the matter as to whether I am correctly reported in the interview. What I said at Denver is absolutely correct, and I can stand by it against all comers. Kidd is hardly good authority for what I said as he was not present, and did not hear any one of my three speeches. At the meeting, where the question was considered, Morrison³ spoke first, Kidd second and as soon as the latter closed he left the hall, saying that he had to catch a train for Chicago. Morrison and I then had it out.⁴ My speeches were stenographically reported, and I have copies of same, and any attempt at misrepresentation can be very promptly defeated.

I do not suppose you could procure copies of the papers containing the article on the Chicago strike and the Kidd interview, but if you can do so, I should be glad to have them. But don't go to the least trouble about it, for after all, little consequence attaches to the matter. The rapid progress we are making will in the near future silence carping criticism, and in the meantime I am well able to take care of any opposition that may develop, especially on the part of the leaders of antiquated trades-unionism, who for the most part, are simply the tools of the capitalist class. Moreover, not one of them will dare to question me when I am present, nor undertake to call me to account for any utterance at Denver or elsewhere. Nothing would suit me better than to face the entire lot and dispose of them at a single stroke and none know this so well as they, and they have sufficient wisdom to understand that discretion is the better part of valor, and question my attitude only when I am far away.

I am here for a day or two with Celia and her husband. Blanche⁵ is also here and our little colony is very happy. Wish you and Gertrude might be with us. Benedict⁶ has just stepped in. I know how fond you

are of him and will remember you to him. All join in best love to you and Gertrude and Marguerite.

Yours lovingly,
Eugene

TLS, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. The Chicago street-railway workers' strike of 1902-3.
2. Thomas Inglis Kidd (1861-1941) was secretary-treasurer of the Amalgamated Woodworkers of America from 1893 to 1907 and a vice-president of the AFL under Gompers. Kidd edited the *International Woodworker*.
3. Frank Morrison (1859-1949) was elected secretary of the AFL in 1897 and served in that position for more than forty years under Gompers and later William Green.
4. The Morrison-Debs "debate" occurred at the American Labor Union convention in Denver on May 31, 1902.
5. Celia Martin and Blanche Baur Bogart were half-sisters of Debs's wife, Katherine. Blanche Bogart's husband, Frank, was a banker in Helena.
6. Louis Benedict, Debs's secretary in the American Railway Union.

EVD to Theodore Debs

July 15, 1902
Billings, Montana

My dear old Kude:

Have yours 17th also papers, also clipping:—previously sent. A thousand thanks. I'm getting along alright. Gompers, O'Connell¹ & 1 or 2 others were at Denver the other day & cut damned little ice. The Socialists were so thick (?) that the paper said Gompers didn't try more than once to run counter to them.

I wrote Tom Kidd a damned sharp letter he'll not show his friends. I told him he was a socialist once, or professed to be—& when it came to the "lamented A.R.U.," he could scarcely in his present position afford to have the record quoted. I told him *he knew* that no one did more to defeat & destroy the ARU than Gompers & that no one denounced Gompers more fiercely at that time than Kidd.

I told him also his interview was a tissue of lies & he knew it—that I had stenographic reports of my Denver speeches & every delegate there to prove his statements lies—and I also told him Frank Morrison wouldn't deny they were lies.

I told him furthermore not to worry about me, that the friends I lost, I could afford to lose. ~~couldn't~~

Then I wound up by saying if he or Gompers or all [of] them has

anything to say about my attitude, to simply chirp or make it convenient to run into me & I would be glad to accommodate them with all the trophies the entire outfit could secure from the encounter.

Kidd has been Gomperized & will go to nothingness with the rest.

I send you Butte paper to-day. Better hand it to Sherman.² When you see Sherman tell him I appreciate his loyalty & send him my love.

Tell him also I am addressing the greatest mass meetings ever held in the West—a perfect uprising.

Am too busy to write. Will send you my dates after July 21 soon as I get 'em.

All's well with me. It's my lot to fight & by God I'm putting in full time. I may wear out, but I'll not rust out.

A Spokane Astrologist has just cast my horoscope—very elaborate & wonderful. He shows that I'll be President in 1912. Don't want to be but I'll make history before I get through—

Have read all the articles you sent. Thanks!

Love & kisses to Gertrude & the Geezer.³

ALS, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. James P. O'Connell (1858-1936) was grand master of the International Association of Machinists from 1893 to 1911 and an AFL vice-president from 1895 to 1918. An opponent of industrial unionism and lifelong Democrat, O'Connell served under Woodrow Wilson as a member of the Commission on Industrial Relations and the wartime Council on National Defense.

2. Charles O. Sherman (1859-1922) worked as fireman and engineer on the railroads before joining the ARU in 1894 and, following the Pullman Strike, being blacklisted in that industry. Thereafter, Sherman organized and served as general secretary of the United Metal Workers International Union and in 1904 joined in issuing the manifesto that led to the formation of the IWW, of which he served as president for one year (1905-6). From 1907 until his death, Sherman worked as an organizer and speaker for the Socialist party in the Midwest and as a volunteer in the party's national office in Chicago.

3. Theodore Debs's daughter, Marguerite.

EVD to Jean Daniel Debs and Marguerite Bettrich Debs

July 26, 1902

Silverton, Colorado

My dearest Dandy & Daisy:

A little while longer and you'll hear my "rebel yell" and I'll see your dear faces once again. My heart turns toward you many, many times a day and I often feel that you are near to me and that your presence sustains me in my work.

I hope you are standing the hot days of summer without too much suffering. A thousand times I have wished that you could be in the cool can[y]ons of Colorado during the awful dog days in Indiana.

The other day in Montana, sitting in the car, the lady just opposite me exclaimed: "Look at the deer!" but the deer disappeared over a ridge in the mountains before I could see him.

Day before yesterday the conductor came rushing toward me & shouted: "See the deer, Mr. Debs," but just then the train shot around a curve & I again missed seeing the deer.

I enjoyed Howard's¹ picture of Dandy. It stirred my blood & reminded me of the old days when Dandy used to come home with his game bag loaded to feed his hungry brood & then dear Daisy cooked it all up fit for a Prince of Royal blood & we filled our hides till we could hardly bat our eyes.

You two stood all the hardships, braved all the dangers & underwent all the suffering of pioneers & frontiersmen and in the world's eternal record your names are written & will ever be preserved in characters of light & glory.

I have just written a short letter to John & Mary. I keep up a regular correspondence with Em. & I also hear in her usual cheery chirp from our dear "Stern." Tell Howard his packages reach me in the finest order & that I'm entirely satisfied & am hoping that in all other things he's doing as well so I can be proud of him on my return.

Tell Boosie that I'd enjoy a loaf of her home made bread & about 2 pounds of homemade sausage cakes. That would about make a moderate lunch for me.

I think of you all & love you always with a deathless devotion.

To Dandy & Daisy & Boosie & Stern & Howard I send my heart's purest affection.

Yours in time & eternity
Eugene

ALS, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. Debs's nephew, Howard Selby.

EVD to Jean Daniel Debs and Marguerite Bettrich Debs

November 5, 1902

Fairfield, Iowa

My most revered Parents:

My most sacred birthday thoughts are with you and my most hal-
lowed benediction is upon your venerable and noble heads.

With all the affection, gratitude and filial devotion of which man
is capable, I kneel in your presence and lift up my eyes and call you
blessed.

From the day of my birth, through every hour of my infancy, youth
and manhood, you loved me, guided me, protected me, counselled
me, toiled for me and suffered for me, and were I to live a thousand
years I could not begin to pay this debt of gratitude and love I owe
you.

All I am and all I have, I offer to you with open heart and free
hands. You may truly look the world in the face and fear not, for
your virtuous and honest lives are as open books.

May you be spared for our love and veneration many more years
is the heart's fondest wish of

Your most devoted son
Eugene

ALS, InTI, Debs Collection.

EVD to Karl Kautsky¹

November 29, 1902

Terre Haute, Indiana

My dear Comrade:

Absence has belated my acknowledgement of your photograph
which I have received through our mutual friend and Comrade Dietz-

gen. A thousand thanks for your kindness and the compliment it carries with it which is fully appreciated. The photograph is excellent and it shall have a place of honor in my private gallery and serve to remind me of our gallant comrades across the water.

Believe me with all good wishes,

Yours fraternally,

Eugene V. Debs

ALS, International Institute of Social History, Kautsky Papers.

1. Karl Kautsky (1854-1938) was editor of a leading German socialist journal, *Die Neue Zeitung*, in Stuttgart and the author of a score of books on Marx, socialism, and social democracy. In a letter dated December 4, 1925, Debs told Kautsky that his writing had given Debs "some of my earliest and most precious lessons in socialism."

EVD to Jean Daniel Debs

December 2, 1902

Lansing, Michigan

My dearest Father:

This will reach you on your birthday. My loving congratulations are with you on this anniversary of your natal day. No words can begin to express the tender emotions that swell within me as I think of this day, 82 years ago, and what it meant for me and for all our family. How I long to be at your side with my arms about you that I might look with loving eyes into your venerable face and press my kisses reverently upon your lips.

It is a duty I owe you as well as myself to say to-day that no boy living or dead, ever had a better father than you have been to me, one who more completely fulfilled every parental duty or set a truer example of honesty, manliness and all other virtues that crown the true man the noblest work of the creator.

You and dear mother have indeed fulfilled your mission—through all your sweet, honest, virtuous lives you toiled, suffered, sacrificed and many times had your hearts wrung almost to despair, but through it all you battled bravely, unflinchingly—you preserved the "spotless whiteness of your souls," and no breath of dishonor has ever ventured to assail your fair names. You have placed me and all of your children under an eternity of obligation and on this occasion I lovingly, reverently acknowledge my share with the assurance that never, never for a single moment, no matter how long I may live, or what fate

may have in store for me, will I forget you, will my love and gratitude show even a shadow of turning.

I rejoice, my dearest father, that at 82 you are still hale and hearty and that your noble mind is still as clear as in your physical prime, and I am promising myself that we shall yet enjoy many, many hours in social intercourse and affectionate companionship.

With all the devotion of my soul and all the love my heart contains I subscribe myself

Your son
Eugene

ALS, InTI, Debs Collection.

Katherine Metzel Debs to John M. Dickey¹

December 31, 1902
Terre Haute, Indiana

Dear Sir:

Your letter of the 18th ult. found Mr. Debs absent from the city on a lecture tour and I have held the letter awaiting his return that he might give it his personal attention, but as he has since been assigned to the Pacific Coast, being now in Oregon, and he will doubtless be absent several weeks more, I now, at his request, take pleasure in enclosing copies of the letters of Mr. Riley, hoping that no inconvenience has been caused by the delay.

Mr. Debs wishes me to say that he is profoundly interested in the biographical work of Mr. Riley which you have undertaken and that it will be a pleasure to him to serve you in any way in his power.

It is certainly a wise and necessary precaution the poet is taking in having such an important work done in an authoritative way and in his own life time, and his many thousands of friends and admirers everywhere will not only appreciate the true story of his life and the authentic account of his literary achievements, but thank him for having spared them the caricatures which men of fame are usually subjected to by their self-appointed biographers.

I need scarcely assure you that Mr. Debs and I both appreciate the compliment your letter implies. For many years we have had the honor of counting Mr. Riley as our personal friend and we have watched with pride and joy the splendid progress of his fame until now it is wide as all the world and coming years can but increase its lustre.

Kindly remember us to Mr. Riley with affectionate regards, and

wishing you the largest possible success in your truly laudable undertaking I remain,

Yours very truly
Katherine M. Debs.

ALS, InU, Lilly Library, Riley MSS.

1. John Marcus Dickey (1859-1950) was James Whitcomb Riley's platform manager from 1896 to 1901 and secretary from 1901 to 1906. He published *The Youth of James Whitcomb Riley* in 1919, *The Maturity of James Whitcomb Riley* in 1922, and a two-volume *Life* in 1923.

William Mailly to EVD

March 27, 1903

[unknown]

My dear Comrade Debs:

I have your kind favor of March 25th and same is fully noted. I agree with you that we need to put in extra work in the South¹ and I have begun preparations toward having an organizer sent through the Southern states within the next few months. I believe a good many locals can be formed in that territory and the way made ready for lecture tours by our best speakers. I should be very glad to have you go through that section under the direction of the party when you think you could do so. We are in the process of forming a state organization in West Virginia and this will enable us to prepare the way for good speakers there also.

I am gradually getting matters into better shape, although I have some knotty problems to solve before I can get the organization in good running order.

I shall be glad to hear from you at any time and look forward to seeing you when you get out this way.

With all good wishes, believe me, as ever,

Your Affectionate Comrade,
William Mailly
National Secretary.

TLC, NcD, Socialist Party Papers.

1. Mailly's experience in labor journalism included work on the *Birmingham Labor Advocate* and the *Nashville Journal of Labor* before he became editor of the *Haverhill (Massachusetts) Social Democrat* in 1899.

EVD to Adolph F. Germer¹

April 13, 1903

Terre Haute, Indiana

Dear Comrade Germer:

Your favor has been received. The pamphlet goes forward by even mail.

You must not take those people too seriously. They are doubtless honest but they are fanatics. I have no time to waste on them. Some of them are not open to reason. Thomas Paine said: "To argue with a man who has renounced his reason is like administering medicine to the dead." Some of them used to try to break up my meetings. I was patient with them to the last degree and finally I took a little gang of them in hand and disposed of them in the only way they are fit to be dealt with. They have not troubled me since and while they still squirt their venom at long range, they are careful to keep out of my way. I have not one minute of time to turn aside to notice them, but if they get in my way I will take care of them. They evidently know this and do not trouble me. All the time and energy at my command are required to promote the cause of socialism. I am entirely too much engrossed in this work to give any attention to the dog-in-the-manger fellows who are too small to build up a movement themselves and are determined that no one else shall.²

I hope you are making satisfactory progress. My loving regards to yourself and comrades.

Yours fraternally
E. V. Debs. K.

ALS (in hand of Katherine Metzel Debs, including signature), WHi, Germer Papers.

1. Adolph F. Germer (1881-1966) was born in Germany, the son of a coal miner who brought him to the United States in 1888. Germer started working in the Illinois coal fields at the age of eleven, joined the UMWA in 1894, and held a number of offices in that union, including service as its representative during the Colorado coal strike of 1913-14. A frequent correspondent of Debs, Germer joined the Social Democratic party in 1900, served on many of the party's boards and committees during the following fifteen years, and was national secretary from 1916 to 1919. His twenty-year sentence in 1919 for obstructing the draft during World War I was overturned two years later.

Germer's widely recognized talent as a union organizer was thereafter devoted to working for the Oil Field, Gas Well, and Refinery Workers Union, the reorganized UMWA, and, beginning in 1935, the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

2. Debs's reference here is almost certainly to the Socialist Labor party leadership.

Richard T. Ely¹ to EVD

April 24, 1903

[Madison, Wisconsin]

My dear Sir;

I am writing most of the articles on Socialism and Trade Unions for the New International Encyclopaedia, and I also wish, as soon as may be done, to revise my book "The Labor Movement in America" and bring it down to date. It has occurred to me that you very likely could assist me in procuring desired material. In the past you have sent me some things. You must receive an enormous amount of pamphlet material concerning the labor movement and socialism, and I should presume a great many labor papers. I am wondering if you may not have some things which would no longer be of any use to you, and which you would be willing to dispose of. Scarcely anything in the labor line would come amiss. Constitutions of labor organizations, files of newspapers and periodicals would be especially welcome.² I have to say very frankly that my means are not such as to enable me to pay what are called fancy prices, and there is not enough in articles and books of this kind to make it possible. I can pay, however, something and especially could I remunerate anyone who would take the time to look over what you may have and arrange it and send it. I think the majority of men engaged in the socialist and labor movement do not keep things which they receive, but I am hoping that you may have done so.

I am just now about to write the articles on railroad labor organizations, but do not receive from the various Brotherhoods all that I would like in the way of annual reports, back numbers of their magazines, etc. It seems to me there must be members of the Brotherhoods who would have the annual reports and copies of the Brotherhood magazines which they would be willing to dispose of for a moderate sum.

Yours very truly,
[Richard T. Ely]

TLC, WHi, Ely Papers.

1. Richard Theodore Ely (1854-1943) received his doctorate from Heidelberg in 1879 and was named the first professor of political economy at Johns Hopkins University in 1881. A critic of classical economics and social Darwinism, Ely helped found the American Economic Association in 1885 and wrote sympathetically of labor's problems in a number of books and articles both before and after becoming head of the economics department at the University of Wisconsin in 1892, a position he held for thirty-three years. Ely was the first secretary of the Christian Social Union, founded

in New York in 1891, and a leading figure in the Society of Christian Socialists, a Boston group led by William D. P. Bliss.

2. At the University of Wisconsin, Ely founded and was director of the Institute for Economic Research.

EVD to Richard T. Ely

April 29, 1903

Terre Haute, Indiana

My dear Sir:

Your favor of the 24th has been received and noted. I will with pleasure do what I can to assist you in gathering materials as requested, though my opportunities for doing so are at present quite limited as I am on the platform at present and almost continuously absent from the city. I have a mass of matter which I have not time to sift, nor could I entrust the work to any one else; and I also have a good deal of material which I would not care to part with, although desirous that you shall have the use of it freely if it will help to serve the purpose you have in view. I will send you with pleasure a variety of papers and pamphlets and later on may be able to send additional contributions. My almost continuous absence will prevent me from placing myself as completely at your service in the very excellent work you are doing as I would be glad to do under other circumstances.

Let me suggest that you drop a line to the following:

F. W. Arnold. Grand Sec'y Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen,
Peoria Ill.

W S. Carter¹ Ed. Loco. Firemen's Magazine
Indianapolis Ind.

Clarence Smith. Secy American Labor Union²
Box 1067 Butte Mont.

All are personal friends and you can freely use my name if you wish. Each of them can be of service.

Yours very truly
E V. Debs. K.

P.S. I am glad you are to bring your Labor Movement down to date.

ALS (in hand of Katherine Metzel Debs, including signature), WHi, Ely Papers.

1. William Samuel Carter (1859-1923) succeeded Debs as editor of the *BLF Mag-*

azine in 1894. He served in that position until 1903, became secretary-treasurer of the union from 1904 to 1908, and was president from 1909 to 1922.

2. An offshoot of the Western Federation of Miners and composed chiefly of socialists, the American Labor Union was launched at a convention in May 1902 at Denver. Debs toured the Northwest in search of recruits for the new organization and wrote frequently for the *American Labor Union Journal*, but the ALU had little success in winning over AFL members (one of its goals) or in organizing industrial unions; it was considered to be a parent organization of the IWW in 1905.

Henry Demarest Lloyd to EVD

June 8, 1903

Little Compton, Rhode Island

My dear Debs:—

Do you not agree with me that the present Traction question in Chicago¹ affords an almost ideal opportunity for socialist propaganda and for the enlargement of socialist influence by procuring the union of progressive radicals of all the schools in a practical work? No solution of the Chicago Traction question can be halfway successful that does not come from the whole people. It must weave into one comprehensive scheme a plan for the cooperation through a long future of tunnels, surface, and elevated, with reference first and last to the public health and convenience and to the expansion of Chicago far into the country.

The fact that the administration is pledged to submit the ordinances to popular vote is our chance. We ought to begin at once to associate every radical and public spirited man we can get in an organisation that will prepare the people to reject any patch-work or hotch-potch. What do you say? Can the Socialists be brought to interest themselves in a question which tho' *immediate* can be made to illustrate their most ideal purposes? Can they be brought into cooperation with other organizations, like the unions, single-taxers, &c? I should be glad to hear from you, and would be happy to help in such a work.

Faithfully
H. D. Lloyd

AL (in hand of Caro Lloyd), WHi, Lloyd Papers.

1. During the last year of his life, Lloyd played a leading role in the campaign for the municipal ownership of the Chicago street railways, an issue that dominated the city's politics for a decade.

EVD to Henry Demarest Lloyd

June 22, 1903

Terre Haute, Indiana

My dear Mr. Lloyd:

Your favor of the 8th inst. was received during my absence from the city. I have carefully noted all you say in your letter and also in your article in the Chicago Tribune in reference to the Municipal traction question.

I agree with you that the situation at Chicago is specially favorable for socialist propaganda and that the most should be made of the opportunity afforded by the agitation of the question, but I do not believe that more than a local issue can be made of it or that it will attract any considerable attention outside of Chicago and immediate vicinity.

It is true that as an object lesson it has its importance but it is also true that every community is having such lessons of its own every day in the week and yet the great mass of the people are ignorant or indifferent to their import.

No, I do not believe that single taxers, socialists and anti-socialist trade unionists can successfully harmonize upon any proposition whatsoever. In some exigency they may do so for the moment, but when it comes to formulating plans and platforms they are bound to separate for they are fundamentally antagonistic and every attempt to unite them, even temporarily, has resulted in failure and generally bitter feeling besides.

Experience has satisfied me of the futility of such an undertaking, however promising the prospect might seem.

I have long since determined to stick to the main issue and stay on the main track, no matter how alluring some of the byways may appear. Others may satisfy themselves better and serve the cause better by exploiting subsidiary issues as they arise, but there is nothing in this sort of thing for me. I am giving such time and energy as I have to the general propaganda of the socialist movement, taking due notice of such openings as you indicate and making the most of them in opening the eyes of the people, but never abandoning the main position, nor relaxing the main hold for a single instant to give special attention to any local or minor issue whatsoever.

I thank you for having been good enough to give me your views, for which, I need not assure you, I have the highest regard. Acting upon your suggestion and with such special and detailed information as the article in the Tribune has supplied I shall avail myself of every

opportunity to exploit the Chicago traction situation in the interest of the socialist movement.

With all good wishes I am as ever,

Yours cordially
Eugene V. Debs

ALS (in hand of Katherine Metzel Debs), WHi, Lloyd Papers.

William Mailly to EVD

July 17, 1903

[unknown]

My dear Comrade Debs:

I have been so crowded with work that I have not been able to reply to your letter of the 11th inst. until now and even this must be briefer than I should like it to be. I have heard from Comrade Reynolds reporting his having a talk with you about going to work for the national party and he states that you will be prepared to work for us later on. I was not surprised to hear this after reading your letter in which you explain your position in detail. Now, let me say, that your explanation of the situation was just as I understood it. I realized that you are doing very good work in your present field and I believe the majority of the comrades think so too. If there are those who do not, it is more I believe because they do not understand the situation than through any malice toward you. In all my experience in the movement I have never heard anyone in our party impugning your honesty or sincerity. I would not let the actions of a few disturb me, or cause you to think that your work and devotion to Socialism and the party is not appreciated. Another thing you must consider, Comrade Debs, {is} that the party to-day is not as it was three years ago. Gradually we are getting things into condition where our speakers and organizers will not have to suffer humiliation or embarrassment because they are working for the party. I am trying to establish a system where every speaker working directly for the party will receive remuneration according to his services {and} the membership at large will be able to [see our best?] men under the most favorable circumstances. This must be considered also that there are men who are taking advantage of the growing interest in Socialism to exploit the movement for their personal benefit. This is to be expected as the movement grows, but the membership should be protected in some

way. There is not a man I know, of any standing in the movement at all, but who would like to see you put in a position where you could be free to give all your splendid ability directly to the party work. I hope that we will be able to make some arrangements by which we can get you for sometime during the fall. I know I am justified in saying that this is {immeasurably} desired, even should it cost the national party something to get you.

Comrade Berger has proposed that we secure Comrade Bebel¹ from Germany during the next winter and that you and Bebel tour together under the direction of the party. The matter is now before the [illegible]. While I am doubtful about our getting Bebel over here next winter, yet I think the idea a splendid one and I believe that it would arouse great enthusiasm throughout the country.

I wish I could see you and have a talk with you in the near future. I believe we could come to a better understanding in fifteen minutes talk than we could in a hundred letters, although I appreciate your position to the utmost. What I want is to give you a chance to hear my side of the [issue?].

My wife² urged me to remember her to you and you will please accept the affectionate regards of,

Yours sincerely,
[William Mailly]
National Secretary

TLC, NcD, Socialist Party Papers.

1. August Bebel (1840-1913) was a leader of the German Social Democratic party, of which he was one of the founders in 1869. Bebel sat in the German Reichstag from 1871 to 1881 and 1883 to 1913 and edited the party paper, *Vorwärts*.

2. Mailly had married Bertha Howell in May 1903. Bertha Howell Mailly (1869-1960) graduated from Cornell in 1894, taught in the public schools, and worked in the libraries in Chicago, Milwaukee, and New York. In 1910 she began her long career as executive secretary of the Rand School of Social Science in New York City. After World War I, she served on both the New York state and the national executive committees of the Socialist party.

EVD to Clinton Pinckney Farrell¹

August 11, 1903
Terre Haute, Indiana

My dear Mr. Farrell,
On this as no other day²—

“Remembrance wakens,
with all her busy train,
Swells at my heart,
and turns the past to pain.”

Though his knightly form has vanished, the mighty Ingersoll still strides the earth—and on this anniversary of his birth we see him, hear him and feel ourselves thrilled and stirred {once more} by the magic of his matchless powers.

What a legacy of love, of wealth he left the world!

The generations yet to be, made rich by his immortal contributions, will know him well and love and honor him above all others.

He wrought for the ages and his memory will become more luminous with the centuries.

This day is holy in our calendar and its treasured memories will be sacred to us forever.

We are with you! Love and greeting to you all.

Yours always
E. V. Debs

ALS, DLC, Ingersoll Papers.

1. Clinton Pinckney Farrell (1850-1925) was Robert Ingersoll's brother-in-law and the authorized publisher of Ingersoll's works.

2. Ingersoll was born on August 11, 1833.

EVD to Edwin Markham

September 30, 1903
Terre Haute, Indiana

Dear Mr. Markham:

Your notes of the 3rd and 7th inst. in reference to the poem of Mr. Max Ehrmann¹ were received during my absence from the city and I note with regret that you do not see your way clear to write the introduction as requested. Still more do I regret that you should have raised the question of price. Mr. Ehrmann could, if necessary, pay ten thousand dollars for the work, but I never supposed for an instant that you would do it at all, even for a million, unless you could do it conscientiously, and in that case that you would render a fellow author such service as a matter of duty even as others rendered you similar service while you yet struggled in obscurity to have your work and worth recognized by the world.

Thanking you for consideration and with all good wishes I remain,

Yours very truly

Eugene V. Debs. Per K.

ALS (in hand of Katherine Metzel Debs, including signature), NNWML.

1. Max Ehrmann (1872-1945) was a native of Terre Haute and a close friend of Debs who took a keen interest in Ehrmann's growing recognition as a poet, dramatist, and writer. The work mentioned here was probably Ehrmann's *Breaking Home Ties*, which was published in 1904 in New York—without an introduction. Ehrmann was later one of a number of writers who proposed writing Debs's biography.

EVD to Morris Hillquit¹

October 29, 1903

Terre Haute, Indiana

My dear Comrade:

Returning from the South I find the copy of your "History of Socialism in the United States," inscribed with your compliments, for which please accept my best thanks.

I have just finished reading the introduction and opening chapters and I have also glanced through the general contents and am very much pleased with the plan, arrangement, substance and general style of the work. You have written the very book needed at this time and the information and historical data it furnishes will be of special value not only to socialists, but to all students of socialism and social reform.

I feel personally under obligation to you for this excellent and comprehensive contribution to the literature of socialism in the United States and shall with pleasure recommend the work and otherwise aid in giving it the wide circulation it deserves and should have in the interest of the movement. You are at liberty to command me in any way I can serve you to that end.

Thanking you again and wishing you results equal to your best expectations I am

Yours fraternally

Eugene V. Debs

ALS, WHi, Hillquit Papers.

1. A native of Riga, Latvia, Morris Hillquit (1869-1933) emigrated to the United States in 1886, graduated from the law school at the University of the City of New York in 1893, and soon became a leading spokesman for the Socialist Labor party and later the Social Democratic party and the Socialist Party of America. A popular speaker and debater on socialist subjects, Hillquit ran frequently and unsuccessfully

for Congress and mayor in New York City elections and as an attorney often defended socialists accused of violating the World War I espionage and sedition laws. In addition to *The History of Socialism in the United States*, Hillquit wrote *Socialism in Theory and Practice* (1909) and *Socialism Summed Up* (1912).

EVD to Catherine Markham¹

December 9, 1903

Terre Haute, Indiana

Dear Mrs. Markham:

Your valued favor was received during my absence from the city. Each word has been noted with interest and appreciation. I certainly must confess to having misinterpreted the last letter from Mr. Markham, and I fear that my answer has also been misunderstood. I would not have you under the impression for a moment that I would add to the imposition to which I know he must be subjected, and when I wrote in behalf of Mr. Ehrmann it was with no intention of taking Mr. Markham's time from other literary labors and making no proper return for it. I expected Mr. Markham, to say, simply, "I can't see my way clear to write the introduction," or, I can comply with your request and shall have to charge \$50.00 (or \$10000 as the case might be) for the time and labor the service will require. In either case, the answer would have been entirely satisfactory and all misunderstanding would have been avoided. I neither expected Mr. Markham to offend his conscience, nor to work without pay. Mr. Ehrmann is quite well able to pay and there would have been no question upon that point. As to whether the charge Mr. Markham would have felt obliged to make would have been out of proportion to the results realized from the service by Mr. Ehrmann would have been an entirely different matter and one for which Mr. Markham could not have been held responsible.

In plain words Mr. Markham did not think the poem has sufficient merit as a literary production to justify his sponsorship and in that case no reasonable person would have expected him to hazard his own literary reputation in writing the introduction, and my only regret is that Mr. Markham did not candidly put his objection upon that ground instead of raising the question of inadequate financial compensation which has been so unfortunately misunderstood. However, your own explanation clears the whole matter and I now understand

that the momentary evasion was due wholly to Mr. Markham's solicitude for a young author and his delicacy in avoiding the wounding of his sensibilities. Taking this view of it, Mr. Markham's position is not only unexceptionable but noble and commendable in the highest degree.

Please receive for Mr. Markham and yourself the assurance of my profound esteem.

Yours cordially,
Eugene V. Debs

I will explain fully to Mr. Reynolds² and Mr. Ehrmann and am sure that all will be well.

ALS (in hand of Katherine Metzel Debs), NNWML.

1. Anna Catherine Markham, the wife of Edwin Markham, was a popular author of children's stories and lecturer on child labor and other social reform issues.

2. Stephen Marion Reynolds, a mutual friend of Debs and Ehrmann.

EVD to Clara Spalding Ellis¹

February 6, 1904
Terre Haute, Indiana

Dear Mrs. Ellis:

Your communication was received during my absence from the city. The question you ask is a large and serious one and it is doubtful if in the hurry of the moment I can make myself intelligible to yourself and readers. I am so busy with the affairs of this life, so much concerned with the wrongs that exist here, with the suffering that prevails now, and so profoundly impressed with the sense of duty I owe myself and my fellowman here and now that I have but little time to think of what lies beyond the grave; and but for the earnestness and anxiety so apparent in your letter, I should feel obliged to decline the attempt to answer a question which at best must still remain unanswered.

The most scientific minds have thus far failed to demonstrate the immortality of human life and yet the normal human being, the wide world over, be he learned or ignorant, wise or foolish, good or {evil, longs for, yearns for,} hungers and hopes for, if he does not actually believe in life everlasting, and this seems to me to present the strongest proof that immortality is a fact in nature.

There are many truths that are not demonstrable to the ordinary

senses and yet they are so obvious and self-evident that it were folly to attempt to deny or contradict them.

Coming more directly to your question, as to whether I, my personal, identical, conscious self, shall continue to live after my body goes back to dust, I confess I do not know, nor do I know of any means of knowing; but as I, in that narrow capacity, am infinitesimally insignificant, it is a question which does not greatly concern me.

I believe firmly, however, in the immortal life of humanity as a whole, and as my little life merges in and becomes an elementary part of that infinitely larger life, I may, and in fact do feel secure in the faith and belief in immortality.

Men are small, but *Man* is tall as God Himself.

The universal life is eternal and will enrich and glorify the world with its divinity after all the planets wheel dead in space.

Yours very truly.

Eugene V. Debs

P.S. The above was written in the press of a busy day. If you put it in type I would thank you to send me a proof-slip that I may go over it again.

ALS (in hand of Katherine Metzel Debs), EVD Foundation, Debs Home.

1. Clara Spalding Ellis (1855-1935) was a journalist and author whose writings, mostly travel sketches and feature articles, appeared in *New England Magazine* and other publications. A book, *What's Next? or Shall a Man Live Again?*, published in 1906, dealt with her interest in "what lies beyond the grave."

EVD to Adolph F. Germer

March 4, 1904

Terre Haute, Indiana

My dear Comrade:

Your note is received. Sorry I will not be here as I have to leave for Michigan. Would be delighted to see you were I here. I met Comrade Koenig and others on the train coming from the West and learned that you also were en route but on another train.

These should be eye-opening days to the miners.¹ The class struggle could not well be brought out into bolder relief. President Mitchell's oft-repeated statement that "there is no necessary antagonism between capital and labor" meets its denial in every hour of the present hos-

tilities. Each class is fighting for what it can get and whatever the outcome the operators will be the winners and the miners will still be wage-slaves. If there is no "necessary" antagonism between these two economic classes, then it must be unnecessary antagonism and it ought to be very easy to find and eliminate that. In that case, too, the miners should be willing to let the operators, who are said to be their "best friends," settle the whole contention instead of foolishly insisting upon fighting for what they can get for their class, thereby exposing the sophistry of Mitchell's "harmony" statement and proving the class struggle.

Verily, these are days for miners to think and see for themselves. The ballot-box is the only place where they can vanquish the operators and come in possession of their own.

Yours fraternally
E. V. Debs. Per K.

ALS (in hand of Katherine Metzel Debs, including signature), WHi, Germer Papers.

1. The United Mine Workers of America held its fifteenth annual convention in Indianapolis from January 18 through January 27, 1904, and in a special session from March 5 to March 7, finally agreeing to submit the coal operators' contract offer to local unions for approval or rejection. The locals' approval of the contract was denounced by Debs as "a tame surrender" in his *Reply to John Mitchell*, a widely circulated pamphlet published at the time.

Frank X. Holl to EVD

May 21, 1904
Portland, Oregon

My Dear Gene:

I notice by the Western Union dispatches sometime past that the nomination is again forced on you for president¹ by the socialist party and I intended to write to you before this. I am not quite sure whether to extend my sympathies or congratulations. I have heard from a few of your friends here and they are anxious that I should congratulate you. I realize fully the amount of abuse you will have to stand during the next six months, but I am confident that if we poll 1,000,000 votes this year that your chances of election four years from now possibly might be postponed eight years, will be certain. I believe that you will be obliged to be a candidate from now on until you are

elected or die, and I am satisfied from the trend of events that you will be elected before you die. I was satisfied before Senator Hanna² died that he would have been the Republican nominee for presidency and would have been elected without a shadow of doubt. I have yet some doubts whether Roosevelt will receive the nomination; if he does, the gold standard democrats will nominate Parker³ or somebody with the Cleveland views which means a split in the Democratic party and the nomination of a Bryanite. If my vote at the present time should decide the contest and the election of yourself, a Bryanite or the straight Republican I should vote the republican ticket. I want to see the Republican party be victorious this election. It will be impossible in the next few years hence, when the next panic overtakes us, to put it off on the Democratic party and I believe the advance guard of the panic is here already as I find the conditions in this section of the country. We have a large number of men out of employment and there has been a reduction of wages all through this section of the territory. If you should come west during your campaign do not forget that the latch-string is out at Dunlap, Washington and if I am not there, Mrs. Holl will see that you are comfortably situated and you can make that your headquarters if you come to Washington. While I am opposed to war, believe that it is a useless waste of lives and wealth, I cannot help but think that the present war between Japan and Russia is the dawning of a new era. I believe that if the Japanese are victorious it will bring about a condition which eventually will result in an upheaval in Russia and a democratic form of government, which will follow in the course of the next ten or twenty years with the abolition of monarchy all through Europe and we will stop building \$5,000,000 battle ships to murder our fellow beings, while it is looked upon practically as a crime to establish factories for the benefit of a people, say for instance to manufacture underwear for children. It is outrageous to think that we can spend millions of dollars for the destruction of mankind and very little spent for the betterment of the condition of humanity.

It seems but a few days since I first met you at Shaftsbury Hall, Toronto in 1884⁴ and just as short a period when I was in Chicago and was present in the court room when you were before Judge Woods in 1894.⁵ I am satisfied that the next ten years will bring you extremely prominent before the public of this Country. You have more trials and tribulations in the next ten or possibly twenty years than those of the past.

Give my kindest regards to Theodore and Mrs. Debs, in which Mrs. Holl joins me. While my present address is 201 McKay Building,

Portland, Oregon, you can always reach me quickly by addressing me at Dunlap, Washington. I am,

Very truly yours,
F. X. Holl

Was I a good guesser?

1940

F. X. H.

TLc (with note by Frank X. Holl), TxU, Holl MSS.

1. The first national convention of the Socialist Party of America opened in Chicago on May 1, 1904. Debs was named the party's presidential candidate and Ben Hanford of New York was his vice-presidential running mate.

2. Mark Hanna (1837-1904) was a powerful Ohio industrialist and politician who directed William McKinley's successful presidential campaigns in 1896 and 1900. He served as United States senator from Ohio from 1897 until his death on February 15, 1904.

3. Alton Brooks Parker (1851-1926) resigned as chief justice of the New York Court of Appeals to become the Democratic party's candidate for president in 1904. He was "defeated by acclamation" by Theodore Roosevelt.

4. The eleventh annual convention of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen was held in Toronto in September 1884.

5. At the time of the Pullman Strike.

Theodore Debs to John B. Barnhill¹

June 23, 1904

Terre Haute, Indiana

Dear Sir:—

Answering yours of 22nd. Mr. Debs wants no engagement for July 4th., having refused scores of applicants. If the Creston² people want that day and no other he will speak for them for \$200.00 and pay his own expenses. It is the biggest day in the year and there will doubtless be an enormous crowd and it {will} require almost super-human exertion.

Yours very truly
Theodore Debs
Manager

TLS, MiU, Labadie Collection.

1. John Basil Barnhill was the author of a number of antisocialist pamphlets, including *One Hundred Best Anti-Socialist Books* (1917), and the editor of *The American Anti-Socialist*, published in Washington, D.C., from 1910 to 1912. His claim to have debated with Debs during the 1904 presidential campaign resulted in a heated ex-

change of letters between the two men the following year. See Barnhill to Debs, October 13, 1905, and Debs to Barnhill, October 20, 1905.

2. Creston, Illinois, is about forty miles west of Chicago.

Theodore Debs to Adolph F. Germer

June 25, 1904

Terre Haute, Indiana

Dear Comrade:—

We send you a copy of "Unionism and Socialism,"¹ by Eugene V. Debs, a historic sketch of the labor movement and an argument in favor of trade unionism and socialism, especially prepared for propaganda. It is the simplest, clearest and best thing yet offered. It is just what you need in your locality and should be in the hands of every worker. We wish an agent to make a thorough canvass of your people. It is the swiftest seller on the market. Retail price 10 cts. We will deliver it to you, express charges prepaid, at \$4.00 per 100. Kindly let us hear from you and oblige.

Yours fraternally
Theodore Debs, Manager
Standard Publishing Co.

TLS, WHi, Germer Papers.

1. Debs's pamphlet *Unionism and Socialism: A Plea for Both* was published in 1904.

EVD to Adolph F. Germer

July 25, 1904

Terre Haute, Indiana

Dear Comrade:—

Your favor of the 14th. came in my absence. The pamphlet you sent has also reached me and I have noted the marked lines with more amusement than resentment. Mitchell made a pitifully weak defense and it could have been knocked into splinters in less than two minutes.

No, I have not a copy of the proceedings of the last national convention and if you have it to spare would be glad to see it. Can you furnish me with a list of the local unions and the addresses of

the local officers? I expect to have some matter that will be of interest to them¹ and shall make special effort to open the eyes of the rank and file. If you have the directory of local unions or can get it for me, I shall be obliged to you.

Accept my congratulations on your nomination. You are the kind of men to represent the working class movement. I know you are fitted to serve and that you will make your record in the great struggle.

All success to your efforts.

With best wishes to yourself and comrades I remain

Yours warmly
Eugene V. Debs

TLS, WHi, Germer Papers.

1. Debs's *Reply to John Mitchell*.

EVD to Adolph F. Germer

July 30, 1904

Terre Haute, Indiana

My dear Comrade:—

Yours of the 28th. is received. Comrade Koenigkraemer sent me a booklet containing the report of the state secretary in which there is a list of local unions and he said by addressing it to the "secretary" it would reach that officer in every case. I do not doubt this but it is so much better in sending a man a document to address him by name. However, this may do and I do not wish to put you to any unnecessary trouble. If at some later day you should come in possession of a list of locals with the names and addresses of the officers, I could use it to good advantage. A state list would be good, but a national list containing all the locals in all the states with the addresses of the officers would be better. They have this in printed form and you may sometime secure a copy. Meantime please accept my best thanks for your kindness.

I note with interest that you had a Colorado day.¹ I am glad you were one of the speakers for I know that you discussed the question from the working class point of view, the only one worthy of consideration. I note, also, that you are to have your October 12th. anniversary celebration. May it be largely attended and the lesson of the martyrdom be well taught by the leaders and well understood by the rank and file. I regret that my campaign engagements will prevent

me from accepting your kind invitation but I shall be with you in full spirit just the same.

The situation is becoming more promising every day and we are going to do some really big things this year.

Yours always
Eugene V. Debs

TLS, WHi, Germer Papers.

1. In 1904, United Mine Workers locals throughout the country held "Colorado Days," fund-raising sympathy demonstrations in support of the Colorado miners then engaged in a bloody and protracted strike.

EVD to Adolph F. Germer

August 1, 1904
Terre Haute, Indiana

Dear Comrade Germer:—

Yours of the 30th. ult. is received, also the convention proceedings¹ for which many thanks. I shall look them over carefully and may have occasion to refer to them in dealing with those who hide behind secret proceedings to keep up their apostacy to labor. As suggested in my previous letter if you get a copy of a complete roster of all locals with names and addresses of officers I can make it serve a good purpose. Go to no trouble. I am very thankful for what you have already sent. The address of Mrs. LeRoy as reported, must have caused intelligent delegates to smile audibly. There are some good things in it, it must be admitted, but there are others that are not only weak but vicious. If I had had about fifteen minutes to review what she had to say about my speech² I think I could have made her wish she had let that speech alone. She made sorry work of her attempted refutation and only exposed her ignorance to intelligent delegates. We will give her credit for good intentions but she is doing labor no good. She is one of those who are in the service of the capitalist class in the name of the working class. They sometimes imagine they can serve both, but the delusion, as it happens, is always at the expense of labor. Glad you are to have Hanford³ with you. He will do you a lot of good. Keep right at it and let no chance escape. We are making things hum and the returns will open more than one set of eyes.

Yours warmly
E. V. Debs

TLS, WHi, Germer Papers.

1. UMWA President John Mitchell made what the *Indianapolis News* described as “a vigorous anti-socialistic speech” at the opening of the miners’ convention in Indianapolis in January 1904.

2. Debs had addressed a group of socialist delegates to the UMWA convention in Indianapolis at the close of the convention on January 28, 1904.

3. Ben Hanford (1861-1910) was one of the most active and popular speakers on the socialist circuit and was the party’s vice-presidential candidate in 1904 and 1908.

EVD to Jean Daniel Debs and Marguerite Bettrich Debs

September 12, 1904

Memphis, Tennessee

My dearest Father and Mother:

No words of mine can express the love that goes with my greeting to you on your Anniversary day,¹ a day that you will recall with mingled emotions of pain and joy and a day that we “children” have occasion to remember as hallowed and beautiful because of the wedlock that gave us birth. On this day we turn to you as naturally as the flower does to the sun and we cling to you as tenderly and as fondly as when in the years ago, in the flower of your own youth, you caressed our bruises, healed our little sorrows and guided our footsteps in the path of honor and duty.

On this day, too, we feel anew the sense of obligation that rests upon us for the many years of toil and agony you endured to bring up your brood in manliness and womanliness, that they might fare better than fell to your lot.

How well we know of your sacrifices and suffering, and how freely you bore it all because of your children, for whom you in fact suffered martyrdom; and it is not strange, therefore, that they lovingly cling to you in old age and would joyfully give their lives to save your own.

On this day, dearest and best beloved Dandy and Daisy, we realize that no children ever born had better parents, none more devoted, watchful and self-sacrificing, and our love and gratitude flow to you from the fulness of our hearts and most fondly do we hope that you may be spared to us many more years that we may have the joy of giving you increasing evidence that your children are mindful of their parental obligation and that they love and reverence the father and mother that suffered untold privation and pain for them without ever a word of complaint or a murmur of regret that martyrdom was their

destiny that their children might reap joy and honor where they sowed in poverty and pain.

A thousand loving wishes to you and many joyous returns of the day.

Your most obedient son
Eugene

ALS, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. The fifty-fifth wedding anniversary of Debs's parents.

EVD to Jean Daniel Debs and Marguerite Bettrich Debs

September 22, 1904
En route to Los Angeles

My dearest Dandy & Daisy:

When the frost is on the punkin
And the Hasenpfeffer smells;
When the noodles look like Pike's Peak
And the heart with rapture swells;
Oh, it's then you feel as joyous
As the tone of marriage bells,
When the frost is on the punkin
And the Hasenpfeffer smells.

Your faithful old pard
Eugene

Love and kisses!

AS (poem on postcard), InTI, Debs Collection.

EVD to Jean Daniel Debs and Marguerite Bettrich Debs

September 25, 1904
San Francisco, California

My dear old Dad & Daise:

Spoke to ten thousand people here last night. It was great & I wish you could have witnessed the scene of wonderful enthusiasm. This

morning I leave for Portand, Oregon. In six weeks more you'll hear the d——dest rebel yell that was ever heard at the old Indian reservation on 11th & Main.¹

I think of you early and late & shall look for you with eager eyes on my return.

I'd draw my check right now for a couple of thousand dollars if I could put my arms about you & hug you to my heart.

Hope you're in good spirits & have some of the friskiness if not the aroma of the "Billy-goat"

I was never stronger, heartier in my life—doing a giant's work & I am one.

My loving kisses go to you all & my heart is in them all.

Your old reliable pard
Eugene

ALS, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. The residence and, before their retirement, place of business of Debs's parents in Terre Haute.

Warren Atkinson¹ to EVD

October 17, 1904
Brooklyn, New York

Dear Comrade Debs:—

I am directed to write an urgent request to you to reserve your forces somewhat for the evening meeting of Sunday, October 23rd. The afternoon meeting in New York was planned as an afterthought. Comrade Solomon,² the New York organizer, has said that they are provided with other speakers of whom they expect the greatest effort at this meeting, depending upon the charm of your presence only to give them an audience. But we are afraid that you will forget more than three thousand people expect you in Brooklyn in the evening and be present to hear you at the Majestic Theater. The attendance at this meeting is assured, and there is no doubt that many more people will seek admission to this meeting than the theater will hold though it is the largest and newest theater in Brooklyn.

Comrade Holzer³ of our committee to meet you has been warned not to "kill you with kindness" but to see that you are left the utmost

freedom and opportunity to rest in quiet some hours before the time of your speech.

With kindest regards, I am

Yours fraternally,
Warren Atkinson, Organizer

TLS, InH, Reynolds Collection.

1. Warren Atkinson was an organizer for the Socialist party in Brooklyn, a frequent contributor to the *International Socialist Review*, and author of a widely reprinted pamphlet, *Incentive Under Socialism*, published during Debs's 1908 campaign.

2. A native of Romania, Usher Solomon (1877-1955) was executive secretary of the Socialist party in New York County. He later served as business manager of the *New York Call* and on the party's national executive committee.

3. Joseph C. Holzer was secretary of the Kings County, New York, local of the Socialist Party.

William Mailly to EVD

October 31, 1904

Chicago, Illinois

My Dear Eugene:—

Enclosed find receipt for \$100 per Newark bank draft rec'd from you on account the campaign. Thank you very much. I have been so crowded these past ten days that I haven't had time to write a line to anyone. As I knew Reynolds¹ was taking good care of you I have not attempted to write.

I thank you also for remittance from Hunter & McVie {& Moore}² to whom I have sent receipts and written letters.

I have a lot to say to both of you, but I can't take time now. I have received Reynolds good messages and the papers and I have appreciated him and them

It has been a great relief to feel that you were being taken care of along the road. All the comrades have rejoiced that Reynolds was along with you. Not a dissenting voice from any quarter.

Please tell Stephen that Hunters story arrived too late to go out with the regular bulletin and as I had sent out a lot of stuff I did not have much hopes of Hunters article being used. Our papers are crowded right up these days. Ben sent me notes for final days of campaign which I rushed out to papers. I am sure Reynolds & Hunter will understand this.

I have been wondering how you got along in Mass. Things are badly disorganized there and need bracing up.

We have worked hard these two weeks. Must have sent out at [least] three millions leaflets etc all over the country free. Have covered the union as fully as possible.

Everything looks fine. Rep. state com. of Ill. in public statement concedes 80,000 to Debs in Illinois. Poll of Ill. Central road employes showed 10 per cent of former republicans and 20 per cent former democrats were going to vote for you. Its coming—and let her come!

Often wished we had had a daily paper to report everything we had that should have been given out. Have done remarkably well considering funds and facilities, I think.

Drop me a note what time you will arrive Friday from Buffalo. Just want to see you a minute.

This is for both of you. Have had a bad cold past three days and it makes it tough.

Well, Good bye and Heaven bless you both.

Love from us all,

Yours always
Wm. Mailly

Oneal³ has gone home for three weeks rest.

ALS, InH, Reynolds Collection.

1. Stephen Marion Reynolds accompanied Debs on the eastern swing of the 1904 campaign.

2. Edward Moore was the editor of *New Era*, a socialist monthly published in Pittsburgh, and a delegate from Pennsylvania to the party's national conventions in 1904, 1908, and 1912.

3. James Oneal (1875-1966) was born in Indianapolis and joined the Social Democratic party in 1900. A Terre Haute resident and close friend of Debs, Oneal lectured on socialism throughout the United States and Canada and published a number of books on the subject, including *The Workers in American History* (1910), *Sabotage, or Socialism vs. Syndicalism* (1913), and *Labor and the Next War* (1923). Oneal was the Socialist party state secretary in Indiana from 1911 to 1913 and later in Massachusetts and was on the editorial staff of the *New York Call* during and after World War I.

EVD to Morris Hillquit

December 31, 1904
Terre Haute, Indiana

My dear Morris:—

Your note of the 24th, and accompanying Year Book of the Socialist Party of Holland, have been received. The article to which you particularly call my attention (page 87) has been noted, but I can glean

little from it as the language almost entirely eludes me. The straight German is not so difficult but the "Dutch curves" are too frisky for me and so I must take advantage of your kind offer to translate the article in question and if you will do this and send me a copy at your leisure I shall take it as a favor thankfully to be remembered.

No, indeed, I am not in the least ashamed of the company in which our Holland comrades have placed me. Quite the contrary. They must have meant to honor me and they certainly did so. There was a time, I confess, when I did not like Morris Hillquit. I did not know him. I do know him now and am trying to make up for past remissness. So it is with joy and pride as well that I find myself touching shoulders with you in the booklet as we are in fact on the field of battle to remain so until we fall in the fight or the field is won.

Thank you warmly for your personal words. It is well, perhaps, that we have to let go occasionally for a breathing spell. I shall be well and strong again in good time.

A joyful and abundant New Year for you and yours.

Your loving comrade
E. V. Debs

ALS (in hand of Theodore Debs), WHi, Hillquit Papers.

EVD to Caro Lloyd¹

January 31, 1905

Terre Haute, Indiana

Dear Madam:—

Your note of the 21st. has been received. In answer I have to say that I have a very pleasant recollection of Mr. Lloyd, though I never met him personally but two [or] three times. During the great railroad strike in 1894 Mr. Lloyd was a staunch supporter of our side and I had several letters from him from his summer residence ~~from him~~ in Rhode Island, giving encouragement and advice, but these were in the files of the American Railway Union whose effects were scattered by corporate and governmental persecution. I remember that Mr. Lloyd advised us to employ Mr. Darrow to defend us and that he also subscribed \$100.00 to our defense fund.

On my release from Woodstock Jail Nov. 22nd. 1895, there was a great popular demonstration at Chicago which included a mass meeting at Battery D which was packed with an enormous audience. On this occasion Mr. Lloyd delivered a very eloquent and stirring address

which appears in full in the Chicago papers of the 23rd. inst., the day following. This address moved the audience to intense enthusiasm. I saw so little of Mr. Lloyd personally that I know of nothing that I could contribute that would add to the interest of the proposed biography. Mr. Lloyd proved himself to be in thorough sympathy with the railway employes during their greatest strike and I am sure they appreciated his attitude and held him in high personal regard. I am sorry I do not have any documents that would be serviceable to you in your very laudable undertaking. I can only say that Mr. Lloyd bore a brave and commendable part in the great struggle of labor against corporate {injustice} and that his memory will always be treasured by the weak and oppressed he so faithfully served.

Wishing you all success in this work I remain

Yours very truly
E. V. Debs

TLS, WHi, Lloyd Papers.

1. Caroline Augusta Lloyd (Strobell) (1859-1940) was Henry Demarest Lloyd's sister. Her articles on capital-labor issues appeared frequently in *Outlook*, *Frank Leslie's Weekly*, and other publications, and her biography of her brother appeared in 1912. She later joined the Socialist party, was an active leader of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society and its successor, the League for Industrial Democracy, and after leaving the Socialist party in 1927 she later (1935) joined the Communist party. Shortly before her death, she acquired part ownership of the *Daily Worker*. See *New York Times*, September 19, 1940.

EVD to Marguerite Bettrich Debs

March 17, 1905

Enid, Oklahoma

My own dear Daisy,

I have a letter from Theodore saying that you are a little better and that you are sure to improve with the coming springtime. I rejoice more than I can tell you to know that you are even a little better than when I left, and with all my heart I hope that you will get a little stronger each day and that in good time your dear, sweet smile will again play on your pain-worn features.

You have had so hard a time and have suffered so much that it would seem you should now enjoy some measure of relief that you might once more share in the joys of the loved ones at the dear old home.

How I wish you could be down here for a few days—it is already

springtime, the air is balmy, the grass green, the gardens in full dress and everything is beautiful in this former paradise of the Red Man, now transformed into a throbbing center of civilization. Twelve years ago this place was a wilderness—not a cabin in it and now there are twenty thousand people here and business houses and hotels equal to those we have in Terre Haute.

Last night I lectured in the opera house here to a fine audience, and this morning I am to speak to the pupils at the high school. On the 30th I close the trip at Pittsburg Kas. and then with joy and rapture I turn my face toward the dear old home. Be of good cheer, my darling mother—the coming days will bring you relief and I shall soon be with you.

With love and kisses to you and dear Dandy, to Boosie¹ and Sternie and to all of you I am in the bonds of everlasting affection and reverence

Faithfully, devotedly

Your son
Eugene

ALS, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. Debs's nephew, Howard Debs Selby.

EVD to Frank X. Holl

April 14, 1905
Terre Haute, Indiana

My dear Frank:—

I have your favor of the 2nd. inst. This came while I was in the Southwest where I held some immense meetings, being gone several weeks. I note you are quite indignant because Gompers has attacked me.¹ Let me entreat you not to get excited about so trifling a matter. Of course, I appreciate your loyalty, but we have got to learn to keep cool even under the smart of a flea bite. I am only attacked by these gentry because my position is right and I will not yield. If Belmont² and Gompers and Farley³ are the friends of organized labor, then of course, I am its enemy. I need not, however, worry about their attacks for they can only help me; it is not in their power to hurt me. The more they attack me the stronger I grow in the confidence of the working class and I would rather be worthy the trust of a single working man than to be smiled on and have the favors of all the

capitalist exploiters on earth. We are making progress and the day is not far distant when such misleaders of labor as Gompers will be relegated to the rear and when men will be at the front whose heart-throbs are with the working class and whose highest object will be to serve that class rather than render servile obeisance to their masters, as some of them are now vying with each other to do. I hope this finds you and Mrs. Holl and my dear little "Buttonhole" namesake all well and hearty and full of joy. Remember me with loving regard and best wishes to all, including our dear Calcutt.⁴ My thoughts often go out to you across the spaces. I am always

Yours faithfully
E. V. Debs

TLS, TxU, Holl MSS.

1. In a speech in New York in March 1905, Gompers had attacked "Debs Socialists and the Industrial [American Labor] Union . . . as inimical to the trades unions and intended to disrupt them."

2. August Belmont (1853-1924) was head of August Belmont & Co., New York bankers, and chairman of the board of the New York Interborough Rapid Transit Company, which during the previous winter had won a bitter subway workers' strike.

3. James Farley was described in the *New York Times* (September 6, 1904) as a "strikebreaker from Plattsburg" who was called in by the Interborough Rapid Transit management to hire replacements for striking motormen. Breaking strikes, Farley declared, was "merely a matter of business with me."

4. In a letter from Holl to Harry Ault (June 28, 1943), Holl described M. Y. Calcutt as "my neighbor and friend for 47 years" who had "helped so much in the street railroad fight" in Seattle. A former member of the BLF and later the ARU, Calcutt, like Holl, moved from the Minneapolis area to Seattle. The Holl-Ault letter is in the Ault MSS at the University of Washington Library.

Peter Damm¹ to EVD

April 16, 1905
New York City

Dear Sir and Comrade:—

I take the liberty to write you this letter—tho' Im aware that you no doubt have plenty of work on your hands—because I feel that you can advance the cause of Socialism considerable by supplying me with information in your possession. Guess I had better tell my little story from the beginning and then you see for yourself what is wanted and if it is in your judgement important enough to receive consideration at all.

Here it is: The recent strike on the Sub-way and L system was a

failure. The officers—International Officers chiefly, gave the strikers the cold shoulder and denounced them publically. The matter came up in the central body—"C.T.U." Action: Com. of 5 app. to see Belmont to reinstate the old men. Result: Belmont turns down the com. The earnest & honest element of the C.T.U. "roasts" the Civic Federation,² the president of the same as you know is Hon. Mr. Belmont. I and a few others go a step further and "roast" the labor leaders connected with it. I stated that Gompers could not [have] served the Belmonts any better if he was in their employ, that he could not {have} served the Pullmans any better neither if he had been paid by them, because at the time when the A.R.U. under the able leadership of E. V. Debs has practically its fight won, when a general strike had been declared by the union people of Chicago & vicinity, this Mr. Gompers came to Chic. went into conference with some labor leaders—quotation marks please—and as a result the general strike was broken. Etc. Etc Etc.

Now I was in Chic for many years, been out on sympathetic strike in question (am a carriage maker) and I remember all this to be true to my own satisfaction. But the conservative element of the C.T.U. squirmed, especially the org. of A.F. of L., Mr. Herm. Robinson³ and a com. was appointed to "investigate the charges made by me and other against our highest official" I yan There! You have it in a nutshell! If you can & want to supply me with the detailed information as to exact happenings of the '94 affair, you surely contribut to the oustings of the unworthy Labor Leaders, or any way, the scales will fall off a good many honest trades-unionists. Hoping for an early reply, I remain

Yours most sincerely

Peter Damm

536 E. 89th Str

New York City

ALS, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. Peter Damm was a member of the Wagon Workers Union in New York City.

2. The National Civic Federation was formed in 1900 to promote "rational industrial relations." August Belmont was president of the organization, whose executive board included, among others, Mark Hanna, Elbert Gary, Samuel Gompers, John Mitchell, Grover Cleveland, William Howard Taft, and Andrew Carnegie.

3. Herman Robinson (1865-1918) was for more than thirty years an organizer for the AFL in the East and was an executive board member of the Central Federated Union in New York City.

EVD to Peter Damm¹

April 22, 1905

Terre Haute, Indiana

Dear Comrade:—

Your favor of the 16th. has been received and noted. You are entirely right in your contention as to the attitude of Mr. Gompers and his official associates toward the Pullman strike in 1894. First of all, Mr. Gompers was opposed to the A.R.U. from the start and did all he could in opposition to it. He did this in the interest of the old railway brotherhoods, expecting to get them into the Federation. These brotherhoods were and are entirely to his liking but the A.R.U. proposed to unite all railway employes to fight the railway corporations, not to be controlled by them, and this of course, made it necessary for such labor leaders as Mr. Gompers of the A.F. of L. and P. J. McGuire, his chief advisor and associate at that time, P. M. Arthur of the Engineers and others who are now hooked up with the Civic Federation and smiled upon by the corporations, to fight it and this they did every step of the way from the time it was organized until it was finally crushed by the corporations, reinforced by the labor leaders named.

As to the attitude of Mr. Gompers toward the strike, concerning which you particularly inquire, it was so notoriously hostile to the strikers, that he was openly denounced by his own followers in Chicago and among those who publicly charged him with both treason and cowardice for refusing to come to Chicago, in response to the practically unanimous demand of the organized workers, was Thomas I. Kidd, one of his present vice president's.

The whole body of organized labor at Chicago passionately supported the strike and the strikers. They demanded over and over again that Mr Gompers, their president, come to Chicago to give the weight of his official position to the strike. He utterly refused to answer the call until he was literally forced to do so, and when finally he had to yield to the increasing indignation, he was interviewed before leaving New York and said that he had to go to Chicago to attend a funeral. This was the death stab he gave to the strike when at last he was compelled by his own people to take some part in it. This interview was flashed over the whole country by the Associated Press and has since been repeated thousands of times and Mr. Gompers has never once denied it.

Mr. Gompers and his Executive Board finally convened at Chicago, after the whole country was aroused, and the whole body of organized

labor at Chicago was clamoring to support the strike. These gentlemen did what they had made up their minds from the start to do. They decided against the strike and turned down the strikers and thus delivered one of the final blows that crushed the strike. So far as any help to the strike was concerned, Mr. Gompers and his associates had far better stayed away. They not only did no good, but did great harm. The whole capitalist press exulted over the decision of Mr. Gompers and his colleagues, commended their conservatism and pointed to them as final proof that the strike should be broken and as complete justification for the brutal ferocity with which they were maligning and outraging the strikers. These are the facts in the case, briefly stated, and they can [be] verified beyond all question of doubt. Every old member of the A.R.U. and thousands of other organized workers who were in the strike or in sympathy with it remember these facts and let me say in closing that they are just beginning to come home to roost. You are at liberty to use this letter in any way you may wish.

The strike of the New York Subway employees, disastrous as it turned out, will be fruitful of great results to organized labor. It had peculiar and immense significance and as an object lesson has had value to the working class of the whole country which it would be difficult to over-estimate. I very much appreciate the loyalty of the organized workers of New York to their struggling fellow-workers.

Yours fraternally
[Eugene V. Debs]

TLc, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. This letter was included in Debs's article "Two Federations" in the *Miners' Magazine* of May 18, 1905.

EVD to Stephen Marion Reynolds

June 20, 1905
Owosso, Michigan

My dear Reynolds,

I caught a glimpse of Jean¹ passing through Indianapolis last week. Riley and I were standing at the depot waiting for my train when Jean espied us from her car window and we just had a moment to exchange greetings as her train pulled out and {she} sped on her journey. Jean is truly a lovely girl—a Reynolds—her father and mother in one, an advance type of the nobility that is to be.

Enclosed I hand you a fine bit of social philosophy from Jane Addams.² Pass it to Mrs. Reynolds and the Wagners³ and around the widening circle.

The enclosed writing was left at the hotel for me this morning with the request by the poor victim, a fit type of the present deranged conditions, that I give it immediate attention and a prompt and definite answer. The state of his mind reflects the chaotic society that produced him. How pitiable that we can not repair these broken lives and turn on the light in their darkened brains!

I hope Mrs. Reynolds is well again and that all of you are full of joy.

Your loving comrade
Eugene V. Debs

Met your friend Bucklin at Chicago—sends love and greeting!

ALS, InH, Reynolds Collection.

1. Jean Reynolds (1888-1910) was Stephen Reynolds's daughter.

2. Jane Addams (1860-1935) made Hull House in Chicago a model for the settlement houses of the era, and her book *Twenty Years at Hull House* became a classic in social-reform literature. Her deep interest in social problems led her into the labor, woman-suffrage, and pacifist movements. In 1931 she was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize (jointly with Nicholas Murray Butler), and in 1965 she was elected to the Hall of Fame for Great Americans in New York City.

3. Frank Caspar Wagner (1864-1928) was a professor of electrical engineering at Rose Polytechnical Institute in Terre Haute from 1904 to 1923 and president of that school from 1923 until his death. Wagner and his wife were members of a Terre Haute group that met at Reynolds's home—the little Red House—for literary, social, and political discussions and debate.

Thomas McGrady¹ to EVD

August 12, 1905
Newport, Kentucky

My Dear Debs:

Your favor just received, and I hasten to answer before leaving my office. As I said to you more than one year ago, the books are your property and I do not want a cent of royalty, and if you can make arrangements with the Appeal and get a small royalty, it must be with the understanding between us that the royalty belongs to you; and I, furthermore, give you plenary authority to dispose of the books plates etc. as you wish. 'Gene, we have always been devoted friends, and you must not think of providing for me in any way in disposing of

the works. I can never fully express my appreciation of your kindness and services to me, and I only hope that time will give me an opportunity of manifesting the same spirit that you have shown towards me in our mutual relations. I was delighted to learn that you enjoyed my very frugal hospitality, and I hope that when you visit San Francisco, I will be able {to entertain you} in my home.

With kindest regards to Mrs. Debs, I remain yours as ever,

T. McGrady

P.S. Mail addressed to me in Newport will be forwarded to San Francisco. I expect to leave here next week.

TLS, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. A Catholic priest who left his church in Bellevue, Kentucky, in 1902 because of his "pronounced Socialistic views," Thomas McGrady (1863-1907) was the author of a number of books and pamphlets dealing with labor and socialism. Debs's Standard Publishing Company in Terre Haute published McGrady's *City of Angels* (1901), *Socialism and the Labor Problem* (1903), and *Unaccepted Challenges* (1904). At the time of McGrady's death in December 1907, Debs wrote a strong tribute, "Thomas McGrady Dead," which was widely reprinted in the socialist press.

EVD to Isador Ladoff¹

August 18, 1905

Terre Haute, Indiana

Dear Comrade Ladoff:—

Yours of the 15th. is just received. I will at once proceed with the negotiations and if any royalty can be realized you shall have the full benefit of it. I will do the very best I can in the matter, with your interests, literary and financial, uppermost in mind.

That the book has not been a financial success is not your fault. Many a good book fails in that respect and many a trashy one brings the shekels. The book will yet go in some way or other and will yet secure and hold its proper place in socialist literature.

Deeply sorry am I that you are still weighed down by the miserable burdens imposed by financial necessity. You have too great a soul to know how to make money. Had you the sharp cunning of a fox instead of the great brain of a philosopher you would not want for a few paltry dollars and you[r] pen would not be in the fetters of a hand palsied by the dread of physical want coming to loved ones. Your pen will yet be released and flash keen and bright as a Damascus blade

after its captivity. Be of good cheer, comrade, there are brighter days ahead and Ladoff will yet come to his own.

Theodore and Mrs Debs and I all join in loving regards to you and your loved ones.

Yours always

E. V. Debs

P.S. Theodore wishes to know whether you ever received from Express Co. your remittance of 75 cents which they twice collected.

Drop him a postal card.

TLS, In.

1. Isador Ladoff was listed as a Milwaukee resident among the "One Hundred Well Known Social Democrats" in the SDP Red Book of 1900. His book *The Passing of Capitalism and the Mission of Socialism* was published by Debs's publishing company in 1901, and Charles Kerr published Ladoff's *American Pauperism and the Abolition of Poverty* in 1904.

John B. Barnhill to EVD

October 13, 1905

Los Angeles, California

Dear Mr. Debs—

I beg to acknowledge receipt of yours of 7th Inst. In it you appear to assume responsibility for Mr. Barnes' circular.¹ If I were litigious I could make Mr. Barnes pay damages for libelling me. If he is a gentleman, he will issue a Bulletin explaining details of our debate and retracting his former statement that I had made a false statement. I, on my part will in future circulars {that I print,} ~~make~~ state the facts in such manner that you will not object to them. Many Socialists tell me that Barnes' position is a paltry quibble.

Some would say that you exploited me—was your fee not thrice what I got—though you accepted \$100, original fee at Ruston was \$150.

Now if at ~~Mr. B~~ your request Mr. Barnes will not repair the wrong he has done me (and on this Coast ~~sympathy~~ {feeling} is with me, rather than with Mr. Barnes which makes it expedient for him to exhibit a more manly part, and make me a generous apology) then I see nothing else for me to do but {to} publish ~~give~~ all the correspondence we had;— to show that at several other places we would have debated but for the fact that your fees, ranging up to \$200 (at Crestline, Iowa) prevented several debates from coming off. What is

the use of bringing up this stale correspondence? A very few lines from Mr. Barnes would close the incident. I confidently appeal to your manliness to see to it that Mr. Barnes will make me the amend honorable which is incontestably due to me.

Cordially yours
John B. Barnhill

P.S. Please let me know what is the "artful phrase" which has misled ~~misled~~ the public. I saw your article in the "Appeal to Reason" pointing out what a golden opportunity is wasted at the Chautauquas² which would put on debates. And the leaders of the party are chiefly responsible for they have all been aware of this fact, and have all known that they could have any number of debates with me. This conspiracy of neglect may succeed for a time, but ultimately I will have to be reckoned with; and how unworthy such a policy is on the part of those who claim to be seeking the whole truth.

J. B. B.

P.S. 2nd. Kindly observe the psychology and evolution of Mr. Barnes' statement that I claim the leaders of Socialism are afraid to meet me. I am continually taunted with cowardice in not debating with the leaders; in self-defense I am compelled to say that all the leaders have my challenge. Neglect can not kill the Truth; do not be deceived herein.

J. B. B.

ALS, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. John Mahlon Barnes (1866-1934) held many positions in the Cigar Makers' International Union, including that of national secretary from 1905 to 1911, and in the Socialist Party, of which he was national secretary from 1905 to 1911. Barnes was Debs's campaign manager in 1908 during the Red Special campaign, and in 1912 his selection once again as campaign manager caused a bitter party split growing out of charges of corruption and moral turpitude against Barnes.

2. Debs's "The Chautauqua Platform and Its Opportunities" appeared in the *Appeal to Reason* on August 26, 1905.

EVD to John B. Barnhill

October 20, 1905

[Terre Haute, Indiana]

Dear Mr. Barnhill,

Absence from the city has delayed my answer to your favor of the 13th., the contents of which have been noted. You are in error when

you conclude that I have assumed what you are pleased to call moral responsibility for Mr. Barnes. I have assumed no such responsibility, moral or otherwise. I have simply stated {to} him the fact about my having had a debate with you on a Chautauqua platform. Mr. Barnes is capable of assuming his own responsibilities and if you have any grievance against him it is to him you should address yourself and not to me. I have stated over my signature that I had a debate with you. What more do you wish or what more is due from me? I deny that you had any part whatsoever in my presidential campaign. Any intimation or statement to that effect is untruthful and misleading. You may say that this is only a quibble and I insist that a very important point is involved. During my campaign I made about a hundred speeches, but had no debates with any one, and for these speeches I received not one cent of pay. In my debate with you, which was purely a personal matter, and on a Chautauqua platform, not on a political platform, and long before the campaign was opened, not a word was said about the campaign, no reference was made to it and no campaign issue discussed and how you came to advertise the {alleged} fact that you debated with me in my campaign for the presidency appears very strange to me, to say the least, and to this false claim you may attribute your present trouble and if you are yourself responsible for this claim then the blame rests with you and with no one else. If you had simply advertised the fact that you and I had engaged in a debate on socialism there would never have been any question about it, or if there had been it could and would have been very easily and promptly settled.

In the enclosed slip the very first notice contains a false statement. It is true that it is taken from a newspaper but from whom did the paper get it. You did not debate with me during my campaign for the presidency and you know it. Why, then, put forth such a claim and spread such an untruthful statement. You had absolutely nothing to do with my campaign for the presidency and you had no right to use that as a means of advertising yourself. It is to this that I very emphatically object and so do the members of our party and very properly so. Personally I care nothing at all about it and yet I would be the last to see you placed in a false light and if you have been placed in such a light, it is yourself and not Mr. Barnes or me who is responsible for it.

You intimate that you may feel compelled to publish all your correspondence with me. You are at full liberty to publish every word you have from me. You covertly use the matter of fee to influence me. Allow me to inform you that you have struck a cold trail. It is true that high fees are demanded in certain cases when engagements are not wanted. This may be sufficient answer to you on the question

of high fees. I have delivered hundreds of lectures for the Socialist party not only without a cent of charge, but paying my own expenses besides. During the campaign of last year I received not a cent for any speech I delivered and that is one of the reasons that I object to having it appear that I had a campaign debate with you for which I was paid instead of simply having given an address under the auspices of a Chautauqua association, in my individual capacity, long before the campaign was opened. Of course I charge fees when I speak for those, outside of the socialist movement, who want to make money out of me and these fees are charged to enable me to speak for socialism freely where my service is needed and where there are no fees in sight.

I think your intimation about my having exploited you at Ruston very unfortunate for you and I want to say to you frankly that it has not increased my regard for you. It was through you that I was engaged to speak at Ruston and you were morally responsible for my fee. I accepted two thirds of the fee which the contract called for in full settlement. What your fee was I did not know, nor care, for it was no affair of mine. I simply know that I was paid but two thirds of what was due me and I cheerfully accepted it in full payment and it strikes me that it comes with exceedingly poor grace from you to now talk of my having exploited you.

As to the circular with the "artful phrasing" in it, that is in possession of Mr. Barnes. You will have to write to him for it as I returned it to him. I put it very mildly when I used the words "artful phrasing" in my last letter. The simple fact is that that circular carries on the face of it a deliberate misrepresentation and a perversion of the truth. I would be willing to leave it to any man after hearing the facts and then reading the circular. The impression is broadly given that you contested the presidential election with me in a joint discussion of the issues on the stump. That is not the language but it is the purport and is very adroitly phrased to create an impression that does violence to the facts. That is the refinement of lying and more reprehensible than deliberate falsehood. I do not claim that you wrote this circular, or that you even know anything about it; I hope for your own sake that you never saw it, but I do claim that it is calculated to deceive our comrades and Mr. Barnes was entirely justified in warning the comrades not to be misled by it.

In the matter of accepting your challenges, it is possible that you overestimate their importance. When you claim that the party will have to reckon with you it might be in order to suggest that you have never been heard of outside of the matter now in controversy and

that the challenges of thousands are ignored for the reason that it were a waste of time to pay attention to them.

In closing I repeat that if you consider that Mr. Barnes has done you an injustice you must look to him to right it and I know him well enough to believe that he will deal fairly and squarely with you. I again admit having had a debate with you on socialism, denying, however, the claim that you participated in my presidential campaign and thus state the simple fact which can by no possibility do you injustice; for were I conscious of having done you the slightest wrong I would make restitution for it by all the means within my power.

You will excuse me from engaging in any further controversy upon this matter. I have written you fully and this must now be my final word.

Wishing you well in all things I remain

Yours very truly
EUGENE V. DEBS

TLC, InTI, Debs Collection.

EVD to Jean Daniel Debs and Marguerite Bettrich Debs

November 4, 1905
Ironton, Ohio

My dearest, most beloved Parents,

To-morrow, my fiftieth birthday, I will be with you in spirit and soul, if not in the flesh, and above your venerable heads my hands will be raised in love and benediction.

My boyhood days are gone and you are looking toward the sunset, but the scenes, though changed, have not diminished in beauty, and life is sweet and glorious still and lights the way to the higher heights that lie beyond.

The infirmities that come to the flesh mean not decay to the soul unless we will it so; and though the trials be the severest, the patience and self-possession must equal them and then the ills of flesh are conquered and the soul rises unfettered to realms of peace and joy.

I have made up my mind never to grow old, never to decay, never to die; the infirmities of physical age may come, but they can't reach *me*; I shall smile serenely and triumphantly beyond their blighting power.

Having now reached the zenith of my power I shall use it in battling for the right, in the service of humanity, and whatever fate betide, I know that I am walking hand in hand with the gods and that I shall be triumphant.

To you, my dearest parents, I bow in love and adoration. You gave me all I have and made me all I am, and to place the well-deserved crown of honor upon your revered brows shall command my ripest powers and be to me a duty of gratitude, devotion and filial love.

All hail, on this my natal day, to my dear father and mother, to the sacred home of my childhood and to all the dear ones in "Love's shining circle" and may the coming days for them all be radiant with love and joy.

Faithfully, eternally

Your son
Eugene

ALS, InTI, Debs Collection.

EVD to Joseph A. Labadie¹

December 12, 1905

New York City

Dear Comrade Labadie:—

I duly received your note of the 5th, forwarded to me by my brother from Terre Haute, and all you say has been noted with special interest. The lines enclosed by you in regard to Riley's dialect verses are especially happy and I shall take pleasure in seeing to it that our friend Riley gets a copy of them, and I know that he will thoroughly enjoy the sentiments, poetic and otherwise, which they contain. Permit me to assure you that I am deeply sensible of the touches of genuine kindness which your lines contain, and although it has not been my good fortune to see much of you I know that by the touch of your hand I could hear and feel the throb of your heart, and so I can as heartily reciprocate your beautiful tribute as you have heartily offered it. In all these relations we poor, petty individuals, as such amount to little, more or less, than nothing, but as we come in real touch with each other and draw upon each other for strength and size, and feel the essential unity of the race, we grow tall as gods, and our heads are among the stars.

I beg to enclose your lines revised by the typewriter, asking that you pass over them with your critical author eye and that you make

any changes, corrections or other alterations that may be required to produce them in all the integrity in which they were inspired, and kindly return the copy to me at Terre Haute.

Regarding the Industrial Workers² I have written to headquarters at Chicago asking that a full line of printed matter be sent you, giving you all of the data and information desired. If anything further is wanted drop a line to the national secretary. William E. Trautman,³ 148 West Madison St., Chicago. I am here addressing meetings and organizing for this new revolutionary economic organization and its rapid and substantial growth is as gratifying to me as it is full of promise for the future of the working class. I expect to see this organization make rapid progress all over the country and accomplish great results in coming years.

As to the lecture business, I can hardly find it in my heart to cheer you on. There is so much to contend with and to overcome in the present condition of things that the undertaking is fraught with all that is calculated to make a man think a second and a third time before engaging in it. If you were {a} quack revivalist, or sensationalist or fantastic humbug of some sort, starting out to pander to the ignorance of the people, it would be different. However, I am to be in Detroit soon and hope to see you and I shall be glad to be of any possible service to you along this line, or any other.

With all good wishes I am,

Yours faithfully,
E. V. Debs

TLS, MiU, Labadie Collection.

1. Joseph Antoine Labadie (1850-1933) played an active role in organizing Knights of Labor and, later, AFL locals in Michigan and was the first president of the Michigan Federation of Labor. A founder of the Detroit Council of Trades and Labor Unions and a member of the International Typographical Union, Labadie embraced philosophical anarchism in the 1890s and printed scores of tracts and pamphlets advocating anarchism. Labadie was revered as "the gentle anarchist," and in 1911 he donated to the University of Michigan his collection of labor and radical materials, which formed the nucleus of the Labadie Collection, one of the most important archives of its kind in the United States.

2. In June 1905, Debs had joined Daniel DeLeon, William D. Haywood, Charles O. Sherman, and others in launching the Industrial Workers of the World. Beset by personal and political splits during its early years (Debs withdrew from the organization in 1906, rejecting its emphasis on sabotage and its refusal to endorse political action), from 1909 to 1918 the IWW increased its membership to 150,000 and was viewed as the most militant and dangerous labor body in the nation, a reputation resulting largely from its participation in several of the most violent strikes of the era. During and after World War I, the IWW fell victim to a savage attack by national and state officials, armed with sedition, espionage, and antisindicalist laws under which more

than 200 Wobblies were sent to prison. The organization never recovered from the government (and public) belief that it was a threat to national security.

3. A native of New Zealand, William E. Trautmann was a member of the executive board of the Brewery Workers Union and editor of its journal, *Brauer-Zeitung*. Like Debs, Trautmann was a severe critic of the AFL leadership and a leader in founding the IWW of which he was chosen as general secretary-treasurer in 1905.

Theodore Debs to Joseph A. Labadie

January 1, 1906

Terre Haute, Indiana

Dear Comrade:—

Your favor of the 29th. ult. has been received and replying for Gene I beg to say that he has already declined two or three similar invitations and it is not probable that he will be able to take advantage of your kindness. He has reasons of his own for going to a hotel in preference to imposing upon the kindness of his comrades. I will bring your letter to his attention as soon as I can and I know he will appreciate fully your kindness and will be happy to meet you and your friends on reaching Detroit. Thanking you in his behalf I remain

Yours fraternally
Theodore Debs

TLS, MiU, Labadie Collection.

EVD to Stephen Marion Reynolds

February 28, 1906

Waterloo, Iowa

My dear Reynolds:

Please see enclosed letter from Fred D. Warren,¹ Managing Editor Appeal to Reason, Girard, Kas., in regard to a date for Ryan Walker,² the famous socialist cartoonist at Terre Haute. Please bring the matter before the local comrades and let me urge that you use your efforts to engage a date. It is a rare chance and the terms are exceedingly moderate. Walker is a great artist and will appeal to literary and artistic people and do good in a way that would not be possible through any ordinary propagandist. Should there prove any deficit in the financial outcome, you can count on me to make it whole. If the comrades

will all pitch in {and} sell tickets, they can make the entertainment a great success and at the same time put money into the local treasury. You need not hesitate to advertise Walker in the highest terms, for I know he will "make good" in every particular. When he strikes town you can arrange to have reporters meet him and write him up and advertise the lecture and thus bring the local movement before the people.

If a date is wanted by the comrades please drop a line to Comrade Warren soon as possible so that arrangements can be made accordingly.

Our meetings everywhere are packed and overflowing. The opera house here last night was crowded—about 1300 paid admissions, and the enthusiasm was wonderful. Some day the people at Terre Haute will wake up and we will have a movement there—and in the meantime we must hammer away at them.

Often, very often, my messages go to you over the invisible wires and I know they are received as your own vibrations come to me to give assurance that you are with me every step of the journey.

I hope Mrs. Reynolds and the girls are well and full of joy. Give them my love and salutation. I hope that Ford³ is doing finely as I feel he must, for he has in him the inherited stuff that blazes the way and conquers a place in the affairs of men.

We are lucky dogs to be alive in the world to-day.

The skies are brightening and the perfect day will soon be here in full-orbed glory.

I am with love and loyalty,

Yours always,
Eugene V. Debs

Give our good friend Tom my best regards

[Enclosure]

Dear Comrade Debs:—

I have your letter of Feb 16th enclosing MS of your "Success" article.⁴ It will give me a peculiar pleasure to spread this broadcast and we will show the New Yorkers what we can do, and how impossible it is to suppress the Socialists. I will schedule it for March 17th, No. 537, and will send you proofs the latter part of this week. I will set it in large type and with your permission will sub-head it.

I know you are awfully busy and would {not} have asked you to do the "Jungle" but it was the wish of Comrade Sinclair.⁵ It is not too late and the review can be used any time in March. If you can possibly find time to do this, I believe it would result in a [sic] stimulating the sale of the "Jungle" and thus get in circulation a book that is bound to help our movement.⁶ It is really the first important

novel, written by a man of recognized literary ability, that depicts the American proletariat as he actually lives—his ambitions, discouragements, etc. I would like to see a million copies circulated.

With best wishes, I remain,
Fred D Warren

I am arranging a lecture tour for Ryan Walker. His talk will be in the nature of an illustrated chalk talk, and I know it will be both striking and entertaining. Walker stands right up at the head of his profession and I believe can deliver the goods. His reputation is not confined to the Socialist reading public, but is national. He is clever and resourceful. I know you could not look after him in Terre Haute, but you know the comrades [who] could. His dates are being rapidly taken up, but I would like to have him lecture in Terre Haute. The comrades can afford to give him a first class reception and the best theatre in town. His terms are \$10, and by a little hustling, the local ought to clean up \$50 or \$100 on the deal. Suppose you drop the proper hint to the right fellows and secure a date before they are all gone. He will start from New York about the middle of April or the first of May. Each point will be notified at least thirty days in advance of the date set so they will have ample time to make all necessary arrangements. This \$10 includes all his expenses and a part of the advertising matter—window cards and four page circulars. The newspaper advertising, etc., to be looked after by the local comrades.

ALS (with TLS from Fred D. Warren to EVD), InH, Reynolds Collection.

1. Fred D. Warren (1872-1959) joined the *Appeal to Reason* as associate editor in 1899, became editor in 1904, and guided the paper during the years of its largest circulation and influence from 1905 to 1912. Debs served on the *Appeal's* editorial staff during the same period, and his correspondence with Warren sheds much light on the paper's controversial role as the most important socialist paper of the time.

2. Ryan Walker (1870-1932) was a cartoonist for the *Kansas City Times* and the *St. Louis Republic* before joining the *Appeal to Reason* in 1911. During Debs's years on the *Appeal's* editorial staff, Walker's cartoons frequently illustrated Debs's writings, and his cartoon character Henry Dubb became a favorite among socialist and non-socialist readers.

3. Reynolds's son.

4. Debs's article, "The Real Debauchers of the Nation," appeared in the July 1906 issue of *Success Magazine*.

5. Upton Beall Sinclair (1878-1968) hoped that *The Jungle*, which was commissioned by and appeared serially in the *Appeal to Reason*, would convert workers to socialism, whose cause he served in the political arena (as unsuccessful candidate for Congress, the United States Senate, and governor of California) and in the writing of scores of novels and other works.

6. "Debs's Opinion of *The Jungle*" appeared in the *Appeal* on July 21, 1906.

EVD to Stephen Marion Reynolds

April 2, 1906

Terre Haute, Indiana

My dear Reynolds:—

Your note reached me at a most trying moment. For forty eight hours our dear mother has been in a semi-conscious state, slowly breathing her last hours away and we have been constantly at her bedside, momentarily expecting the end. At this moment she is just the least bit improved and we are hoping for still more.

I have been to Cincinnati treating for my throat and shall have to return there to enter the hospital for an operation as soon as I can possibly arrange it. I have just cancelled all engagements by wire and for the time, and until mother changes, can do nothing. I note what you say in regard to the state convention¹ on the 22nd. and while I would like to promise you at once to be with you, I am unable to do so under the circumstances. These past few weeks have sorely troubled us in many ways or I should have seen you long ago. There has always been something to destroy or interfere with our plans, but it will not always be so and in the meantime we are doing our best to keep sweet and strong and serene. We hope you are all well and enjoying this delicious sunshine.

Yours always
E. V. Debs

TLS, InH, Reynolds Collection.

1. Of the Socialist party.

EVD to Elbert Green Hubbard¹

April 15, 1906

Terre Haute, Indiana

My dear Hubbard:—

I am unable, I regret to say, to accept your extremely kind invitation. Thank you warmly and those who join you for the kindly feeling that prompts your loving words and generous expressions.

I am hoping that you will find it necessary and dutiful to say something in the Philistine, or otherwise, as you have the opportunity, in condemnation of the outrageous assault upon Moyer and Haywood²

and their associates who were recently kidnapped, thrown into dungeons and are now threatened to be hanged with no shadow of a charge placed against them except the alleged confession of a self-confessed criminal. I know these men personally and truer men never drew a breath. They are as innocent as I of the crime charged against them. The law of the land and the common humanities have all been violated in dealing with these men whose only crime is that they are true to labor and the Mine Owners have not gold enough to debauch them. This incident has in it the elements of a national crisis. If these men are hanged without a fair trial it will be the crime of the century. I feel for these men just as if I were in their places; my heart is with them and their wives and children, for I know what it is to have the hounds lapping for your blood for simply having served as best you could the cause of *Les Misérables*. It is the duty of every man who loves right to stand by these men and insist upon their having a fair trial, and you will therefore pardon me in bringing this matter to your attention for I feel that when such a tragedy is about to be enacted the men who "do things" must prove themselves worthy of the confidence reposed in them, and in this crisis *Fra Elbertus*³ can say some things in his own way that will strike terror to the conspirator[s] in the mountain states who are now plotting to put innocent men to death for daring to dispute their heartless sway.

I did not mean to write you at such length but I feel intensely upon this subject and I am calling upon every friend I have and every man I believe capable of rendering service in a critical hour to come to the front and do his duty by his fellow-men.

Believe me with all good greetings and the best of wishes

Yours faithfully
Eugene V. Debs

TLS, NNU Tam, Debs Collection.

1. Elbert Green Hubbard (1856-1915) founded the Roycroft Press at East Aurora, New York, in 1895 and in the same year began publication of the *Philistine*, a widely read literary magazine one of whose 1899 editions contained Hubbard's most well-known work, "A Message to Garcia." Both the *Philistine* and the *Fra*, founded in 1908, were used by Hubbard to broadcast his ideas on preindustrial handicrafts, Fabian socialism, and self-reliance. In January 1909, Hubbard lectured in Terre Haute on "The Passing of the Centuries," in which he delivered a glowing eulogy to Debs.

2. Charles H. Moyer (1865-1929) and William Dudley Haywood (1869-1928) were officers of the Western Federation of Miners and leaders in the movement to create the Industrial Workers of the World in 1905. In February 1906, Moyer, Haywood, and a Denver merchant, George A. Pettibone, were arrested in Denver on charges of plotting the murder, on December 30, 1905, of a former governor of Idaho, Frank R. Steunenberg. The "kidnapping" of the three men for transfer to Idaho and their imprisonment and trial there, which was not concluded until July 1907, became a

cause célèbre involving mass demonstrations and defense-fund collections throughout the nation. Debs's editorials in the *Appeal to Reason* were credited with creating much of the sentiment in support of Haywood, Moyer, and Pettibone, one of whose attorneys was Clarence Darrow. Haywood and Pettibone were acquitted in separate trials and charges against Moyer were dismissed.

3. The pen name used by Hubbard in the *Philistine*.

EVD to Stephen Marion Reynolds

May 4, 1906

Terre Haute, Indiana

My dear Reynolds:—

I found the note you left at my home and want to thank you for it with a deep sense of the tender and touching words it contains. I regretted very much having missed you, but I caught the full spirit of your loving message and Katherine and I and all our family were comforted to know that in the hour of our greatest sorrow¹ your heart throbbed in unison with ours; such rare and beautiful devotion lifts the clouds heavenward and brightens the darkest skies. The dear mother is now at rest. We miss her as only those know who have seen a revered mother pass toward the evening shadows, but she has left us the priceless legacy of the sweetest memory of this world. I hope you and your dear ones are full of joy.

Yours always

E. V. Debs

TLS, InH, Reynolds Collection.

1. Debs's mother died on April 29, 1906. His tribute to her, "Where Daisy Sleeps," was widely reprinted in the labor and socialist press.

Theodore Debs to Isador Ladoff

May 23, 1906

Terre Haute, Indiana

Dear Comrade Ladoff:—

Your message has been received and each word has been read with interest. I can readily understand the struggle you are having with your meagre means to put through your invention against such powerful contending forces and in earnestly hoping for your victory I

can but regret not being able to extend a hand in achieving it. Gladly would I, if I could, "Swat" the opposing powers in the "solar plexus" and give you a clear field to your goal.

What you say in reference to your daughter interests me very much, though I am sorry to hear that her health is not as good as it should be and I am hoping that she may grow stronger as the days pass and win her school honors with health and vigor unimpaired.

Your comment on party conditions expresses my own views in very large measure. You are particularly right in diagnosing the Milwaukee situation and if certain tendencies there continue unchecked there will certainly be a collapse of the local movement. As to the party in general it is not strange with so many different elements to harmonize that the progress is slow and the outlook anything but encouraging. Still, we must continue the battle undaunted and in time the organized movement will become strong enough to sweep the little bosses, dictators and disrupters into the gutters where, if they have any mission, there would seem to be the place for them to fulfill it.

I am sending you a few papers in which you may find a thing or two that may interest you.

Remember me and all of us to Mrs. Ladoff and [Zonia?] {for} whom we have an affectionate attachment that can only grow stronger as time flows on.

Wishing you abundant of all that is good and enriches life I remain as ever

Yours faithfully
Theodore Debs

TLS, In.

EVD to Isador Ladoff

May 23, 1906

Terre Haute, Indiana

My dear Ladoff:—

I happened to be in when your letter came and shared in its reading. Very often do I think of you and yours and always with increasing affection and regard. You have had an unusually bitter struggle and that seems to be what you are fated and fitted for and I have a hope that in time you will overcome all besetting difficulties and win your

way to deserved eminence and such rewards as the truly good enjoy.
I am always

Your loving comrade
E. V. Debs

TLS, In.

EVD to Walter Hurt¹

July 6, 1906
Terre Haute, Indiana

My Dear Hurt:—

That is a magnificent poem you have in the current Appeal. It is full of the sacred fire and there is inspiration in every line. It is truly a poetic gem without a flaw, the product of a great, luminous white soul.

I am enclosing a paper called "Barney Nolan" by Stephen Marion Reynolds of this city. Reynolds was long national committeeman for Indiana in the Socialist party; he is one of the greatest souls in the socialist movement and in "Barney Nolan," a wonderful psychological study, you will see him faithfully reflected. This story is based upon an actual tragedy which occurred in this city and in all essential respects it is truthfully told from the socialist point of view. There is true greatness in this bit of work which the standard magazines have rejected and which I now ask you and Warren to publish in the Appeal. Let me suggest that it is worthy of a full page, specially featured and sub-headed as you may think proper.

I also enclose another paper by Comrade Reynolds on "Life," read before a literary club in this city, which also deserves a full page in the "Appeal" in the manner and form above suggested. In all socialist and sociological literature I know nothing that is finer than these two papers, neither of which has yet been published. I am sure that when you have time to look them over carefully you will arrive at the same conclusion. I hope, therefore, that you will see your way clear to handle them in early issues of the Appeal when space will allow. These two studies richly deserve the widest circulation and once started by the Appeal they will make their way in bits and fragments and as a whole all around the world.

You can do me no greater favor than to treat these twin products in all ways as coming from

Yours faithfully
Eugene V. Debs

P.S. in running these papers in the *Appeal* please make note to send 100 copies of each issue containing them to Stephen Marion Reynolds, Attorney at Law, Terre Haute, Ind.

TLS, InH, Reynolds Collection.

1. Walter Hurt edited two monthly journals, the *New Bohemian* and the *Culturist*, in Cincinnati before joining the editorial staff of the *Appeal to Reason*. His fictionalized account of William Haywood and the Cripple Creek, Colorado, strike of 1903-4, "The Scarlet Shadow," was published by the *Appeal* in 1907, and in 1910 he published *Eugene V. Debs: An Introduction*.

Walter Hurt to EVD

July 14, 1906
Girard, Kansas

My dear Debs:—

I was very sorry not to have met you when you were in Pittsburg.¹ I sent a written word of greeting by Comrade Lewis, but he forgot the message and left it in his room here. He said that he mailed it to you after his return.

I shall not leave Girard quite so soon as I has expected. If it is possible for you to give me something on Haywood's candidacy,² I would be pleased to have it. Of course, as I always work along the newspaper idea, if you can give the *Appeal* something of this kind I would greatly prefer that we should get it before you give something similar to other papers.

I am enclosing proof of your article "In Full Swing." After a search, I found it in type in the composing room, but I was unable to find the copy. I will see that it goes into the paper³ as soon as you return the proof. Your article on "The Jungle" will go in the issue of the *Appeal* that is being made up this week.

The two papers by Comrade Reynolds which you were good enough to send, I have examined with great care. I fully agree with you that both are of exceptional excellence. In fact, they have been read by the entire staff and all are thoroughly agreed as to their quality. Comrade Eastwood⁴ has written Comrade Reynolds, asking permission to publish "Life" in "One Hoss Philosophy." As to running either of

these papers in the *Appeal*, the matter is one that presents some difficulties. The only thing that could possibly prevent such publication is their considerable length. The demand for space from the different departments is very great; moreover, I am not always able to do as I would like in these matters. I would suggest that, if it is agreeable to Comrade Reynolds, we hold the story, "Barney Nolan," until some occasion on which we get out a six-page ~~paper~~ edition, when we will be able to give up an entire page to it, according to your suggestion. I cannot see how, under other circumstances, we could give it place in the *Appeal*. We could not consistently give such an amount of space {(in a four page issue)} to any matter, however fine, unless it dealt with some {vital} topic of {current} importance.

In closing, I will repeat that I am more than surprised at the rare literary quality of Comrade Reynolds' work. It is infrequent, indeed, that anything nearly so good comes into the office.

Faithfully yours,
Walter Hurt.

Dict. G. B.

TLS, InH, Reynolds Collection.

1. Pittsburg, Kansas, a mining town about ten miles from Girard.
2. William Haywood polled some 16,000 votes as the Colorado Socialist party's candidate for governor in November 1906. Debs's article "Haywood, The Standard Bearer" appeared in the August 11, 1906, issue of the *Appeal*.
3. *Appeal to Reason*, August 25, 1906.
4. Frank M. Eastwood (1869-1949) combined running a harness shop in Girard with writing socialist tracts and essays that appeared in the *Appeal*, *Studies in Socialism*, and the *One Hoss Philosophy*, other Wayland publications in Girard.

EVD to Max Ehrmann

July 17, 1906
Russellville, Arkansas

My dear Ehrmann,

I have your very kind and flattering note, forwarded to me by Theodore, and wish to thank you for your kindness, which, I need hardly assure you, is fully appreciated. I had not dared to expect such generous approval of my simple lines.

Your beautiful personal words touch my heart. I also catch your spirit and can feel the touch of your kindly hand and hear the throb of your generous heart across the spaces.

Theodore has warmed to you more and more and admires not only your genius but has for you the strongest personal attachment.

We are all watching with pride and affection each step you take in your march to fame.

Yours always
E. V. Debs

ALS, InGrD, Archives, Ehrmann Papers.

EVD to Stephen Marion Reynolds

July 17, 1906
Russellville, Arkansas

My dear Stevie,

Pls. drop a line to *Walter Hurt*, *Appeal to Reason*, Girard, Kas. in answer to enclosed. I have written him agreeing to the publication of "Barney Nolan" in next 6 page edition, & hope this will have your approval. They will run "Life" in their monthly¹ & probably "Barney Nolan" also.² I have specially asked Hurt to see that both "Life" and "Barney Nolan" are run in the monthly. This will put them both in pamphlet form in the same fashion that "The Jungle["] was originally produced in the same monthly,³ & give both a great circulation. You can get as many extra copies for your own use as you want & the type will be plated and the pamphlets listed with other socialist and sociological literature & kept on perpetual sale.

Both of these products of your intellect and soul are *great*—twin masterpieces—and I find more and more in each of them to feed upon and expand.

I am thinking of you all—and can see you all in the darkest night—and the picture is always an inspiration to me.

Love and salutation!

Yours always
E. V. Debs

ALS, InH, Reynolds Collection.

1. *One Hoss Philosophy*, published at Girard.

2. "Life" was Reynolds's attempt at a statement of his philosophy; "Barney Nolan" was a short story dealing with a boy working on a railroad who is executed for the murder of the wife and children of a brakeman.

3. *The Jungle* was first published as a serial in the *Appeal to Reason* from February 25 to November 4, 1905, and in *One Hoss Philosophy* in its issues of April, July, and October 1905.

EVD to Eva Parker Ingersoll¹

July 23, 1906
Coffeyville, Kansas

My dear Mrs. Ingersoll,

Permit me in behalf of all our family to thank you for your beautiful and sympathetic letter which touched our hearts and gave us such great comfort in our bereavement.

Our dear mother loved you and your good husband devotedly, and the very mention of your names lighted up her wasted features and gave her fresh hope and new life.

The exquisitely tender and touching lines you quote from the Colonel could have come only from his great and inspired soul. Each word touches the heart and has the soothing effect of a benediction. The world will never see his like again.

How precious and sacred the memory of your dear husband is to us all. In our household as in many thousands of others the name Ingersoll is held in reverential love and adoration.

Thanking you again from a full heart and with love and all good wishes to you and all you love I am

Yours faithfully
Eugene V. Debs

ALS, DLC, Ingersoll Papers.

1. Robert Ingersoll married Eva Parker of Groveland, Illinois, on February 13, 1862.

EVD to Edouard Caspari¹

September 11, 1906
Terre Haute, Indiana

My Dear Cousin:—

Your good letter to father was duly received and since failing eyesight prevents him from answering in person, he wishes me to make {this} acknowledgment for him and to return his profound thanks for your expressions of affection and sympathy in our family bereavement, which are appreciated far more than mere words can convey.

The tribute paid by you to our dear mother was most touching to father and, indeed, to all {our} family. That circumstances were such that you could not see her more and know her better is to be regretted,

for then you would have realized, as we have from our infancy, that father's life companion, the bearer of his children and the sharer of his joys and sorrows, was as true and faithful a wife, as tender and {loving a} mother and as self-sacrificing and noble a woman as ever lived, and that this earth is richer for her having been here. The most precious legacy she left us is the memory of her pure and blameless life.

Each word in reference to yourself and wife was noted with deepest interest by father and {by} us all. The life of usefulness you have led, the honors you have won and the rare and enviable fame you have achieved are indeed gratifying to father and to all our family and all of us join in loving regards and all {kind} wishes to you and your good wife and all beneath your roof.

Your devoted cousin
E. V. Debs

TLc, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. Chrétien Edouard Caspari (1840-1919) was the son of Debs's aunt, Marguerite Debs Caspari. Caspari was a professor of hydrographic engineering at the Polytechnic School in Paris and the author of a number of books on chronometry and hydrography that were translated and published in German and English editions. The son of a clergyman, Caspari published *A Chronological and Geographical Introduction to the Life of Christ* in 1876.

EVD to Horace Traubel

November 14, 1906
Terre Haute, Indiana

My dear Traubel:—

I am just back from the far West to find my dear old father ill and in a critical condition. I cannot, however, further delay my acknowledgment of your magnificent Whitman¹ with its loving and luminous inscription from your personal pen which has touched and moved my heart until it overflows with gratitude. The volume is great in every way and a mere glance at its pages is a joy and an inspiration. I shall lose no time in going through it page by page, word by word, letter by letter. It does not seem to me like a written book, but like "Old Walt" himself, rugged, reverent, unrestrained, his own living, breathing being, quickened in every mental, moral and spiritual fibre and whetted to his keenest edge by your magnetic touch and under the influence of your loyal and loving comradeship.

I feel that I am now possessed of a sacred volume. The light of two great souls illumines its pages and streams far out into the darkness. I am thanking you with my whole heart.

Give yourself and Mrs. Traubel my love and greeting and believe me always and afterwards

Yours faithfully
Eugene V. Debs

TLS, DLC, Traubel Papers.

1. The first volume of Traubel's *With Walt Whitman in Camden*, covering the period from March to July 1888, appeared in 1906. Based on diaries kept by Traubel during the last years of Whitman's life, *With Walt Whitman* eventually became a five-volume work, three volumes of which had appeared before Traubel's death.

Max Ehrmann to EVD

November 29, 1906
Terre Haute, Indiana

My dear Mr. Debs:

I want to tell you that I have been thinking often today of you and Theodore. I knew your father,¹ and I remember well our one conversation. He seemed very pleased when I told him how many people in the United States believed in you, and how many thronged to hear you speak. It is a great way back that you remember him. I hope you will not be too sad. He lived a long time and succeeded in spite of the growing infirmities of age. I understand he had been the friend of great persons, he had, no doubt, seen and tried many things in life, and he was *your* father.

Yours very truly
Max Ehrmann

Dict. C. P.

TLS, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. Debs's father, Jean Daniel Debs, died on November 28, 1906.

EVD to Stephen Marion Reynolds

December 13, 1906

Terre Haute, Indiana

My dear Stephen:—

Your beautiful little message has a heart-throb in every word of it. It is the voice of old Walt and I recognize it and feel comforted by the message it brings of love and immortality. How deeply your palpitant words enter into my soul and move me to a sense of thanksgiving for having such a comrade, I shall not attempt to tell you for words would not serve me and you understand me perfectly without formal communication.

I am so glad you remember father with {the} sweet smile of patience and resignation on his dear old features. It is a picture sacred to us which we shall carry with us into the realms beyond where he and dear mother have been translated and are waiting for us, as your loved ones are waiting for you. The old home is very still and desolate and will never be the same again, but we are not lamenting and with old Walt we will believe that all is good and all is well. Your dear message is a poem of exquisite tenderness and aquiver with sympathy and love. I thank you over and over again for us all. When you send your love message to Chicago write my name in it. I often, very often, think of Mrs. Reynolds and the little folks and send them my love-thoughts over the invisible wires.

Yours always

E. V. Debs

TLS, InH, Reynolds Collection.

EVD to Max Ehrmann

December 14, 1906

Terre Haute, Indiana

My dear Max Ehrmann:—

In the name of all our family, myself in particular, I thank you for your tender and loving letter. The message of devotion and sympathy it contains is appreciated by us all far more than these poor words can express. Father was one of the sweetest souls that ever lived on this planet. His going out from us so soon after our dear mother has left the old home we have known and loved since childhood dark and

desolate, as if its soul had been extinguished. But we have faith that their going, when the time and circumstances are considered, was as blessed as it was natural, and that there is no real cause for lamentation. Their end here simply means their beginning in another realm and while they have passed beyond our earthly vision we shall believe that they are and will be with us still.

Thanking you again and again and wishing you all good in all ways I remain.

Affectionately yours,
E. V. Debs

TLS, InGrD, Archives, Ehrmann Papers.

Eva Parker Ingersoll to EVD

January 17, 1907
New York City

My dear Mr. Debs:

We were shocked to hear of your father's death, following so soon that of your mother. My memory of him and of his sincere affection for my dear husband is very vivid and is one that I shall always treasure. I sincerely hope his illness was not a long one and that the end was painless. The entire family joins me in deepest, tenderest sympathy and hoping that we may see you soon. With our united love believe me,

Faithfully yours,
Eva P. Ingersoll

ALS, InTI, Debs Collection.

Thomas McGrady to Theodore Debs

February 10, 1907
San Francisco, California

My Dear Comrade:

Your favor of several weeks ago was received, and I thank you sincerely for your good wishes and your proffers of assistance. Butte has engaged my services for a lecture at twenty five dollars and all expenses, with the promise of giving me its assistance in securing

other appointments in the state. It seems to me that communications sent to the various socialist papers would be a useless effort, as I am under the impression that they would not be published. The conspirators have done their work so completely, and they have intimidated the press so well, that it has become a crime in the decalogue of the reigning oligarchy to mention my name. I sent a letter on the Moyer-Haywood-Pettibone affair to the Appeal to Reason, several weeks ago, and it has not yet appeared. I sent Wayland a personal communication with sufficient postage to return the letter in case it was not available for use.¹ I have no hopes of ever being of any assistance to the cause of socialism. The party is dominated by the hobo the tramp and the slum element, and the disastrous consequences of their power are manifested in the large decrease in the vote at the recent election. The malodor of the San Francisco local nauseates the nation from Plymouth Rock to the Golden Gate. The socialist party in America has never had but two Catholic priests in its ranks,² and it will be a generation before it has two more. I have determined to spend my life in the peaceful pursuit of knowledge, and let the proletarians rot in their chains. It is useless to raise a voice in their defense. They make a speciality of murdering their champions. It was a blessing that I had sufficient property to give me a maintenance {when I left the church.} My resignation from a flourishing congregation, with a handsome income, to meet the gibes and insults of the slum proletarians, and endure the persecution of the socialist party,³ does not present a striking illustration of the material misconception of history. Their damnable and infamous despotism has inflamed my heart with hatred, and it is fast becoming an act of heroism to address them respectfully. I could easily turn the sword against them and make them regret their vile and vulgar course, but it would be an absolute contradiction of my principles and a complete repudiation of my entire policy. While I may grow to detest the socialist party, and the unprincipled crew that direct its destiny, I shall ever be faithful to the Marxian philosophy, and shall always cherish the memory of my devoted friends in the movement. It is not a question of money with me, as I have a sufficient income to meet my modest requirements. But my ambition has been thwarted and my life has been blighted. There is no field for the exercise of my energies.

Thanking 'Gene and yourself for all your kindness and your words of encouragement and inspiration,

I am yours as ever,
T. McGrady

1. McGrady's "The Catholic Church and Socialism" was published in *Wayland's Monthly* in December 1907, the month of McGrady's death. Debs wrote an introductory "Comment" for the publication, praising McGrady's work and condemning the church as "the implacable foe of Socialism."

2. Presumably a reference to Father Thomas J. Hagerty (1862-1920), who was suspended from his priestly duties in 1902 for his radical views and his work among the Western Federation of Miners. Debs praised Father Hagerty's contribution to socialism in "Hagerty on the Hustings" in the *American Labor Union Journal*, January 29, 1903.

3. In his "Comment" on "The Catholic Church and Socialism," Debs noted that after he left the church and devoted his full time to the socialist cause, McGrady was accused of "making money out of socialism," not being sufficiently "scientific" in his analysis of capitalism, and charging exorbitant lecture fees.

EVD to Claude G. Bowers¹

March 28, 1907

Girard, Kansas

My dear Bowers:—

Your note with enclosure has been forwarded to me here from Terre Haute and both have been noted with interest and satisfaction. I had already read your St. Patrick's Day speech² and thoroughly enjoyed it. You made a really eloquent speech upon that hackneyed subject and I am not surprised that you aroused intense enthusiasm among our Irish brethren. Let me congratulate you upon this happy and inspiring effort.

Accept my thanks for your appreciative words in reference to the Appeal.³ I am only too glad to send it and feel fully repaid in having you express your sympathy with our imprisoned fellow workers in the West. Knowing you as I do, I am quite sure that nothing but misunderstanding of this case could prevent the full measure of your sympathy going to these men, and not only this, but your indignation from finding expression in vigorous terms of denunciation of the Mine and Smelter owners who are responsible for the crime. You need not subscribe for the Appeal. It is quite sufficient that you will find time to read it and I shall see to it with pleasure that you get it regularly.

I note with special interest what you say about the personal inquiry in reference to myself from Michigan. Let me thank you and through you Mayor Lyons⁴ with all my heart. Such personal fidelity of one's friends when one is far away is a tribute of priceless value and I wish you to know that I am not insensible to the obligation thus imposed

upon me. Mayor Lyons and I are moving along separate political lines but he has always been my personal friend and I have always been his and if I ever have the opportunity to reciprocate his kindness I shall do so with the greatest pleasure. I need hardly say that these same words refer also to yourself. You have shown me great kindnesses in the past which I can never forget.

I often wish you were a Socialist and I somehow feel that you will yet be. However this may turn out, my personal regard for you will remain always the same.

I am here for a short time before going to Idaho on a staff of the Appeal to Reason to attend the approaching trial.⁵ Ryan Walker will be one of my associates. Ryan, you know, is a Socialist and will help do the trial for the Appeal. We will have a wireless telegraph service established and probably issue a daily during the trial. Last week over 14,000 new subscribers rolled in and the Appeal now has over 300,000 on its list, the largest of any labor paper in the world.

Roosevelt⁶ is largely responsible for the western situation. The people will sometime find out how base he is and how base and popular it is possible for a president to be at the same time. Only the ignorance of the masses makes this possible. It will not always be so.

Yours always,
E. V. Debs

Sending you a pamphlet worth reading through.

TLS (with handwritten note), InU, Lilly Library, Bowers MSS.

1. Claude Gernade Bowers (1878-1958) moved from the *Indianapolis Sentinel* to the *Terre Haute Gazette* in 1903 and for the next eight years worked for that paper and the *Terre Haute Star* and for the Democratic party, on whose ticket he ran for Congress in 1904 and 1906. From 1911 to 1917, Bowers served as secretary to Senator John W. Kern of Indiana, and he published a biography of Kern in 1918. Returning to Indiana in 1917, Bowers became editor of the *Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette*, and his trenchant pro-Democratic editorials on that paper led, in 1923, to his selection as editorial writer for *New York Evening World*. Bowers's consistent and influential support of the Democratic party and its candidates (especially Franklin Delano Roosevelt) resulted in his appointment as ambassador to Spain (1933-39) and to Chile (1939-53). In addition to his biography of Kern, Bowers wrote *Jefferson and Hamilton* (1925) and *The Tragic Era* (1929), both widely read best-selling books, and, later, other biographical works on Jefferson and Washington Irving and studies based on his experiences in Spain and Chile. His autobiography, *My Life*, was published in 1962.

2. Bowers's paper, "The Irish of America," was given at a meeting of the Terre Haute Occidental Literary Club on March 15, 1907.

3. Debs joined the editorial staff of the *Appeal to Reason* in January 1907.

4. In a letter dated February 27, 1907, Terre Haute Mayor James Lyons informed a Crooked Lake, Michigan, man that Debs was highly regarded by "all classes" of Terre Haute's people and was a man who was "cultured, brilliant, eloquent, scholarly and companionable, lovable in his relations with his fellow man."

5. On the advice of defense counsel, including Clarence Darrow, Debs did not go to Boise, Idaho, for William Haywood's trial. In his autobiography, *Bill Haywood's Book*, Haywood wrote that "Darrow's reason for objecting to Debs's presence" was "nothing but his desire to be recognized as the most prominent person in the trial."

6. Roosevelt's public statements concerning the Haywood, Moyer, and Pettibone case, including an April 2, 1907, press-conference reference to a corrupt railroad magnate as being "at least as undesirable a citizen as Debs, or Moyer, or Haywood," provoked a series of Debs articles in the *Appeal* (widely reprinted) in which the president was denounced as a "cruel and cowardly hypocrite." No other president, Debs wrote, "has ever descended to such depths as has Roosevelt to serve his law-defying and crime-inciting masters."

EVD to Stephen Marion Reynolds

April 12, 1907

Girard, Kansas

My very dear Stephen:—

I am rejoicing with all my heart to learn that Jean is fully recovered and quite herself again. She is the most beautiful girl I know. I have always thought she would make rich with joy all the years of your life. Now that the cloud has passed the sun will shine all the brighter.

I am happy also to know that you were so completely vindicated at the Indianapolis convention.¹ Theodore had already written me about it. The chronic disturbers are to be found everywhere and strange as it may seem they have a useful purpose and we are bound to recognize it. They serve to try the patience and develop the finer qualities of their betters. In this respect you scarcely need such treatment for you are equal to any test that human ingenuity might devise or human meanness apply. Still I am happy to know that even those who cannot see so clearly as they should can see clearly enough to see your little persecutors in their true light and also see you as you are.

The beautiful words your letter contains are fit for a Sabbath sermon to the multitude. I shall treasure them and carry their influence with me. My love goes to you and Mrs. Reynolds and the dear girls and Ford² if he is with you.

Yours always
E. V. Debs

TLS, InH, Reynolds Collection.

1. Reynolds weathered a challenge to his reelection as secretary of the Indiana Socialist party at its convention on March 25-26, 1907.

2. Reynolds's son.

EVD to Frank X. Holl

May 3, 1907

Girard, Kansas

My dear Frank:—

I have your favor of the 27th and the papers you have been kind enough to send. I would be glad to write the articles you want but I have not time to do so. Besides I do not think you could have them inserted. In this trial that is soon to open the capitalists can see the beginning of the end and they are drawing the lines very close and showing their teeth as never before. I am not particular to have capitalist papers retract their falsehoods or even to set me right before the public. I prefer to go right straight ahead and do my work and let them howl. The next generation, not this one, will judge me. I am profoundly busy in what I believe to be a righteous work and I want to be as oblivious as possible of the unfavorable criticism my course excites among those who are utterly incapable of comprehending what I am doing.

I hope you are all well and happy. Calcutt wrote me a fine little note the other day and sent me a valuable clipping. If you see Calcutt tell him I received from another party the clipping about Roosevelt and San Juan Hill just after receiving his letter.

Yours always,
E. V. Debs

Love to you all!

TLS (with handwritten note), TxU, Holl MSS.

EVD to Theodore Debs

[May 14, 1907]

Girard, Kansas

My dearest old Pard:

Were our dear Daisy with us yet we would to-day celebrate her 79th birthday. I am glad her tired and pain-racked body is at rest among the flowers. All sweet and loving thoughts to her beautiful memory.

We are very busy here. Hope you're all well. In haste

Your old pard
Eugene

ALS, InTI, Debs Collection.

EVD to Katherine Metzel Debs

June 9, 1907

[Girard, Kansas?]

To my bonny bride of

Twenty-two summers ago.

With all my heart.

Eugene

To Kate—

The flower of my soul

Eugene

ANS (two notes), EVD Foundation, Debs Home, KMD Scrapbook No 3.

EVD to Morris Hillquit

June 19, 1907

Girard, Kansas

Dear Comrade Hillquit:—

I write to inquire if you can procure and furnish me with a copy of the law¹ described in the enclosed memorandum. This latter has been furnished by the Wall Street Journal in which the matter of Roosevelt's approval of this law was first reported. A copy of the law herein described would be of special advantage in showing up Roosevelt's connection with the Alton deal. It is the law which he approved as governor which made possible the swindles and iniquities which he now as president so vehemently condemns. If there is any charge for procuring this document it will be gladly met.

Thanking you in advance and assuring you that your kindness in this matter is appreciated, I am,

Yours very truly,

E. V. Debs

TLS, WHi, Hillquit Papers.

1. A law passed by the New York state legislature on February 26, 1900, and signed by Governor Roosevelt. It made the securities of railroads legal securities for New York savings banks. According to a 1906 report of the Interstate Commerce Commission, the law had been used by railroad companies, including the Chicago & Alton Railway, to engage in excessive overcapitalization of assets. The ICC report claimed that the Chicago & Alton had increased its indebtedness from about \$33,000,000 to about \$114,000,000 during a six-year period and invested only \$18,000,000 in

actual improvements on the line. Roosevelt at first denied, then admitted, signing the 1900 law. Later, his Justice Department successfully prosecuted and convicted the officers of the Chicago & Alton for violations of the Elkins Act.

EVD to Morris Hillquit

[June] 21, 1907

Girard, Kansas

Dear Comrade Hillquit:—

I want to thank you for your kindness in procuring the copy of the bill, or rather law, signed by Roosevelt which made possible the now notorious Alton swindle.

I also want to express in this poor way my appreciation of the flattering tribute you paid me in your noteworthy address at the recent Moyer and Haywood demonstration. I am deeply sensible of your words, not because of their personal import but because of the spirit of comradeship which prompted such generous recognition of very small service. I read your entire address with a great deal of satisfaction. It was clear and ringing and full of inspiration. The demonstration was in every way a great one and the comrades are to be congratulated heartily upon its unqualified success. In no part of the country is such a demonstration so effective as in the east where the money changers have their lairs.

I hope that you well and that all beneath your roof are happy.

Yours always,

E. V. Debs

Mailly has written me of your kindness
Just preparing to leave for Boise.

TLS, WHi, Hillquit Papers.

EVD to Morris Hillquit

June 28, 1907

Girard, Kansas

Dear Comrade Hillquit:—

Absence from here has delayed my acknowledgement of your favor of the 21st inst. Please accept my best thanks for your prompt com-

pliance with my request in furnishing the copy of the New York Law covering the Alton Deal. This can be made very serviceable in the work of exposure which the Appeal has in hand.

I quite agree with all you say in reference to the Haywood trial. As the purpose of the prosecution from the beginning has been to admit all possible evidence that would serve to show the Western Federation¹ to be a criminal organization so now have the attorneys for the defense the opportunity of recovering the same ground and making clear to the jury and to the world the actual objects of the organization. Another thing that has been clearly brought out is the fact that all the crimes that have been committed have been either instigated or committed by the secret agents in the employ of the Mine Owners' Association. I feel that the trial is being well conducted on the part of our lawyers and I cannot see anything but acquittal in the final outcome.²

Thanking you again and wishing you well in all things I remain,
as ever,

Yours faithfully,
E. V. Debs

TLS, WHi, Hillquit Papers.

1. The Western Federation of Miners was organized in 1893 among the miners and smelters of the Rocky Mountain states. It was for a time an AFL affiliate but broke away from that organization because of its conservative policies. The WFM was involved in some of the bitterest strikes of the time—at Cripple Creek in 1894; Leadville in 1896; Coeur d'Alene, Idaho, in 1896-97; and Colorado City in 1903-4—and allied itself with the IWW in 1905. After leaving the IWW in 1907 and rejoining the AFL in 1911, the WFM changed its name in 1916 to the International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers.

2. William Haywood's trial ended with his acquittal on July 28, 1907.

EVD to Max Ehrmann

August 13, 1907

[Terre Haute, Indiana]

My dear Ehrmann:—

I did not know when we met on Sunday how good you had been to me in my absence. I had just returned to the city and not until I reached home that evening did I have the pleasure of seeing your beautiful and more than generous tribute in the *Spectator*.¹ Let me thank you with my whole heart for your loving words and your far

too liberal praise. From no other source could such an expression give me greater satisfaction.

I do not deserve what you have said of me, but I hope that the time may come, as I believe it will, when the people will be ready to hear me speak to them as I feel I can and when I may in some measure make good the high estimate you have ventured to place upon me and my humble services.

What you have said of me in reference to some of the people of my native city is only too true and you will pardon me if I say it also applies to yourself. It seems strange that your beautiful and poetic work should be so much more readily recognized and fittingly acknowledged by strangers in far distant cities than by your neighbors and towns-people and yet such is the fact. But the honors of these, though tardy, must surely come at last. I have always told you that a brilliant future awaited you. I was never surer of this than now. Your poet-soul is certain to find immortal expression. Theodore and I and all our household love you and I am proud to subscribe myself

Your friend and brother

Eugene V. Debs

TLS, InGrD, Archives, Ehrmann Papers.

1. On August 10, 1907, the *Terre Haute Saturday Spectator* published Ehrmann's essay on "Eugene V. Debs as an Orator," in which Ehrmann called Debs "one of the greatest orators . . . in American history," credited him with having "broken the first ground for the harvest of modern popular reforms," and lamented the fact that "in some ways our distinguished fellow-townsmen has wandered a stranger in the city of his birth."

William D. Haywood to EVD

September 26, 1907

Denver, Colorado

Dear Gene:

For some time I have been wanting to acknowledge your letter of greeting and congratulation, but have been almost swamped with my work since my return from Chicago. It was my intention while East to visit you in Terre Haute, but was advised that you were at that time on the road lecturing under the auspices of the Chautauqua.

I want to see you just as soon as I can, as I have a whole heart full of things to tell you. It is unnecessary for me to say that I appreciate the splendid work that you did on my behalf and that of my comrades.

I really believe that there is no one individual in the country who has done as much for us.

Hoping that it will be possible for me to see you soon, I am,
Yours always,
Wm D Haywood
Sec'y-Treas., W.F.M.

Gene, I got the paper O.K.,
Bill

TLS (with handwritten note), InTI, Debs Collection.

EVD to Victor Robinson¹

October 7, 1907
Girard, Kansas

My dear Mr. Robinson:—

The copy of your pamphlet on “William Godwin and Mary Wollstonecraft” has been forwarded to me from Terre Haute and I want to thank you for it. I have been ill during the past few weeks and there is quite an accumulation of similar matter awaiting my attention but a glance at your brochure and the title of it, in which I am deeply interested; indeed, your very name is sufficient to satisfy me that I shall find this little work of special interest and value.

Whatever is from your pen is worth reading by any one and as soon as I get around to it I shall gladly examine this latest contribution you have made to good literature.

Thanking you again and wishing you all good success, I remain,
Yours fraternally,
E. V. Debs

TLS, EVD Foundation, Debs Home.

1. Victor Robinson (1886-1947) was a native of Russia who was brought to the United States in infancy. The son of a physician, Robinson eventually became a leader in establishing the history of medicine as a formal discipline. His book on Godwin and Wollstonecraft (1907) was his first published work, which eventually included scores of studies related to medical history and the history of science.

William E. P. French to EVD

October 21, 1907

Cornwall-on-Hudson, New York

My dear Eugene, loved brother and comrade:—

Your beautiful and affectionate letter of the ninth gave me more pleasure than I can express in words, but I thank you heartily for your more than generous praise of my attempt to give the religion of humanity the outline and beginnings of a ritual.¹ There is no other man on earth whose friendly commendation is so dear to me as yours.

When the real edition comes out, you shall have one, and, later on, I will bind a special copy for you with my own old paws.

It may interest you to know that the Countess of Warwick² sent me a long and very kindly telegram, asking me to come to see her before she sailed and fixing two dates. Mrs. French and I went down, spent two hours with her, and had a very lovely time. Our good English comrade has promised to visit us when she comes over in the spring, and we hope you can, and will, be with us at the same time. We have a charming, big old house and a rarely beautiful country place on the bluffs of the Hudson, and, apart from the real joy of having you under our roof, I have an idea that the Countess and you and I might be able to do some valuable work for the Cause. She is full of enthusiasm and one of the nicest women I have ever met. We are urged to visit her at Warwick Castle, and she has invited me to correspond with her regularly. Incidentally, she seemed much impressed with my old notion of organizing Socialists and Laborites along army lines,³ with the trust plan of individual saving and collective buying, and the safeguards of direct legislation. You know I have outlined this plan to some of the cleverest corporation {lawyers} in this country, and every last one of them has agreed that the result would be not only an absolutely legal and invulnerable monopoly, but the most powerful financial, political and industrial engine the world has ever seen. It would, of course, have its own system of jurisprudence, its special counsel, its banking department, insurance and pensions, and quite cursorially, its armed police and militia, whose function would be to protect the people in time of disorder—perchance there would be but little disorder if a properly officered, disciplined and equipped army of ten million voters held the balance of power, the scales of justice, the earnings and savings of the people, and the levers of production and distribution. I am writing a book, Eugene, in which I am trying to show how the thing can be done.

In your hours of trouble and sorrow, old friend, the hearts of my

dear ones and mine went out to you most lovingly, and our tears, too, fell "Where Daisy sleeps."

You have done a great and loving work, comrade, and your name is written deep in the grateful heart of the world. Be sure of it, and go on giving.

There are troublous times ahead, unless all signs fail; but I still hope that we may usher in the Collectivist Commonwealth without resort to "a king's last reason." Assisted evolution is not only safer and surer than revolution, but, in the long run, it is far more speedy, for there is nothing to undo, and no heritage of hate and fear to impede further progress. Yet, if the war-dogs must be unleashed, I am a servant of the people, not of a plutocracy or a political party—the Republican party is both, by the way, and the Democratic disorganization merely an unhappy combination of bray, Bryanism and balkiness.

My dear old mother, my wife, my splendid boy and I unite in all of love and faithful devotion to Mrs. Debs and yourself.

I am always, Eugene, your attached friend and most loving comrade,

W. E. P. French.

P.S. Do come to us when you are next in the east, and make your plans to be with us when Lady Warwick comes. We could have a symposium here, with Wilshire,⁴ Sinclair, Edwin Markham, Giddings,⁵ Hillquit, Mrs. Stetson,⁶ Lee,⁷ the Coryells,⁸ and the rest of the leaders that they and you and I know in New York and vicinity.⁹ I am in close touch with most of those named.

Good luck and godspeed, dear lad.

Billy French.

TLS (with handwritten note), InH, Reynolds Collection.

1. French's book *We-ism: The Religion of Humanity* was published in 1907.

2. The Countess of Warwick (1861-1938) was a well-known English humanitarian and philanthropist, a member of the Labour party and an active socialist. Her campaigning for Debs in the 1908 campaign was described in the *New York Call*, June 2, 1908.

3. French retired from the army in 1900 with a disability but returned to service as a major during World War I.

4. Henry Gaylord Wilshire (1861-1927) was one of a number of millionaire socialists whose service to the party included the publication of *Wilshire's Magazine* (1900-1915) and a book, *Socialism Inevitable* (1907), as well as congressional candidacies on the party's ticket in California (1902) and New York (1904).

5. Franklin Henry Giddings (1855-1931) was professor of sociology and the history of civilization at Columbia University. He offered elementary courses in sociology at the Rand School after its founding in 1906.

6. Charlotte Perkins Gilman Stetson (1860-1935) was a popular lecturer and author

in the feminist and labor-reform movements. She edited *Forerunner Magazine* from 1909 to 1912 and published a number of books, *Woman and Economics*, *Man-Made World*, and *Human Work* among them, in the fields of economics and sociology.

7. Algenon Lee (1874-1954) served the socialist movement in a variety of roles, most notably as educational director of the Rand School in New York. Lee wrote extensively for socialist publications and edited several of them, including the *New York Call*, and was a socialist alderman in New York City from 1918 to 1921. For many years Lee taught economics and American history at the Rand School. Increasingly critical of Communists and left-wing socialists, Lee left the Socialist party in 1936 and for a time served on the state executive committee of the American Labor party.

8. John Russell Coryell (1848-1924) and Amy Hedge Coryell (1859-1957). John was a prolific author of short stories, including the popular Nick Carter stories, and of romances, scores of which he wrote under the pseudonym Bertha M. Clay.

9. Debs visited French at his home in New York during the Red Special campaign of 1908.

Clarence S. Darrow to EVD

November 1907

Rathdrum, Idaho

My Dear Debbs

Your nice letter came to hand some time ago & I assure you that I appreciate it and prize it. You are one who has never disappointed me & I know never will. I feel that I know you & you are always the same. I appreciate all you have done & all you have tried to do & wanted to do. I don't know as either of us are entitled to any sympathy for what we have lost for our convictions. We have likewise gained much & perhaps are better off than the rest.

I am just now trying the Adams case¹ and am very hopeful about it. I shall try to go back through Girard & meet you all & talk business to you about my books.

How about the pamphlet of the Haywood argument.² It ought to be out & I am getting a little impatient at the delay. If it is not coming right away I wish you would send me the proof as I never have had the full proof—but if it is coming quickly let it go.

I enclose some names to which please send copies.

Always with love & devotion

Your friend
Clarence S. Darrow

ALS, EVD Foundation, Debs Home.

1. Steve Adams was being tried for murder in Idaho to compel him, Darrow

believed, to testify as a state witness in the Haywood, Moyer, and Pettibone trial. After two trials and two hung juries, the case against Adams was dropped. Darrow's address to the jury in the Adams trial was published by Wayland's press in Girard in 1908.

2. "Darrow's Speech in the Haywood Case" was published in *Wayland's Monthly* (No. 90, 1907) and as a separate pamphlet in 1908.

Reddin Andrews¹ to EVD

November 17, 1907

Tyler, Texas

Dear Comrade:

Having recently returned from a week's trip through the southern part of this county, I found the Appeal of the 9th inst. waiting to gratify my eagerness to read it. Your "Sweep of the Revolution["]² commanded my attention and touched me deeply. O, how I long to do more for the glorious cause!

Financially, I am cramped nigh unto death. But I am doing something for Socialism. I have directly and indirectly sent twenty subscriptions to the Appeal.

A pressing invitation came to me in June to address the people near Grand Saline, Van Zandt Co., Texas, on July 4. I met a large crowd, spoke two hours before dinner and {nearly} as long after dinner. The comrades were highly gratified, and many men of the old parties listened to me attentively and respectfully.

On Aug. 8, I spoke at a "Haywood" celebration, nine miles east of Tyler. A large and "assorted" audience greeted and honored me by their attendance. I spoke one hour and a half and thought that the *finis* of speaking, so far as I was concerned, had been reached. But after dinner the comrades insisted that I should speak again. I did so—for one hour and a half. We had a great time, of course!

I went {last week} to Bullard, sixteen miles south of Tyler. I went to look after a little business there. A few comrades besought me to address the citizens on Thursday night, on the Revolution. a choice crowd greeted me with their presence in the Woodman Hall. Among them were the banker, the leading physician, perhaps the leading Democrat of the place. The latter publicly commended my speech. He said that while he disagreed with me in some things, he agreed with me in most things, and said that I had spoken a great deal of truth. It has not been long since he was an active and somewhat bitter opponent of Socialism. He now thinks that cooperative commonwealth will come some day.

I am finding and making comrades everywhere I go. The Revolution is sweeping on; not, however, so rapidly as I could wish. Although a constant, and an overworked laborer, I am so poor, so poor. I can not do what I chafe to do.

You will remember that I wrote to you last February, I believe, and introduced myself to you. The letter which you wrote in reply is filed away among my treasured papers. I write again to you. I need not to apologize for so doing. Writing to you relieves the pent-up flood of sentiments, of fellowship, of good feelings and of good desires.

I continue to write for a small religious paper which I edit, after a fashion. I do this gratuitously and preach righteousness among the poor in comparatively obscure places. I have little or no access to the "big fields." Incidentally, I act as agent for a Georgia marble company and take an occasional order for a low-priced monument. But, for all my labors, I do not receive the half of an economic support. As I wrote you before, I was once prominent in my denomination, having been pastor of leading churches, president of Baylor University, the oldest college under the supervision of the [Baptists ?] and professor for years in it and other high schools. But nearly twenty years ago, I lost faith in the denominational leaders and have had nothing to do with them. I have stayed away from their general meetings. The errors, blunders, strange proceedings and capitalistic spirit of the churches and leaders, have prevented my cooperating with them. You may not be surprised when I tell you that I feel somewhat lonesome, but I suffer no sense of humiliation on account of ostracism, and relegation to obscure places and positions. The condemnation of men weighs not a groat with me while my conscience commends my course. I suffer want, it is true, but there are some things that are of greater value than food and raiment and wordly possessions. I feel that I am entitled to a livelihood, but if it does not come to me while living under our present unjust and accursed industrial and economic regime, I rejoice, nevertheless, in sharing in the poverty of the masses and the sufferings of the martyrs. We are doing good, if we sow; others will surely reap.

Six or eight months ago, I answered an advertisement of the Wilshire Book Co., by sending a manuscript for a pamphlet on, Why Women should be Socialists. I have never heard from the Company. The article may have been rejected; if so, I wish to offer it to some other publisher.

I inclose, for your inspection, a song.³ You are at liberty to make any disposition of it that you may be pleased to make. I wish that it could be wedded to a popular air and published in sheet, or included

in some Socialist song book. In that way—or some way—I might realize a little help out of it

I have now eleven songs with a publishing house in Cincinnati. Three of them have been set to music. I have not yet been able to give them a “send off”—with the fees. Before closing engagements with the Joberg Music Co., I shall find out, if possible, whether it is a reliable company. Their offer is reasonable, and if the company is {a} reliable one, as soon as I can get the money I shall close contracts for the publication of two or three of my songs.

I was disappointed yesterday on account of not getting the Appeal of the 16th inst. I expected to read it last night. Today I have been reading Mills’s masterful book, *The Struggle for Existence*.⁴

With great respect, I am

Your Comrade—for the Revolution,
Reddin Andrews.

ALS (with poem, not transcribed), InH, Reynolds Collection.

1. A former Confederate officer and for a time president of Baylor College, Andrews was one of the Socialist party’s most popular speakers in Texas. As the party’s candidate for governor in 1910, Reddin received nearly 11,000 votes.

2. Debs’s “Sweep of the Social Revolution” appeared in the *Appeal* on November 9, 1907.

3. “The Lay of the White Slave” closed with the couplet: “O, My Comrades, Awake, / and this mighty land, shake!”

4. Walter Thomas Mills (1856-1942) was called “the little professor” on the socialist lecture circuit in the Southwest, where he was one of the most popular speakers at socialist “encampments.” *The Struggle for Existence* was reprinted many times and was said to have sold half a million copies.

EVD to Claude G. Bowers

November 23, 1907

Girard, Kansas

My dear Claude Bowers:—

Your kind and beautiful letter has been received and I am deeply moved by it. A voice from home is always a welcome one and particularly when it comes from a true friend such as I have long known you to be. The incident of the presentation on my birthday was indeed gratifying to me. I had not the least intimation of it. Could you have been here you would have enjoyed the spirit in which the offering was made. The intrinsic value of the gift, large as it is, is as nothing compared to it. So far as that is concerned I should have preferred

its omission entirely, but the soulfulness and comradeship of the boys and girls who thus honored me was beautiful and touching beyond expression.

You give me far more credit than I am entitled to. I have tried to preserve my integrity and in that I hope I have succeeded in at least some degree. I have also tried to serve the less fortunate of the children of men but in this I feel that I have accomplished so little. My powers to do are so feeble as compared with the wishes and the sense of duty which impel and inspire me. It is true, as you say, that they {who} are true to their highest convictions, their best impulses, and their loftiest motives must pay many penalties. But the law of compensation does not forsake them. Every step of the way they have their self-respect, the approbation of their own consciences and the rewards these bestow grow richer and richer as the penalties increase and at last, in the final reckoning, all is well. Everything has been gained and nothing lost. Only the dross of earth has vanished; the pure gold remains forever. Cark [*sic*] Marx once said, "I dare not be popular." He knew that he could only purchase ignorant, popular applause at the price of his self-respect; he preferred his own and was content to wait until he could have both.

I frequently think of Emerson's beautiful tribute to Theodore Parker: "Whilst the polished and pleasant traitors to human rights, with perverted learning and disgraced graces, die and are utterly forgotten, with their double tongue saying all that is sordid about the corruption of man, you believed in the divinity of all, and you live on."

I note with interest what you say about my old friend Pat Walsh's¹ reminiscences. If I were behind the curtain, as you suggest, I should probably laugh so immoderately that I would soon be discovered. Give Pat my warmest regards and remember me also in all kindness to our mutual friend Mayor Lyons. I shall not forget that you and he were my eloquent sponsors when inquiry was made from abroad in reference to my character and my standing at home.

Believe me, with loving regards and best wishes,

Yours fraternally,
Eugene V. Debs

TLS, InU, Lilly Library, Bowers MSS.

1. Patrick B. Walsh was a Terre Haute friend of Debs, at this time serving as president of the city's board of public works. Later, during Wilson's second term, Walsh became deputy collector for the Internal Revenue Service in Indiana. Bowers was a member of the board of public works.

EVD to Charles W. Ervin¹

December 7, 1907

Girard, Kansas

My Dear Comrade;—

Let me thank you for your kindness in sending the advertisement clipped from the Philadelphia Ledger and for your letter of the 4th inst. commenting thereon in such an interesting manner. You are quite right that here is another opening for Napoleon “the little” as you so happily put it. Victor Hugo wrote of Napoleon the Third as “Napoleon the Little” and it is now in order for some one to write of the present excuse for an Attorney General² as Napoleon “The Littlest.”

This advertisement is quite suggestive, the small capitalists have all they want of Rooseveltian prosperity. But they are needlessly alarmed. It is only noise he makes. He is not the least bit dangerous to the existing order.

What you say in reference to the Ledger, the paper of the late lamented Childs,³ is interesting. All the big papers are being gobbled up by the “interests.” They understand the value of the press. Wish that the Socialists and the working class in general understood it only half so well.

Yours very truly,
Eugene V. Debs

TLS (typed signature), MiDW, Archives of Labor History and Urban Affairs, Gould Collection.

1. Charles W. Ervin (1865-1953) was an editorial writer for the *Philadelphia Daily News-Post* and an organizer of the needle-trades workers. Ervin joined the Socialist party in 1906, ran for Congress and the United States Senate in Pennsylvania and for governor of New York on its ticket, and edited the *New York Call* from 1917 to 1922.

2. Charles Joseph Bonaparte (1851-1921) served in the Roosevelt administration as secretary of the navy from July 1905 to December 1906 and as attorney general from December 1906 to March 1909.

3. George William Childs (1829-94) purchased the *Philadelphia Public Ledger* in 1864 and during the following thirty years made it one of the nation's most respected papers.

EVD to Algernon Lee

December 9, 1907

Girard, Kansas

My Dear Lee;—

It is with great pleasure that I comply with your request. I hope the article enclosed will pass muster. Knowing that so many will write about the panic I concluded to take another shoot. I have tried to meet with your view and furnish what you want but I have had to do it in a hurry for we are under extreme pressure here and for the last week I have put in over sixteen hours daily. When I can be of any service to you I want you to command me without one bit of hesitation. I like to do things for you and Mailly. The latter asked me for an article sometime ago which on account of sickness I could not write and it bothered me not a little. Comrades should find joy in serving each other and that is the way I feel toward you. Then again, you have had trouble, have been sorely tried and so have I and that makes me feel very warmly toward you.

I am glad you are to get out such an immense edition and hope it will have all the good results you expect from it.

When you see Hillquit tell him for me that the bunch he handed Berger recently was most timely and, by the way, good and plenty. The personal allusion at the close was with exceeding propriety and moderation but it was a home thrust and put Berger down and out for the count.

I hope your holidays may be pleasant and {that} the New Year may dawn brightly and full of promise for you.

Yours always,
E. V. Debs

P.S.—You are the only man, I think, who beats me at writing a hand that no one else can read. This makes me lean toward you mightily. You will note by the envelope that I do not credit postal clerks with sufficient learning to decipher your hieroglyphics.

Best regards to Mailly and Oneal.

TLS (with handwritten note), NNU Tam, Debs Collection.



Eugene V. Debs (Eugene V. Debs Foundation)

EVD's father, Jean Daniel Debs
(Eugene V. Debs Foundation)



EVD's mother, Marguerite Marie
Bettrich Debs (Eugene V. Debs
Foundation)



EVD (lower left) at fourteen in a group picture of the Terre Haute & Indianapolis Railroad paint crew (Eugene V. Debs Foundation)

HON. GRAFTON F. COOKERLY AND E. V. DEBBS

Will address their fellow citizens on the issues
of the day, on

FRIDAY, AUGUST 30TH 1878,

At 7 1-2 O'CLOCK P. M.

AT FREEZE'S GROCERY,

COR. THIRTEENTH & CHESTNUT STS

**All are invited, irrespective of former party
affiliations.**

**A Democratic Ward Club will be formed immediately after the Speaking.
By Order of Committee.**

Earliest EVD speech poster, 1878 (Eugene V. Debs Foundation)

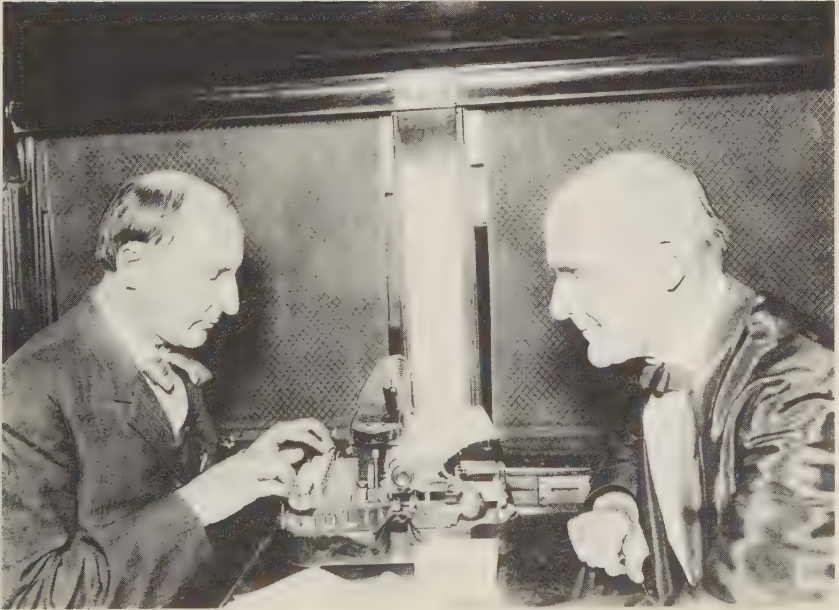


EVD at the time of his marriage to
Katherine Metzel in 1885 (Eugene
V. Debs Foundation)



EVD's wife, Katherine Metzel Debs
(Cunningham Memorial Library,
Indiana State University)

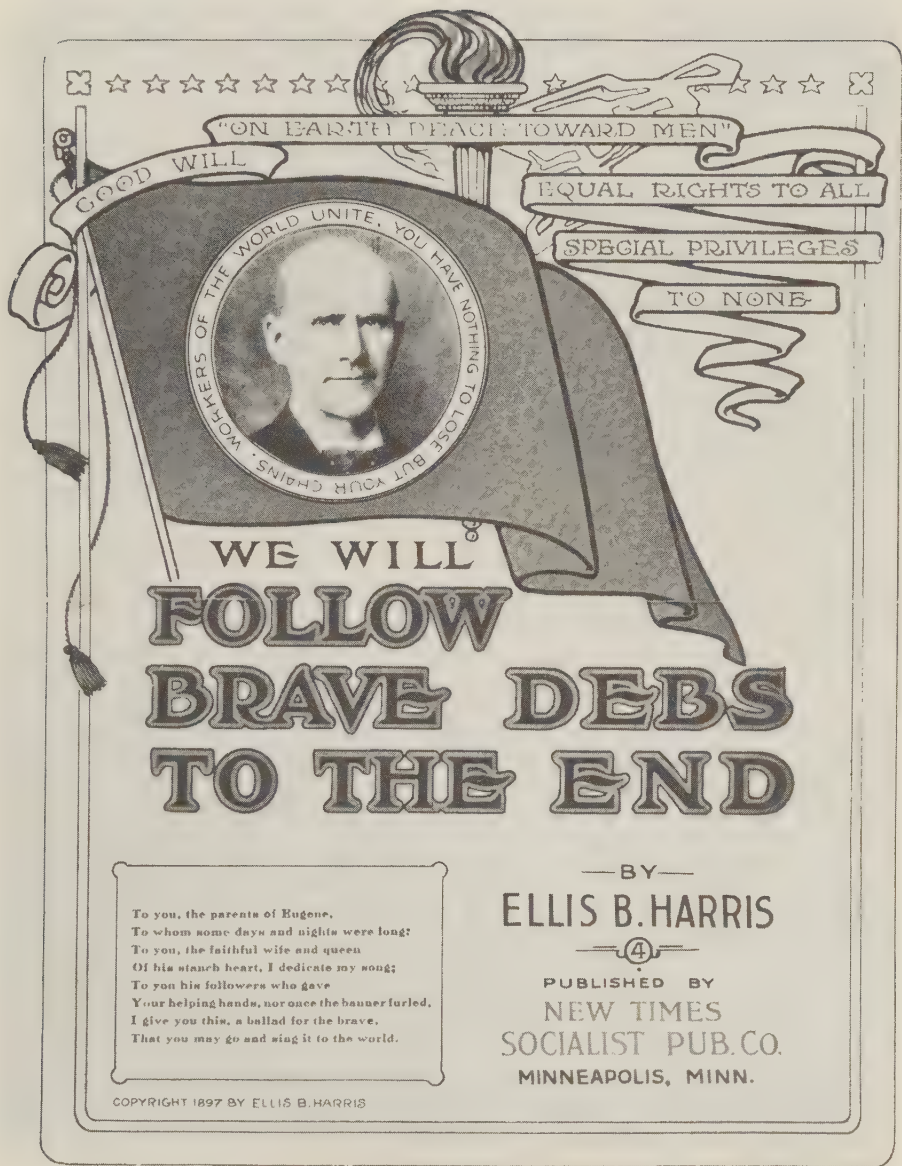
EVD's brother, Theodore, in
1889 (Eugene V. Debs Foun-
dation)



EVD (right) and Theodore at work in the Red Special, 1908 (Eugene V.
Debs Foundation)



EVD (seated, third from left) and the American Railway Union board of directors



To you, the parents of Eugene,
To whom some days and nights were long;
To you, the faithful wife and queen
Of his staunch heart, I dedicate my song;
To you his followers who gave
Your helping hands, nor once the banner furled,
I give you this, a ballad for the brave,
That you may go and sing it to the world.

—BY—
ELLIS B. HARRIS

—④—
PUBLISHED BY
**NEW TIMES
SOCIALIST PUB. CO.
MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.**

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Cover of "Follow Brave Debs to the End," 1897 (Eugene V. Debs Foundation)



EVD on the stump, 1905 (Eugene V. Debs Foundation)



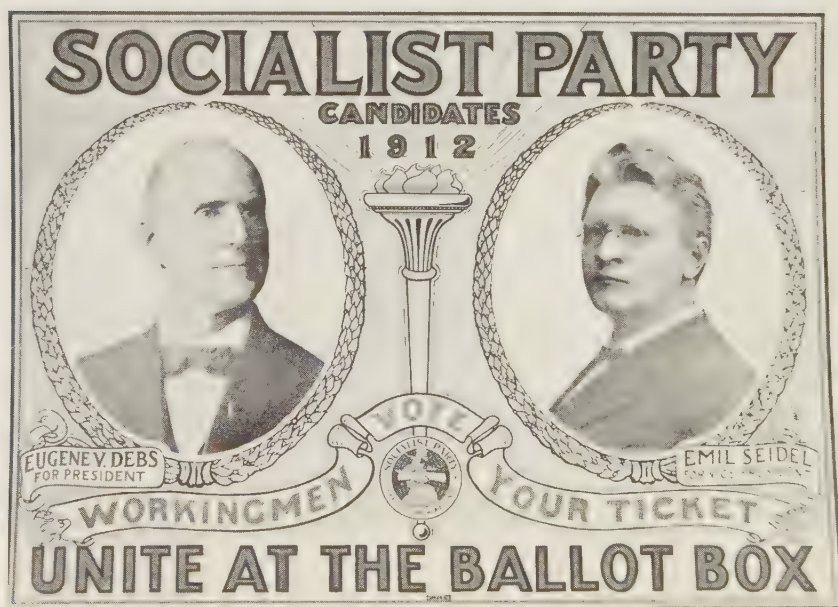
EVD's 1908 campaign train, the Red Special. Debs is holding a child (under the "R" in the banner); Theodore Debs is on his left, Stephen Marion Reynolds on his right (Eugene V. Debs Foundation)



EVD (right) and Fred Warren, managing editor of the *Appeal to Reason* (Eugene V. Debs Foundation)



EVD in the *Appeal* office, ca. 1909 (Eugene V. Debs Foundation)



A 1912 Socialist party campaign poster (Eugene V. Debs Foundation)

EVD to Theodore Debs

[1908]

Girard, Kansas

My dear old Pard:

Saturday

I feel that damned buzz saw ripping my heartstrings. What a pity! Where those bannered mushrooms stood there will soon be but a trail of ruin. How happy as the hours of childhood were those we spent there. You tell it all tenderly, pathetically & poetically. How I'd like to save that sacred spot—that patch of old hickories & mushrooms where the last pair of quail made their last stand.

For years and years and years the old hickories smiled down on the mushrooms, the squirrel frisked about, the birds made merry, the wild flowers bloomed, the bees hummed and the sunshine and shadow played hide & seek & the alternating seasons brought their bounties and spread their glories—and now its vanished! The ruthless hand of profit sought it out and now it is not. Hickory Flats! What a wealth of sweet memories! And somehow Dandy's dear face shows signs of pain and sorrow as he seems to hear of the spoliation of the vandals.

We can at least thank God that the profit pirates can't reach into our consciousness and despoil us of our sweet and priceless memories.

Farewell, old Hickory friends! We'll love you till we follow you—

[Eugene]

AL, InTI, Debs Collection.

EVD to Stephen Marion Reynolds

February 19, 1908

Terre Haute, Indiana

My dear Reynolds:—

I have your welcome letter of the 17th. and it has done me a lot of good. I am delighted to hear that you had such a large and successful meeting at Cincinnati. I thought of you that day and knew that you would deliver a stirring message to the comrades and others assembled. The need for organization is great and we can not do too much to emphasize it as we go along.

You have wonderful power and wherever you go you are bound to have a good influence, I hope that as the campaign progresses you may be seen and heard in a very large territory. The comrades in all

the states of the union would be benifitted by your presence. They know you and love you but their love would be all the stronger and their efforts for the cause all the greater if they could touch your hand, hear your voice, feel the warmth of your heart and the power of your personality. So I am hoping that when the campaign fairly opens you will go forth and return only when you have completed the rounds of {all} the states.

I have the grip and have only been out once, Sunday morning, when I went to hear Comrade Hollingsworth¹ and had the good fortune to meet Mrs. Reynolds and Mrs. Keller,² during the past week or more. I hope we shall be able to enjoy an evening together. The grip has disorganized my plans and put me far behind with my work. But we'll try to arrange it before I leave. Love to you all

Yours always
E. V. Debs

TLS, InH, Reynolds Collection.

1. The Rev. James H. Hollingsworth (1849-1942) was a Methodist minister in Terre Haute and a close friend of Debs. In 1912, Hollingsworth assembled the material for *What Debs' Neighbors Say*, a collection of friendly assessments of Debs written by leading Terre Haute business and professional men.

2. Grace Keller (1880-1969) was a Terre Haute friend of Debs and Reynolds and a member of the circle of friends who made Reynolds's little Red House their cultural headquarters. Keller later moved to St. Paul, Minnesota, where she played an active role in feminist and radical causes and was described during World War I, in a War Department intelligence report, as "a member of a cult of very advanced thinkers" (National Archives, Records of the War Department Military Intelligence Division, Record Group 165, File 8715, May 2, 1918).

EVD to Charles W. Ervin

March 7, 1908
Girard, Kansas

My dear Ervin:—

Let me congratulate you on your nomination.¹ You are now in for a period of the strenuous life and I know it will suit you as it does every really live man. It would be agreeable to me to make a few speeches for you but I fear I shall have no chance to do myself that pleasure this year. My throat has been giving me some trouble and I shall have to take an enforced rest so as to be fit for the greater fight that is still to come.

My brother has sent me your letter of the 28th ult. and I have

read it with interest and now thank you for your words of kindness. The little article you had previously forwarded to Terre Haute is now with me. It is a charge of dynamite. I have just passed it over to Comrade Warren and he will give it space in an early issue. The trouble is the want of space for the much splendid matter that comes in. It is really a shame to exclude some of it but for the present it cannot be helped.

This decoration of Cardinal Gibbons² by King Leopold³ is a characteristic incident in capitalist and clerical misrule. You have struck it off superbly.

Wishing you all success, I remain,

Yours faithfully,
Eugene V. Debs.

TLS (typed signature), MiDW, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Gould Collection.

1. As Socialist party candidate for Congress from Philadelphia.

2. Cardinal James Gibbons (1834-1921) was the founder and first chancellor of Catholic University in Washington, D.C., in 1889. Gibbons's *Faith of Our Fathers* (1877) was a widely read book intended to promote his movement to Americanize the Roman Catholic church in the United States and to gain acceptance of Roman Catholics as fully loyal and patriotic citizens. Gibbons was an outspoken critic of socialism and an architect of the church's antisocialist position.

3. King Leopold of Belgium conferred the Grand Cross of the Royal Order of the Crown on Gibbons. Ervin denounced the incident in an article, "Heaven and Hell," in the *Appeal* on April 25, 1908.

EVD to Morris Winchevsky

March 9, 1908

Girard, Kansas

My dear Winchevsky:—

Your letter has just reached me and its perusal gives me great pleasure. You flatter me and I can only say that I illy deserve the beautiful compliment you propose paying me.¹ You are at perfect liberty to inscribe your book to me and I only wish I could feel myself worthy of it.

I have always felt since first we met that we knew and understood each other and it is gratifying to look back over the years and the many changes that have taken place and to note that there has been no "variableness or shadow of turning." You are more than generous and I thank you with all my heart. It is rarely in my life, considering

the source, that I have been so finely complimented. I hope you do not err too greatly nor do wrong to the children of your brain.

I am glad to note that you are again in the harness. It is impossible for you to get away from active participation in the revolutionary work. It has you by hooks of steel and throbs with your heart and keeps step with you everywhere.

With love and all devotion, I am,

Yours always,
Eugene V. Debs

TLS, NNYI, Winchevsky Papers.

1. Winchevsky's book *Stories of the Struggle* (1908) was dedicated to Debs.

EVD to Adolph F. Germer

March 10, 1908

Girard, Kansas

My dear Comrade:—

The Appeal is going to issue a large special edition for the benefit of Trade Unionists and organized workers, the purpose being to show them why it is to their interest that they should support the Socialist Party in the campaign this year. In the light of the recent decisions of the supreme court¹ and of state courts and local tribunals it is an easy matter to make this showing. You are in [a] position to make a peculiarly effective argument. It is not long or elaborate discussion that is wanted but something pointed and brief that will reach the minds of the mass and open their eyes to the fact that they have nothing to hope for in capitalist parties and that the sooner they come to the Socialist Party, the party of their class, the better it will be for them. The article should contain five hundred words, more or less, and the copy should be here by the twenty fifth. You might say something about the action of your late state convention, which, by the way, was admirable. I was delighted to see your part in it and to see the stand taken by the miners. The position they have taken and for which they are entitled to all congratulation should be clearly put before the organized workers of the whole country and this you could do in brief form and the Appeal will give you the audience and send your message to the remotest parts of the country.²

I hope this finds you and Mrs. Germer happy, and with loving regards, I am,

As ever, yours,
E. V. Debs

TLS, WHi, Germer Papers.

1. In his essay "The Federal Courts and Union Labor" in the *Appeal* on April 11, 1908, Debs cited as an example the U.S Supreme Court's "hostility to labor unionism" the recent decision in the Buck's Stove and Range Company case, in which Samuel Gompers and other AFL leaders were enjoined against supporting, or even discussing, a boycott against the St. Louis stove manufacturer.

2. Germer's article, "Union Labor at the Ballot Box," appeared in the *Appeal* on April 11, 1908. In it Germer quoted a resolution passed at the 1908 United Mine Workers District 12 (Illinois) convention. It called for the creation of a "united working class political organization" but did not specifically endorse the Socialist party.

EVD to Charles W. Ervin

March 14, 1908

Girard, Kansas

My dear Ervin:—

Your letter of the twelfth is just received. Were I in condition and had the opportunity I should gladly take hand in the campaign in your district. The fight is the same everywhere and every comrade, big or little, can serve about as well in one place as at another. Anyway, I like you and if I can't speak for you I can at least wish I could and cheer you on at long range.

I note with interest what you say about your visit to New York and about the early appearance of the *Socialist Daily*.¹ Like yourself I have some misgiving. It is a big undertaking, and requires plenty of funds. New York ought to be able to support such a paper and I am hoping it will. It may be that just such a task is needed to engage the serious thought and enlist the support of all to overcome the factional differences which now complicate and weaken the situation.

Too bad that Socialists must waste so much of their time and substance in factional fighting. A certain amount of it may be inevitable but it seems as if we have a certain element which is not satisfied unless there is a row on. I can never take a hand in that sort of business and never do unless driven to it. I have no time nor have I the disposition to engage in petty factional quarreling. I want to reserve all I have for the enemy and it is little enough even at that.

I have noted what you say in reference to the approaching con-

vention and the probable nomination for the presidency. I can only repeat what I have said in the past and that is that I do not wish, and for sufficient reasons do not think the convention should consider my name in connection with, the nomination. I have discouraged the use of my name and am still hoping it will not be presented to the convention.²

I note with regret what you say in reference to Comrade Haywood. I must confess that your letter is not the first of its kind I have received touching this matter. I had hoped for entirely different results in his impression upon the comrades of the east. But we cannot always appear at our best or do our best, and even if we do we are apt to fall short and to this rule Haywood of course is no exception. I am quite sure, speaking of him in connection with the nomination, that he does not desire it and that he would only accept it from a sheer sense of duty to the party. He himself told me this and I am sure in all sincerity for Haywood does not dissemble. If the party thinks that his nomination would be an error he would be the very first to decline to have his name considered. If Haywood should withdraw his name or if the convention should for any reason deem another choice preferable I think that an entirely fresh candidate should be nominated. We have a number of comrades who are well-known and whose nomination would fairly represent the party and its principles and who would poll the full strength of the movement.

Referring again to myself, the party of course comes first and there is nothing in the line of duty that I would not do for the party, but I have no idea that the party will need me as a candidate this year, and since I have twice been honored with the nomination there is every reason why some other comrade should be chosen. For such a comrade, whoever he might be, I could work with all my heart.

Thanking you for your kind words and your frank expressions, I remain

Yours fraternally
E. V. Debs

TLS, MiDW, Archives of Labor History and Urban Affairs, Gould Collection.

1. The first edition of the *New York Daily Call* appeared on May 11, 1908. Debs hailed it as a "lusty young giant of working-class journalism" in "The Socialist Press" which appeared in the *Call* on May 30, 1908.

2. Debs was nominated as the Socialist party's presidential candidate, for the third time, at the party's convention in Chicago on May 10-11, 1908. Ben Hanford received the party's vice-presidential nomination.

EVD to Theodore Debs

March 23, 1908

Girard, Kansas

My dear Theodore:—

Read carefully both of the enclosed articles and then hand them both to Reynolds. They are both of them worthy of careful perusal. Tell Reynolds that I am sure he and Mrs. Reynolds will particularly appreciate the one on “Somnambulists” by Jack London.¹ It is Jack at his best. Tell Reynolds also that he should read this to Clarence Royse² or let him have it so that he himself may read it, and if there is any possible way of getting it before the Terre Haute Club it should by all means be done. It would make a great paper for the Terre Haute Club. It could not be better if it were specially prepared for that aggregation of mental antiquarians. How it would make the dry bones rattle!

Yours always,
E. V. D

TLS, InH, Reynolds Collection.

1. John Griffith London (1876-1916) had become a Marxian socialist before he dropped out of the University of California in 1896, and his novel *The Iron Heel* (1907) was an explicit statement of his socialist convictions. “Somnambulists” appeared in the December 20, 1906, issue of the *Independent*.

2. Clarence A. Royse (1872-1933) was a Terre Haute lawyer, friend of Debs, and active member of the Occidental Literary Club.

EVD to John Hunter Walker¹

March 28, 1908

[Girard, Kansas]

Dear Comrade:—

Your favor of the twenty-sixth is received. I had rather for your credit that you had refused my request outright without assigning the reasons you do for so doing. It is the misfortune of the labor movement that it has leaders who are too timid to speak out and tell the workers the truth they so much need to know. I can conceive of no reason why you should hesitate to tell all the world of the action taken by your recent convention. It was weak enough at best, but it was at least a beginning and had in it a promise of something better.

I ventured to presume that you would be eager to let the million readers of the Appeal know about the declaration of the Illinois miners, and that you would gladly take the few minutes that would be required to put it in form to spread among the organized workers of the country. I have no desire to find fault with you, nor have I the presumption to dictate what a man in your position should do, but I cannot refrain from expressing my regret that the few Socialist leaders we have in the miners' union, with but very few exceptions, are so fearful of doing anything that may offend the sensibilities of the capitalist labor lieutenants and ward-heeling republican and democratic politicians who so largely dominate the United Mine Workers to its everlasting injury and discredit. As long as that element is in control the coal diggers of this country will remain in the pitiable condition in which they now are—a condition that makes of unionism a travesty and is abhorrent to every man with a heart in his body and manhood enough to stand up and express himself.

As for the progress in Great Britain to which you invite my attention, it was not achieved by supine submission to pure and simple unionism, nor by leaders who feared to involve themselves in complications by offending cheap labor skates and telling the truth to the benighted workers regardless of the effect it would have upon their own official position.

I may add in closing that the Socialists, so-called, who follow the moral(?) example and adopt the cowardly and reactionary tactics of the labor politician in the labor movement would as well remain pure and simple unionists, for it is precious little they will do to help the social revolution.

It is as well perhaps that you declined my request for the article I wanted has been furnished by another officer of the United Mine Workers who has no fear of involving himself by writing of the public acts of the miners' convention.

Yours fraternally,
Eugene V. Debs

TLC, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. John Hunter Walker (1872-1955) was a native of Scotland who emigrated to the United States with his parents in 1881 and that same year began working in a coal mine at Coal City, Illinois. After working as an organizer for the United Mine Workers, Walker served as president of District 12 of the UMW from 1905 to 1913 and secured affiliation of that union with the AFL in 1908. He was president of the Illinois Federation of Labor from 1913 to 1930.

Franklin H. Wentworth¹ to EVD

March 31, 1908

Boston, Massachusetts

My dear Comrade:—

After consultation with socialists throughout the state, I am led to write you and assure you that the New England socialists are not disposed to consider any candidacy for the presidency except that of yourself. The general disposition is to grant Comrade Haywood the second place on the ticket, but you are their first consideration and first concern. You are dear to us all, and our Massachusetts delegation will, I am sure, go to Chicago with the determination to nominate you. Do not, I pray you, dear comrade, make any protests against this general desire, and do not allow your modesty and general spirit of self sacrifice to lead you to advocate the candidacy of any other person.

With affectionate regard,

Ever yours,

Franklin H. Wentworth

TLS, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. Franklin Harcourt Wentworth (1866-1954) edited and published the *Socialist Spirit* from 1900 to 1903 and served as Washington correspondent for a number of socialist publications from 1904 to 1906. His biography of Wendell Phillips was published in 1908. Most of his later books dealt with fire prevention, and he was for thirty years secretary-treasurer of the National Fire Protection Association and editor of its publications.

EVD to Max Ehrmann

April 16, 1908

Girard, Kansas

My dear Mr. Ehrmann:—

I have received your kind note and thank you for it. I am glad the little things I sent were of some use to you.

I have been long away from home and am yearning to get back again and hope soon to have the joy of seeing my old friends among whom I of course always count you. I must take this occasion to thank you for the kind words you spoke of me at a recent meeting of the Terre Haute Club, of which I was advised by Theodore as well as

through the papers. In that atmosphere it was not conducive to personal popularity, your own I mean, to speak as you did, and for that reason I appreciate what you said all the more. The tribute you paid me,¹ though not deserved, moved me deeply and the frank and courageous spirit which prompted it as well as the devoted friendship which inspired it I appreciate far more than words can express.

Wishing you fair wind, favoring tide, and bright skies always, I remain,

Yours faithfully,
Eugene V. Debs

TLS, InGrD, Archives, Ehrmann Papers.

1. In his tribute to Debs at the Terre Haute Occidental Literary Club meeting, Ehrmann had praised Debs for his courageous, pioneering stance as a social reformer, his skill as an orator, and the warmth of his personality. A good part of his speech was taken from Ehrmann's "Debs as an Orator," which was published in the *Terre Haute Sunday Spectator* on August 10, 1907.

EVD to Katherine Metzel Debs

April 18, 1908
Girard, Kansas

LOVE AND CONGRATULATIONS TO YOU DEAREST MAY EACH MOMENT
OF THIS BLESSED DAY¹ BE GEMMED WITH JOY

GENE

Telegram, EVD Foundation, Debs Home, KMD Scrapbook No. 3.

1. Katherine Debs was born on April 18, 1857.

EVD to Theodore Debs

April 26, 1908
Girard, Kansas

My dearest Pard,

This will reach you on Wednesday, the one anniversary¹ most sacred to our family. You and the girls will go to dear Daisy's resting place and lay flowers at her door steps. I wish I could be with you, but I can't, and so I send this little message. In spirit I shall be with you and you will know that my heart is where Daisy sleeps—dear, sweet,

loving Daisy and Dandy! Our hearts turn to them as violets do to receive the kisses of the sun. How hard their lot, how sad their lives, how noble their example and, after all, how glorious their victory! They lived uprightly, met every duty heroically, discharged every obligation honestly, sacrificed themselves for their brood and were absolutely true to the end. This fills and overflows the measure of life's success—All other things are trifles. What more can there be?

Your loving brother
Eugene

ALS, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. Debs's mother, Daisy, died on April 29, 1906.

Ben Hanford to EVD

May 2, 1908

Chicago, Illinois

Dear Debs—

Your faults are many. I have often discussed them, but never with other than your friends. Your virtues are great and they are countless. It has been my privilege to uphold them before friend and foe. I do not know ~~that~~ the state of your health, but if you are not in your grave clothes you must allow yourself to be the candidate this year. We must make no mistakes. We cannot take chances on dark horses. This year we are to decide two things in America. First, we are going to conquer the right to make economic and political changes by orderly and peaceful processes. Second, we are going to make the Socialist Party the instrument of carrying out those changes. It is going to become the party of revolution—not merely in the educational and academic sense—but it is going to conquer so much new ground, and make so much new growth, that there will be no room for any other party of labor. The Socialist Party is going to show itself competent to carry out its programme. This means, face to face with these great opportunities, that no mistakes can be made. *You*, and no other, are the man to head the army. I do not know the condition of your throat. I have heard all sort of stories. But if you are not able you need make few speeches, and those only in halls.¹ Note the size of our party, and note its finances. If you are not able to speak, you can write, and the party can *print*, and circulate. Besides, look at our Socialist press. See the powers in the hands of the Movement now.

To me it seems that I have no right to consider any other man unless you tell me that you positively decline, and in the event that you do so you are in duty bound to give me your reasons, and I have a right to weigh them as well as yourself. We differ in opinion on many party matters, but in purpose we are one, now as aforesaid. I inclose a letter from Fred Long.² Please read it and return it to me, There is no man in our movement of broader knowledge or sounder judgment. Do not mind what he says of me. But to my mind, you must be moved by the confidence of such a man as you know him to be. Please let me hear from you—and let me be able to say that now as always, Debs is ready and willing to answer to any call that is made upon him. Do not consider me personally for a moment. Physically I am all to the good. I shall work in the movement once more, and believe me, it is the work and the Movement I love, and not the place. Debs, *you are the man*, and it is your duty to let it be known that you can and will respond when called upon.

With a comrade's love,

Yours truly
Ben Hanford

Address me c/o Barnes.³

ALS, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. In Debs's letter to the national convention in Chicago, he stated that his "health is about all that could be desired" and that "so far as strength is concerned, I have never had more to my credit."

2. Fred Long (1840-1911) was a printer in Philadelphia and a pioneer in the labor and socialist movements in that city.

3. J. Mahlon Barnes, national secretary of the party.

EVD to Joseph A. Labadie

May 5, 1908
Girard, Kansas

My dear Joe:—

Some days ago a letter came from you which I had but time to glance at and meant to answer later, but to my regret I am now unable to find it. In the thousand and more letters which pour in here daily yours seems to have gone astray. I remember, I think, the substance of your letter and regret that you felt that you had cause for writing it. It is quite probable that there is good ground for your complaint. I do not justify nor attempt to justify any misrepresentation of an-

archism or anarchists. But this sort of thing has been engaged in on both sides. At Chicago and some other places there are those who call themselves anarchists who are to be found in every election with the money of the capitalist politicians in their pockets and doing the service of ward-heeling politicians, denouncing Socialists and visiting their wrath on the Appeal to Reason and other Socialist papers. Between elections, of course, they have no use for politics and denounce all politics as corrupt but when there is an opening to make a few dirty dollars they are in the thick of the vilest kind of politics. But I know you do not defend this and I am simply mentioning it to show that there are those on both sides who are engaged in the reprehensible work which you and I both condemn.

I have had a letter from Voltairine de Cleyre¹ on the same subject and have just answered her. Of course you know that I am not an anarchist and do not agree to the anarchist philosophy. but I can none the less admire such a comrade as Voltairine de Cleyre, in whose letter which lies before me there is everything that is commendable and not one word to which any fair and decent person could take exception.

I have often defended anarchists and I think no one more fully appreciates the moral heroism of the Chicago anarchists who were legally murdered² than I. Certain anarchists have at times treated me unfairly but I have rarely paid any attention to them for the very reason that I do not wish any personal controversy with those who are opposed to capitalism. So far as we can work together well and good. Where we cannot do this we can each pursue his own course with all due respect for the other. I number some anarchists among my warmest personal friends and the only change I could wish in them is that they were Socialists.

I appreciate the kindly spirit in which you have written me and you may rely upon me to do what I can to prevent any misrepresentation of anarchism on the part of Socialists.

I am glad your mail has been held up by the government. This gives you fresh credentials and increases, if possible, my personal regard for you. In any such fight, if it became serious, I need not assure you that you could count on me without fear of disappointment.

I hope you are well and cheerful, and with all good wishes, remain as ever,

Yours faithfully,
E. V. Debs

TLS, MiU, Labadie Collection.

1. Born in Michigan, Voltairine de Cleyre (1866-1912) was a friend of the Russian-

immigrant anarchists Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman and a frequent contributor to their periodical, *Mother Earth*. In 1909 she published *Anarchism and American Traditions*.

2. Four of the men convicted in the trial following the Haymarket Riot in Chicago in 1886 were hanged, and one committed suicide. At the time of their conviction, Debs denounced Judge Joseph E. Gary's decision in the *BLF Magazine* (January 1887) for punishing "doctrines, opinions, and ideas" and, while declaring his opposition to anarchism and anarchists ("the insane harangues made by the Chicago cranks"), insisted that the convicted men should be protected by "Free Speech and Free Press . . . the twin glories of the American government."

Ben Hanford to EVD

May 6, 1908
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Gene—

I have no words to tell how your letter¹ cheered me. I knew of course that you did not seek the nomination. By my standards, a man who *sought* it would be unworthy of it. And I was just as certain as Long was that you were a good old soldier and *willing* to obey marching orders. What I did not know was if you were *able* to march. It is absolutely beyond me to adequately express my joy at your physical condition. But I can understand it. It's the inspiration of the *Cause*. Its promise and progress are enough to raise the dead. Since getting here in Chicago, where things in the movement are going so I have {felt} that if the old guy with the long whiskers and the ~~sickle~~ scythe were to come within a mile of me I'd tweak his nose for him . . . Now that I've started telling you of your many failings, I've got to keep it up and make good. So here goes. Remember, *you are to do as much for me*. If I were rich and selfish, I'd hire the smartest man in the world to call me every morning at daybreak and tell me the fool things I did before I went to bed the night before. Not being rich, I can only get a kindly jolt from a friend now and then. But to *your* faults. "*We make our fight on principle the basis of principle and not of personality.*" Right you are, Gene. *We do. We do.* But the man who must constantly act in self-defense of justifiable attack on his person and character cannot fight {most} effectively for principle. In a personal way, there is not a man on earth that I cannot feel for and suffer with, be his vices or crime what they may. More. I can love him as a brother, and down in my heart of hearts know that save for a concatenation of fortuitous circumstances over which I had no control whatever I am even as he is. But the man with the rotten

shield is not the man to lead the assault. The leader must attack—attack—attack. His shield must be so clean and bright that no shaft can scratch much less pierce it. Gene, *you are that man*. My telling you of your faults but adds to and emphasizes your virtues. For a *real man* to know his faults is to be rid of them . . . At the last let me add this. I am not for your nomination because of my personal regard and esteem. Consciously, I have never allowed my personal feelings to make me for or against a man for office in the labor movement. I love my friends, but I do not try to repay my friendships from ~~rewards~~ honors taken at the expense of the labor movement. I do not believe even that I have a friend in the world who would expect that. I wish to see you at the head of the ticket because you are the best and ablest and largest man for the place. You are not big enough. You are over six feet high, I know, but if we had a man 12 feet high I'd say he was not big enough. This side of omnipotence, no man would be big enough for the great work ahead of us. So I pick the biggest, and best and grandest old man we've got—that's you, Gene.

So, love to you,

Yours till high noon in the
Co-operative Commonwealth,
Ben Hanford

ALS, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. Debs's letter to Hanford, in which he assured Hanford that his health was good and that he would not "shirk my part in the coming campaign," was read to the convention and printed in the 1908 convention *Proceedings*, 151-52.

EVD to Horace Traubel

May 12, 1908
Girard, Kansas

My dear Traubel:—

My appreciation of the invitation you extend in behalf of the Whitman Fellowship¹ is exceeded only by my regret in being unable to accept it. You are always thoughtful and always kind, and they who are blessed in knowing you are all your brothers and turn to you as flowers turn to the light.

Please extend my affectionate greetings to all the Whitman Fellowship. I shall be with you again in full spirit, as I was last year, and as I hope to be through all the years to come.

It is a great compliment to be deemed worthy of a seat at the Whitman Fellowship {dinner}. I could desire no higher testimonial.

Again you will enjoy a brief respite from carking cares and take out your souls and loaf and laugh and love with dear old Walt, whose blessed life has made this old earth right in thought and hope, in love and joy, for all time.

The philosophy and poetry of Whitman are being more widely recognized and their influence more profoundly felt with the passing years. The life he lived is the life eternal and the love he loved is the love of all.

Fragrant as a flower garden is the memory of dear old Walt and every heart-throb bears loving testimony of his living presence in your Feast of Fellowship.

Yours always,
Eugene V. Debs

TLS, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. Debs's letter to Traubel was read at the Whitman Fellowship dinner at the Hotel Brevoort in New York City on June 10, 1908.

EVD to Theodore Debs

May 17, 1908

Girard, Kansas

My dear old Pard:

Yesterday Saturday afternoon was one of the rarest most beautiful and touching occasions of all my life. It was a *complete* surprise. At 3 o'clock I was casually invited by Warren and Eastwood to walk uptown. Mayor Ryan¹ met & walked with us. On the court house campus a stand had been newly created, a great crowd of men women & children were assembled A band, a magnificent one, brought here for the occasion began to play, then Richardson,² one of the rarest of souls, made a beautiful address and paid me a most touching tribute and for the first time it flashed upon me—the *people* of Girard, regardless of party, creed or color, had assembled to compliment me upon my nomination. I spoke—and said little or nothing for my emotions overmastered me. Then a large number of little girls in white came forward, each with a huge basket of beautiful flowers. No words can describe it. The people surrounded me. The Mayor, a Democrat, paid me a beautiful tribute and all the people applauded and every [*sic*] they came to my room and shook hands and spoke

kind words. My room was *packed* with flowers all around the walls a solid mass that the biggest wagon would not have held. One magnificent basket, so beautiful as to excite pity that it must wither bore amidst its many colored ribbons and decorations the inscription "From those who love you" —

This day—and how I wish you could have been here—drew ~~the curtain~~ aside {the curtain of the future} and for a brief {moment} ~~day at least~~ I caught a glimpse of the fine, sweet, beautiful, *human* society *that is to be*. My love and kisses to you all.

Your brother and pard
Eugene

ALS, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. Mayor William H. Ryan (1857-1940), the Democratic mayor of Girard.
2. Eli W. Richardson, Girard businessman and socialist. His speech, Mayor Ryan's, and Debs's response were printed in "Citizens of Girard Unite in Expression of Good Will for 'Gene Debs,'" in the *Appeal*, May 23, 1908.

Ben Hanford to EVD

May 24, 1908
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Gene—

I have not written for several days, as I kept away from the office to catch up with correspondence. I do not like to tax your time, but I want you to read the inclosed two letters and return them to me.

Then I want to tell you that I can't possibly be there. It is utterly impossible. Now, old man, I don't like to do this but *can* you see a way to give them an hour's talk on the "Power of the Press" {or whatever you see fit} at the Grand Central Palace in New York next Saturday night.¹ It would do an immense good, not only in a particular but a general way.

The Call will appear on May 30²—it must be kept up till after the election. Much depends on the start.

I do not know just when you will be in Chicago, but expect you any moment, and must have an hour's talk with you.

Your Girard speech³ is your best because of its *simplicity*. That's the thing to make it so clear that *all* can understand. Few are aware of it, but simplicity is the most difficult of the arts. When one understands all other arts, then one can *approach* the art of arts—simplicity.

This New York matter is of more importance than I can tell or

explain in a letter. If you are coming on here at once, and have not yet declined, do not do so until you see me. You can then wire them.

You are altogether too good to me, old comrade. When I give you more than you have coming, I'll send a bill. But I hope to get some talk licked into shape soon.

Love to you
Ben Hanford

ALS, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. On May 30, 1908, Debs spoke at the Grand Central Palace in New York City at a mass meeting which celebrated the launching of the *New York Daily Call*. Most of his speech was devoted to an attack on William Howard Taft and William Jennings Bryan, Debs's opponents in the 1908 campaign.

2. Debs's article "The Power of the Press" appeared in the May 30 issue of the *Call*.

3. The socialist press called Debs's speech at the Girard celebration in his honor on May 16 "the opening gun" of his 1908 campaign.

Robert Hunter to EVD

July 24, 1908

Noroton Heights, Connecticut

Dear Eugene,

I spent yesterday with Steffens¹ reading over the first part of his article upon you. You have won him for ever. If he does not do justice to you and the cause it will be because it is beyond him. The beauty of it all has almost unstrung him, and I fear one thing only: that his eagerness and keenness to do the best in him will work against his quiet power. But in any case it will doubtless be the best thing that has ever been written in our magazines. He wants you to keep him in touch with your actions so that the proofs can reach you without delay and be returned to him promptly. He also wants a photograph of you with your heart in your face and your hands outstretched. He is not satisfied with the severe pictures which others have made, and he wants you to get the very best possible photographer that you can conveniently reach to make a portrait. But I believe he has already telegraphed about that.

Ever yours fraternally,
Robert Hunter

TLS, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. Joseph Lincoln Steffens (1866-1936) had established his reputation as a leading

muckraker of the era on the basis of his exposures of corruption in municipal governments, collected in *The Shame of Cities* in 1904. At this time Steffens was on the editorial board of *Everybody's Magazine*, in the October 1908 issue of which his "Eugene V. Debs on What the Matter Is in America and What to Do About It" appeared.

Lincoln Steffens to EVD

August 1, 1908

New York City

My dear friend Debs,

I finished writing my interview last night. It went to the type-writer this morning and will be copied by Monday, when it will be rushed from here to you, just as it stands.

That means, in the first place, that there will be typographical and other errors, which you need not notice. All I ask you to do is, as swiftly as possible, to read it for general truth. I have read it to Ghent,¹ Hillquit, and Robert Hunter. They all like it; indeed, they like it very much.

You will notice that I have taken the liberties you said I might, all of them. I ask you to make as few changes as you consistently can. The time is short: the article must go to type on August fifth. If you can pass the article unchanged, wire the Editor² of *Everybody's Magazine* to that effect. If the changes you make are few and can be briefly described, wire them to him also. Otherwise, write. Return manuscript (which you should do, anyway).

I am marking the envelope to be opened by your brother, Mr. Theodore Debs. He has been very kind and helpful to the Editors here, and they are very much obliged, as I am, and as you may well be.

I ask him to open your letter, so if you are to be elsewhere than at home about the time when the manuscript mailed here on Monday should arrive in Terre Haute, he may wire to the Editor of *Everybody's* just where to send copy to you.

I have not written to you before because I have been so absorbed in the writing; but I think you will see when you read the article, that I must have enjoyed and profited by my meeting with you. I could say more; but I will not do it now.

Yours sincerely,
Lincoln Steffens
per W.

1. A native of Indiana, William James Ghent (1866-1942) was a regular contributor to the *New York Independent* from 1900 to 1913 and earlier (1899) had served as an aide to Samuel Jones in the latter's campaigns for mayor of Toledo and governor of Ohio. In 1909, Ghent became head of the Rand School in New York and in 1911-12 served as secretary to Victor Berger. Widely read by socialists, Ghent's books included *Our Benevolent Feudalism* (1902), *Mass and Class* (1904), *Socialism and Success* (1910), and *Appeal Socialist Classics* (1916).

2. John O'Hara Cosgrave (1864-1947) was editor of *Everybody's* from 1903 to 1911 and Sunday editor of the *New York World* from 1912 to 1927.

EVD to Lincoln Steffens

August 12, 1908

Girard, Kansas

My dear Mr. Steffens:—

Having read your article I feel that I should write you a few lines in regard to it. In returning the copy to the Editor I took occasion to say that your work was magnificent and that I was greatly pleased with it. I desire to repeat this to you now, with the reservation, however, that there are some things in the article which I wish were otherwise. Of course I did not expect it would be possible to produce an article of such importance and under such great difficulties which would be entirely free from objections. But such objection as I do find I make to you and not to the Editor, for I know how conscientiously you did your work and I would not have you feel that I am lacking in proper appreciation.

When the copy was submitted to me it was under circumstances that made any change or revision practically impossible. The time was exceedingly short as was indicated by both telegrams and letters received at Terre Haute a day or two before the copy reached there. I was instructed to return the copy with the least possible delay and also to make no changes unless absolutely necessary and to wire those changes so the copy could go to the printers on time. All of which indicated a strong desire to avoid changes.

To add to the disadvantages, I was obliged to leave Terre Haute before the copy reached there to meet imperative engagements in Kansas. I left word with my brother to have the copy rushed to me by immediate delivery on the very first mail. After reaching Girard I was on the alert, knowing that my having to leave would add at least three days more to the delay and as the time of going to press was overdue I felt that I must rush the copy back from here on the first mail by immediate delivery, which I did. This allowed but a hasty

reading of the article and no time to deliberately consider or revise it. For this reason but two slight alterations were made.

I shall not now point out the particular things which I should have had otherwise, but one or two may serve. You have me say that I expect sometime to do some very foolish thing. That surely must have been an error on your part, for I made no such statement. Not that I may not do a foolish thing, but the statement was used to indicate that I would do a very foolish thing at a very critical time when it would have disastrous effects; but at any rate it is not the kind of a statement that I would give place to in such an article.

In the matter of the difference between Berger and myself,¹ as to compensation to the class which has confiscated the wealth produced by the working class, I was quite familiar with the literature on the subject and with the opinions of certain prominent Socialists, but, if you remember, I asked you to entirely omit that part of the interview, or at least to say that bridge would be crossed when we got to it and that the question of compensating the present owners of the means of production would be determined by the people at the time they were taken over. This is the way in which this point should have been presented. It is purely a matter of conjecture at this time. The people, especially those who have amassed their fortunes by confiscation, are exceedingly sensitive upon that subject when the same method is to be applied to themselves

But I am not writing to find fault, but only to be candid with you and to indicate what changes I would have made if I could have done so without marring the article or causing delay, against which the publishers so persistently and pressingly urged me.

In my hasty reading of the article I did not fail to observe that to make the changes here suggested and one or two others would have mutilated the article and necessitated the rewriting of certain parts of it, and I readily understood your request therefore that no change be made unless absolutely necessary.

Permit me to assure you that I appreciate fully the difficulties under which your work was undertaken and also the conscientious desire to do justice which you brought to the task. You produced a really wonderful article and I made no mistake in saying to the Editor that it was a piece of magnificent work. From my point of view it has its objections, but, all things considered, it were strange if this were otherwise. As for myself personally you have treated me generously indeed, more so by far than I deserve, and I am deeply sensible for every kind word your article contains. It is not myself, however, that I am concerned about, but the great Cause of which I am but a very small part, and my whole object in the interview was to have that

Cause so presented to the people that it should be rightly understood, knowing that nothing but their ignorance in regard to it keeps them from supporting it and hastening the day of its triumph. If the article serves that purpose in such part as our comrades expect, as I believe it will and hope it may, it will fully justify all the labors required to produce it and the objections I have pointed out will detract but little from it and not at all from the commendation it will evoke from our friends and sympathizers.

Permit me to thank you in my own name and for my comrades for the service you have rendered and for the sympathetic interest which animated you, and believe me, with all kind regards and good wishes,

Yours faithfully,
Eugene V. Debs

TLS, NNC.

1. Steffens's interview with Debs was conducted at the home of Victor Berger in Milwaukee. Berger sat in on the interview and entered into a heated argument with Debs in response to Steffens's question concerning compensation to the owners of trusts in a socialist system. Debs answered, "Take them." Berger said, "We would offer to pay."

Lincoln Steffens to EVD

August 13, 1908
Marblehead, Massachusetts

My dear Mr. Debs—

The Editor of Everybody's sends me the enclosed.¹

Now I don't care a damn, myself, for, as you well know, I am not addressing Socialists; they know it all; but the people who do not understand. And, as the article is not for Mr. Warren, nor for Socialists, nor for any interested person, but for the public, neither Mr. Warren nor you, nor anybody should have any say about it. It is my article. If I did fairly by you, it was because I was fair; if you are presented attractively (as I find all readers say) then, that is creditable to you. For I did not write you this to please you or even because I like you, but because I found you to be as I have shown you to be. I suppose Mr. Warren's "extraneous matter," is a reference to Berger's part. Berger did take part, as you know. I didn't mean at the time to report him, but as I came to think over my material, I saw that the contrast between his bluff manner & your kindness; his views & yours, added

not only to the attractiveness but likewise to the clearness of the interview. And it does. Hunter, Hillquit, Ghent, Walling,² Leroy Scott³—all of them thought so.

I feared a kick from Berger, because I really only used him. I didn't give him a fair show; didn't get all his views. I quoted from him only enough to show the differences between Socialists & to bring out the more definitely your personality & character.⁴

If Mr. Warren can't see that, his judgment is worthless as to the presentation of any matter. Indeed I think his telegram is but one more evidence of the utter hopelessness of trying to give Socialism a square deal. For he, being dissatisfied with something that is none of his business threatens at once to use force, the force of his paper. I guess his is the spirit which so many of us think of & resent as Socialism.

Berger, who also found fault with my treatment of him, grins & bears it. And I, who, for the sake of bringing out the simplest ideas, asked you questions I could have answered myself, I stand there like a dummy. Indeed I get the worst of the whole thing, & I don't kick. I don't see why anybody else should.

You'd better take the matter up with Warren and straighten it out.

I want to thank you, briefly, for the patience, kindness & broad-mindedness of your part in it all; I'll do so at length later, when it's all over. And, then, too, I'll reason with you about the two points you objected to & which I have cut out.

Yours sincerely
Lincoln Steffens

P.S. And my compliments to your brother, who was most helpful. I'd like to meet and thank him personally. I'll be at Riverside, Conn. next week.

[enclosure]

COPY OF TELEGRAM

AUGUST 11TH, 1908.

GIRARD, KANSAS.

E. J. RIDGEWAY, EVERYBODY'S MAGAZINE, N.Y.

APPEAL AND ITS ARMY OF HALF MILLION WILL NOT BOOST STEFFENS INTERVIEW. WHEN I WROTE YOU I HAD IN MIND INTERVIEW WITH DEBS, DID NOT ANTICIPATE LOT OF EXTRANEIOUS MATTER. DEBS REPRESENTS SOCIALIST PARTY AND AS CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENCY IS THE MAN WHO SHOULD SPEAK FOR IT.

(Signed) WARREN, EDITOR OF THE APPEAL TO REASON.

ALS (with copy of telegram from Fred D. Warren to Lincoln Steffens), InTI, Debs Collection.

1. A telegram dated August 11, 1908 from Fred D. Warren to Erman J. Ridgeway (1867-1943), president of the Ridgway Company, which published *Everybody's Magazine*, notified Ridgway that "the *Appeal* and its army of half million will not boost Steffens interview" because of the "extraneous matter" (presumably the inclusion of Victor Berger) that appeared in the Debs interview. The editor of *Everybody's* was John O'Hara Cosgrave.

2. William English Walling (1877-1936), one of the "millionaire socialists," graduated from the University of Chicago in 1897, worked in Illinois as a factory inspector and in New York City's University Settlement, and became one of the Socialist party's most respected and influential writers and public speakers. Walling broke with the party in 1917 but retained an interest in and wrote regularly on American labor issues.

3. Like William English Walling, Leroy Scott (1875-1929) gained a firsthand insight into urban-industrial conditions in his work at the University Settlement in New York. Scott's novel *The Walking Delegate*, published in 1905, was praised for its realistic treatment of New York labor unions and their internal tensions.

4. In Steffens's *Everybody's* interview with Debs, Berger was described as "the man that made a Socialist of Debs, . . . a most aggressive personality [who] took a most aggressive part in his pupil's interview."

EVD to Theodore Debs

August 15, 1908

Girard, Kansas

My darling old Pard,

Your birthday will be on Thursday¹ and I am pouring out my love and congratulations. No mortal ever had a dearer brother, a more loyal pard, a sweeter soul, a more perfect ministering angel than you have been to me and I love you with all the holy power that one soul can love another.

Eternally yours
Gene

ALS, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. Theodore Debs was born on August 20, 1864.

EVD to Lincoln Steffens

August 18, 1908

Girard, Kansas

My dear Mr. Steffens:—

I have received and have read with regret your favor of the thirteenth instant. Mr. Warren is absent from here and will not return

until Saturday, when I expect to meet him and I shall then take up the matter with him and do what I can to have it straightened out. As I am now filling speaking engagements and have to leave for Parsons¹ where I am booked this evening, my time is so limited that I cannot write you as I feel I should. Let me ask you not to take this matter too seriously. It is to be regretted that Mr. Warren and you cannot meet personally. He has his story and I think you would find it not entirely unreasonable. The misfortune is that you do not know each other and that you totally misunderstand each other. I know Warren thoroughly and I believe I can say the same of you, and I feel safe, perfectly safe, in believing that if you and he were together thirty minutes you would be the fastest of friends. The two or three objections I made to the article were not intended to reflect upon it and I know you did not so regard them. I have just written Robert Hunter who has told me about his conversation with you which has deeply touched me, and in my letter to him I have said that your article would have been open to very much greater objection if it had been free from the smaller ones.

From the moment I met you I was impressed with your perfect honesty and sincerity. I knew you would write conscientiously and felt that you would also write sympathetically. In neither have I been disappointed in the slightest degree. I am entirely satisfied and more, and so far as you are personally concerned I feel a sense of gratitude which I need not attempt to express.

When I see Mr. Warren on Saturday I will do the best I can in this matter. I may not be able to do much, or even anything, but I will at least keep faith with myself. I have become used to these delicate and trying situations and for the party's sake my patience must not fail me. On my own account I could not always keep my temper. But vexations, however acute, cannot make me forget that I am the party's candidate and that the party will be judged by my words and my acts.

My brother will be delighted with your very thoughtful and appreciative acknowledgment. I will see him in a few days and in the meantime let me thank you for him. I hope he, too, some day may meet you and when you see him you will find in him the things in which I am lacking. I know you will like him, you will love him, as everyone does who knows him.

With hearty thanks and the assurance of my personal esteem and regard, I am,

Yours always,
E. V. Debs

TLS, NNC.

1. Parsons, Kansas, about fifty miles southwest of Girard.

EVD to Theodore Debs

August 20, 1908
Pittsburg, Kansas

My Sweetheart Pard:

I've decided to shake hell out of you on account of it being your birthday. First thing I thought of this morning. My heart told me—flashed up your beak, saluted and said, many returns of the day, old pard, and may all the gods love and keep you forever!

We had a grand meeting in this mining centre¹—big picnic all day yesterday—big delegation came down from Girard. Mother Jones & 6 others spoke in morning & afternoon & I wound up last night with a corking speech to a tremendous audience which was swept from its feet with enthusiasm.

Speak three times today—at one point where train stops 5 minutes—at the dinner hour at Sedan when it stops 20 minutes ~~for dinner~~—then at Winfield² this eve—then return to Girard.

Has rained & is cool. Feeling finer than our Prairieton³ Beaut. We have 'em going!

Love & kisses to you all

Your old pard
Eugene

Pls paste these in my scrap book

ALS, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. Pittsburg, Kansas, is about ten miles from Girard.
2. Sedan and Winfield, Kansas, small towns some one hundred miles west of Girard.
3. Prairieton, Indiana, is ten miles south of Terre Haute.

EVD to Morris Hillquit

August 21, 1908

Girard, Kansas

My dear Hillquit:—

Yours of the nineteenth is received. I am glad to have this frank expression of your views on the differences which have arisen out of the Steffens' interview. I am in entire accord with your views and also in sympathy with your proposition to overcome the unfortunate effects of these differences. I had already intended to take just such action as your letter suggests. Warren has been gone some days and will not return for a day or two and I will then have a talk with him and do all I can to have him act as you suggest and boom the edition of *Everybody's* containing our article¹ and circulate it as widely as possible. It is gratifying to me and will also strengthen my position to have this expression from you and I thank you for it warmly.

I shall leave for Terre Haute about Sunday but shall very likely have a chance to see Warren before leaving, and I hope and believe it can be straightened out.

Cordial greetings and affectionate remembrances to you and Mrs. Hillquit.

Yours always,
E. V. Debs

TLS, WHi, Hillquit Papers.

1. During the course of the 1908 campaign the *Appeal* urged readers, in front-page notices, to buy a number of magazines in which Debs material appeared—the *Arena*, *Independent*, and others—but there was no “booming” of *Everybody's*.

EVD to Lincoln Steffens

August 27, 1908

Terre Haute, Indiana

My dear Mr. Steffens:—

If there had been even the slightest trace of feeling your kind note of the 24th. would have eradicated it completely. But the only feeling there was toward you was that of perfect kindness and the most grateful appreciation. I tried to make this plain in the very letters in which appeared the criticisms of your article, but your sensitive nature was so rudely jarred by the incident which had preceded our cor-

respondence that you failed to catch the personal note of what I had to say to you. The objections to your article are insignificant and contemptible compared to the fine regard and large estimate we have of your personally.

Warren now understands as I have explained to him and I know he feels toward you just as I do. Socialists are critical by nature and perhaps unnecessarily hypercritical but you will think better of them when you know them better.

That magnificent article of yours will perfectly serve its purpose and all of us feel under obligation to your kindness and to your fine spirit for it. When I can serve you command me. I trust you absolutely and have for you only the most affectionate regard.

Yours always
E. V. Debs

TLS, NNC.

EVD to Grace D. Brewer¹

September 8, 1908
Las Vegas, Nevada

My dear Comrade Brewer:—

Yours of the 2nd. with draft enclosed has been received. Thank you most warmly for your kindness. Note all you say and with the greatest interest. The little old Appeal is very dear to me and I very much miss the fine comradeship of you all, although the comrades aboard² are filled with the genuine spirit and are making my work very easy by doing most of it themselves.

I wish you were all with us for at least a day, particularly Mother Jones.³ She above all others ought to be on the train. If the dear old soul is still there give her my love. This weary old planet has never seen a greater soul. Remember me also lovingly to George, Phil⁴ and Carrie⁵ and Snyder⁶ and all the dear comrades about you.

I am sorry the Monett man⁷ has again broken out of his reservation. It is getting to be a desperate case. I can understand now why it is dry out here. He has gathered all the rain to himself and is flooding his constituents with wet oratory. I would like to be in one of his

crowds and ask him if it is true that he is secretly using his influence to elect Taft. Love and best wishes to you all.

Yours always
E. V. Debs

TLS, MiDW, Archives of Labor History and Urban Affairs, Brewer Collection.

1. Grace D. Brewer was on the staff of the *Appeal* from 1906 to 1913 and booked many of the lecture tours made by Debs on behalf of the *Appeal*. Her articles, often on the "woman question," appeared regularly in the *Appeal*, and she served on the women's national committee of the Socialist party. Her husband, George D. Brewer, was also on the *Appeal* staff and often accompanied Debs on his lecture tours. Brewer was in his own right a popular agitation speaker for the *Appeal*.

2. Debs's 1908 presidential campaign was notable and remembered most for its employment of a chartered train, the Red Special, which during the course of two months (late August until election day) carried Debs to both coasts and across most of the Midwest and Rocky Mountain regions. Altogether, the Red Special made it possible for Debs to reach an estimated 500,000 people in 300 communities in thirty-three states.

3. In its September 12, 1908, issue, the *Appeal* noted that Mother Jones had been "visiting among Girard comrades for the past month recuperating much needed strength" before "heading for the Alabama coal fields."

4. Phil Callery was a Socialist party lecturer and organizer and was at this time serving as campaign manager for Ben Wilson, the party's congressional candidate in Kansas's Third District.

5. Possibly Carrie Hallowell, an *Appeal* staff member whose work as "an agitator in southwest Missouri" was praised in the *Appeal* on May 15, 1909.

6. John E. Snyder worked in the *Appeal* office and was the Socialist party candidate for the state legislature in 1908.

7. Fred D. Warren, managing editor of the *Appeal*, lived in Monett, Missouri, before moving to Girard.

Theodore Debs to Marguerite Toy Debs¹

September 14, 1908

Woodburn en route to Portland, Oregon

My dearest Sweetheart:—

Your good and newsy letter reached me at Sacramento² and I was more than glad to have a word from home and to know that things were moving on smoothly. I am sorry that I could not see Comrade Langdon³ at Terre Haute. She is a fine, sweet soul who has given much to the labor movement.

This is a great country, the finest we have passed through since leaving home and my only regret is that you and mama are not with

me to enjoy it. You could eat fruit of all kinds to your heart's content. The baggage car is half full of the finest fruit I have ever seen. At every station our supply is increased; pears, plums, seedless raisin grapes and such bunches, strawberries, watermelons and today a comrade handed in a magnificent string of fresh mountain trout which we are to have for dinner this evening.

It would do you good to see the little socialist girls out here. They are as lively as a sand flea and work with more enthusiasm. We meet them at every point and they invariably have a large bouquet of flowers for the train.

If Uncle Gene and I do not come home feeling like new it will not be the fault of these western comrades for they are putting everything at our disposal that the country produces.

I wish you could have been with us when we passed Shasta Springs. The Springs are located near the base of Shasta mountain and great volumes of water gush out of the mountain side laughing and leaping and singing its way to the sea. You can look in your geography and see just where this mountain is located. The scenery in the Sisco mountains is perfectly grand. These mountains are covered with the most beautiful pine and there is scene after scene that beggars description.

I am glad you are a big girl for your help will count for so much to mama while I am away and I am sure you are doing all you can to make it as easy for her as possible. I'm feeling mighty lonesome away out here without you and I wish that I could put my arms about you and kiss you devotedly.

I can write you no more at present. Too busy.

With sweet and affectionate kisses I am

Your loving father
Theodore Debs

TLS, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. Marguerite Toy Debs Cooper (1894-1987) was the daughter of Theodore Debs. She taught for many years at Ball State Teachers College in Muncie, Indiana, and in the public schools of Terre Haute, and her donation of her father's and Gene Debs's correspondence formed the nucleus of the Debs Collection at Indiana State University.

2. Theodore Debs accompanied Gene on the Red Special campaign train.

3. Emma F. Langdon (1875-1937) established her reputation as a champion of labor during the Colorado miners' strike in 1903 when she singlehandedly wrote, set type for, and printed her husband's paper in Victor, Colorado, while Charles Langdon was imprisoned for criticizing the government's use of troops against the strikers. Emma Langdon's book *Labor's Greatest Conflict* was a detailed account of the Colorado strike. During her stay in Terre Haute, she spoke at meetings of the printers' and miners' unions in the area.

EVD to Lincoln Steffens

September 21, 1908

En route to Duluth, Minnesota

My dear Mr. Steffens:—

When I hurriedly read the proof sheets of your article I did not get all there was in it. I have just finished reading it in current Everybody's and wish now to tell you how much more I appreciate it than before. Even the flaws, or what I regarded as flaws, are necessary and serve their purpose. In all the essentials of the case you are supreme. I was interviewed at St. Paul yesterday in regard to the article and said that, omitting myself entirely, I regarded it as the greatest magazine article of its kind ever written.

It is not saying a bit too much to pronounce this article a masterpiece in magazine literature. It was an extremely difficult and critical piece of work and you performed it {in} masterly fashion and added fresh lustre to your fame.

Besides the high literary character of the article there is a psychic strain in it, a something subtle and charming, which appeals to the higher faculties and the better nature and places it far, far above the ordinary run of articles of that class.

The spirit of kindness tempered your rigid determination to do justice and gave you perfect poise and this with your keen insight and analytical powers made you the master of the situation. You have written with rare brilliancy and enviable power and while you have not in the least degree catered to or flattered the socialists, I am sure they are one in giving you and Everybody's full credit for having done justice to them and their movement.

For the personal touches and the sympathetic impulses which prompted them I thank you over and over again. It is far more than I deserve and I fear that in that one particular alone you have misled your readers. Still, I will do what I can in my poor way to save you from unmerited criticism for having inspired expectations which could not be realized.

I shall never forget you and Everybody's for having given the Socialist movement of the United States this fair and just and wide hearing at this very time when it was most needed and when it will be fruitful of the best possible results.

With esteem and gratitude I am

Yours always
Eugene V. Debs

PERSONAL

You have written from and have been inspired by a social brain, a social heart and a social conscience and if you are not a socialist I do not know one.

TLS, NNC.

EVD to Morris Hillquit

October 7, 1908

Manchester, New Hampshire

Dear Comrade Hillquit:—

You and Mrs. Hillquit were extremely kind and generous to share your box at the Hippodrome¹ with Mrs. Debs and her party. Please accept, both of you, the hearty thanks of Mrs. Debs and her guests and also of myself. The last thing Mrs. Debs said to me before I left her was how greatly she felt indebted to you and Mrs. Hillquit for your kindness. Should we ever have the chance to reciprocate we shall do so with great pleasure.

And now you must let me know what my share of the expense is. Drop me a line, please, general delivery, Trenton, N.J. where I shall be on the 10th. The kindness of sharing your box when there was such urgent demand for the room and when doubtless others turned to you for seats is in itself enough. You must let me bear my part of the expense and upon hearing from you I will gladly remit and feel better for being permitted to meet that slight part of the obligation.

With all good wishes I remain

Yours fraternally
Eugene V. Debs

TLS, WHi, Hillquit Papers.

1. The Red Special arrived in New York City on October 4 and Debs spoke at a meeting in the Hippodrome Theatre that evening. The Associated Press reported that in spite of the fact that "an admission fee was charged . . . every seat was filled."

EVD to Morris Hillquit

October 15, 1908

En route to Reading, Pennsylvania

My dear Hillquit: —

Your letter of the 7th. was duly received. Thank you for it warmly. No trace remains of that incident. It is closed and forgotten. I have but one regret in connection with it and that is not having been able to attend the banquet and thus serve the Call and receive the splendid greeting so kindly planned for me.

Some strange fatality has attended me at the New York meetings¹ and my part in them was as insignificant as the meetings themselves were magnificent. It was there I wished to be strongest and was weakest. Fortunately the meetings did not need me and my strength was reserved for other places where it was needed. The kindness of the comrades in spite of my almost contemptible showing touches me deeply and never can be forgotten.

The day I was on the East Side I was little more than a portable corpse. I had an attack of grip which all but paralyzed me and it had to come at a time of course when I ought to have had all my powers. Today, thanks to the goodness of my comrades and a little rest, I am quite myself again and for the rest of the trip I shall be able to meet every demand. There is no trouble with my bodily powers. In all my life I was never so strong as now. The trouble is that I cannot speak worth a minute's listening if I do not speak with all the intensity of my nature. The result is that when I am through I am drenched with perspiration and there is hardly a dry thread in my clothes. I then have to be more or less exposed to the drafts and the cold with the result that I am chilled through with the usual consequences. Last Sunday afternoon and evening I addressed at length three packed audiences in Philadelphia and Camden and believe I did justice to them all. At the close of the last I was wet with sweat from head to foot and in that condition was taken out into an open auto and for forty minutes whirled along through a cutting wind, being delayed for a time at the ferry. My clothes were glued to my body and when I got to the car I had a violent chill until my teeth chattered. This was followed by an intense fever and it was this that put me in the condition I was in on the day following and the next day when we met at the East Side in New York. This trouble was not due to any physical weakness but would have occurred under the same conditions to the strongest man on earth. I cannot resist this bit of explanation for my devotion to the cause is such that when I appear weak at a

meeting, especially one of such stupendous importance as the New York meeting, I feel a sense of personal guilt which neither the kindness of my comrades, the indulgence of my friends, nor any possible self-explanation can condone. I have been informed by my brother of your insistence upon my having a three days' rest and of you and Comrade Stokes² having provided for it and assumed full responsibility for so doing. A thousand thanks to you both! Fortunately I am almost recovered and in another day or two will be as strong as the day the campaign opened, {but} I feel just as grateful for your thoughtfulness and solicitude as if I were obliged to take advantage of it.

Let me thank you also for your extreme kindness in the matter of the box at the Hippodrome for Mrs. Debs and her party for which you decline to permit me to share any part of the expense. Mrs. Debs was delighted as well she might be with your gracious hospitality and that of Mrs. Hillquit and in her name and for myself and all of us I thank you both with a deep sense of gratitude.

Earnestly hoping that you may be elected to a seat in Congress³ where you are so much needed, and wishing you well in every way I remain

Yours faithfully
Eugene V. Debs

TLS, WHi, Hillquit Papers.

1. Press accounts of Debs's New York City meetings noted that he "looked tired" and that "his weakness . . . was painful to witness." At a large rally in Hamilton Fish Park, Debs told the crowd that he would not "make a speech" because "I am not able to do so."

2. Another of the millionaire socialists, James Graham Phelps Stokes (1872-1960) joined the Socialist party in 1906 (a year after his marriage to Rose Harriet Pastor) and during the next dozen years played an active role in the party's work, serving, among other positions, as president of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society from 1907 to 1917. Stokes and his wife both left the party in protest against its antiwar resolution in 1917.

3. Running as the Socialist party candidate in New York's Ninth Congressional District, Hillquit received 2,384 votes, well behind the winning Democratic candidate, Henry M. Goldfogle (6,295 votes) but ahead of the Republican candidate, R. R. Cherry (2,312 votes). Hillquit thought the two major parties had cooperated in ensuring his defeat.

Horace Traubel to [EVD?]

October 16, 1908
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

You see old man I ain't forgettin you. Where you go there my heart goes with you. You are the bearers of {a} holy message. Your

path is guaranteed by the fates. Nothing {evil} will happen or can happen to the divine word. It gets its [illegible] by one or by another or by many or by all until it gets embodied in the common life of the race. Dear brother, I still feel you near me just as when you took me in your arms when the time came for us to separate the other night. I am waiting here radiant with memories and strong for the fight.

Horace

ALS, InTI, Debs Collection.

EVD to Grace D. Brewer

October 16, 1908

En route to Baltimore, Maryland

My dear Mrs. Brewer:—

Your card was received at Jersey City and I was delighted with it. The Appeal girls' certainly covered themselves with glory as well as with lovely white gowns and red sashes. Accept my hearty congratulations for yourself and all the girls who are in that fine parade and present such a fine appearance as banner-bearers of the working class in the struggle for freedom. I shall treasure this card among my mementoes and years from now I shall look at it again and thank the Appeal girls for having done their part in achieving the victory.

No day passes that I do not send you all my love-thoughts. It is very comforting to me to know that all of you are equally devoted to me and sustaining me by all the graces of comradeship during these trying campaign times. It will be a real joy to me to see you again—not even barring “Push”² or the “Hero of Monett.” I am always

Your loving comrade
E. V. Debs

TLS, EVD Foundation, Debs Home.

1. The card sent by Grace Brewer to Debs was a photograph of about twenty-five of the “girls” who worked in the *Appeal* office marching in a Labor Day parade in Girard.

2. Charles Lincoln Phifer (1860-1931) was on the editorial staff of the *Appeal*, for which he wrote a “Paragraphs by Push” column. A collection of these, *Push Philosophy*, was published in 1910.

Horace Traubel to Theodore Debs

October 21, 1908

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Theodore, dear comrade—

I again see rumors in the papers about Gene. But I wont believe the rumors. I will believe you. I am going to help keep him well by believing him well. I'm going to swear to myself that he cant be sick. I'll send him vibrations—love currents. I'll anoint him with saving cheer. Theodore, you & Reynolds¹ have got a job. You've got to keep your contract. You've got to deliver him home safe. And you'll do it. You put so much reverence into your work that it becomes a sublime act of worship. I wont let go your hand, brother, you whom I so much love. Our tasks are one task. Our dreams are one dream. We will make no compromises or surrenders. We will make no concessions to fate. We will fulfil that which in the divine nature of our mission was appointed us. Good night!

Horace

ALS, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. Stephen Marion Reynolds accompanied Debs on the Red Special campaign train. He wrote the biographical sketch of Debs for the 1908 campaign book, *Debs: His Life, Writings and Speeches*, edited by Bruce Rogers.

Sadie M. Walling¹ to Theodore Debs

October 27, 1908

New York City

Dear Comrade Theodore:—

My! What a busy life this is for us Socialists! I wanted to get another note to you before you reach Chicago but I don't know as I'll be able to make it.

Of course it is necessary that you get a letter from me to remind you to take good care of 'Gene when you get to Chicago. Those wild Westerners won't be as considerate (?) of him as we New Yorkers were and they will probably pull him to pieces unless you are very, very careful. If you get him through next Sunday in good shape, then you and Comrade Reynolds deserve all the credit in the world—and we will all love you always.

And if he kicks about paying the bill and you need a witness in the trial just send for me. I'll give a good testimony.

I had a very nice post card from your little girl this morning. She said that her mother had just returned from her trip on the Red Special. I was glad to hear that she was able to join you. I suspect it was a very happy time for you both. It was sweet of Marguerite to write me. I appreciated it very much.

How sad it was that Mr. Yerex² died. I was very sorry to hear of it, and it must have been depressing for all of you. And so hard for Mrs. Yerex. I saw that she was to join the train again, so wrote her at ~~Hannibal~~ no, I forget just where I addressed it. You have been very good in keeping us informed enough to keep our fears calmed, but I am going to look for a good long newsy letter from you soon. And I, well I expect I'll keep on writing you letters like the old lady out West (I forget her name) and you'll say "O dear! that nice little old maid, *will* keep writing me letters, but I can't answer them." If you do you'll be sorry when we come out to Terre Haute.

Tell me, is 'Gene coming East again the latter part of Nov? Hilda³ said she heard he had a debate at Harvard. Of course we will have to see him, somehow.

Tell everybody "goodbye" for me until after election.⁴ Until then be as good as ever—with love to you all

Your comrade—
Sadie

ALS, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. Sadie M. Walling was on the staff of *Wilshire's Magazine* in New York City and with Mrs. Gaylord Wilshire was one of the founders of the Woman's National Progressive League and its first treasurer. Walling worked as a volunteer on part of the Red Special's eastern tour during the campaign.

2. Albert E. Yerex (1860-1908) was the owner and manager of Rex Tours of Chicago, which organized and carried out the logistics of the Red Special. Yerex became ill in North Dakota during the campaign train's return from the West Coast and died in Chicago on October 22. The *Chicago Daily Socialist* on October 23 attributed Yerex's death to "overwork" in "his tireless efforts to assure the comfort of those upon the train and to prevent any disarrangement of the railroad connections."

3. Hildegard Hawthorne (1871-1952) was at this time editor of the Woman's Department of *Wilshire's Magazine* and regularly wrote articles on socialism for the magazine.

4. Despite the large crowds which turned out to see and hear Debs during the Red Special campaign and predictions by a number of capitalist papers that Debs would poll a million votes, he received only 420,000 votes, an increase of 20,000 votes over his 1904 total. Nonetheless, Debs viewed the "magnificent campaign for the Socialist Party" as a necessary prelude to victory in 1912.

EVD to Horace Traubel

November 16, 1908
Terre Haute, Indiana

My dear Horace—

Your letter of the 20th ult. directed to me at Evansville and forwarded from there to St. Louis and from there returned to you has just reached me and its message of hope and cheer has just been read with appreciation. Your note of the 12th inst. has also come, followed closely by the parcel containing “the book”¹ and the extra copies of *The Conservator*.² A thousand times a thousand loving thanks! This book with its loving inscription in your own fond hand and from your own pure heart is to me a gift of priceless value and shall be cherished among my most loved possessions to the end of my days. There is no other book in all literature to compare to this wonderful volume. It is Whitman and you both—exactly as you are, both in all the integrity of nature. It is the kind of reading that is like a mountain stream which sparkles and foams as it dashes along toward the valleys below to kiss them into emerald verdure and woo them into glad fruitfulness; the kind of reading that rests and refreshes like the sunshine, the shade and the shower. With my hand on this great book I feel as if I were walking between you and Walt, rich beyond dreams in “the dear love of comrades.”

Yours lovingly and faithfully
Eugene V. Debs.

Transcript (by Anne M. Traubel?), DLC, Traubel Papers.

1. The second volume of Traubel's *Whitman in Camden* was published in 1908.

2. Debs's article “Whitman's Optimism and Love” appeared in the July 1908 issue of the *Conservator*.

EVD to Chas. Sandburg¹

November 27, 1908
Terre Haute, Indiana

My dear Comrade:—

Your letter with enclosures has been received. I shall examine the latter a little later as I am just leaving for the West. Of course I can give you a testimonial for your circular² and I enclose it with pleasure. If anything further is needed command me. I regard it as a duty to

serve a comrade and particularly when he happens to be one as worthy as yourself. I remember and shall always remember the service you so freely rendered on the "Red Special"³ and your fine spirit and wholesome presence. May you find many to engage your service and give you the chance—all you ask or need—to deliver your message and do your work.

Count me always

Your loving comrade
Eugene V. Debs

P.S. If the enclosed should need any change of wording for your particular purpose you are at liberty to make it say what you wish.

TLS, IU, Sandburg Papers.

1. Carl Sandburg (1878-1967) had not yet changed his first name from Charles to Carl and had attracted more attention as a socialist "lecturer and orator" than as a poet. His work in recruiting and organizing socialists in Wisconsin led to his appointment as secretary to the socialist mayor of Milwaukee, Emil Seidel, from 1910 to 1912. Sandburg's friendship with Debs survived the decline of the party and World War I and in November 1922 he wrote to Debs to say that "some day I hope to get the strong truth of those hands of yours into a poem."

2. In the circular, which promoted "Charles Sandburg, Lecturer and Orator," Debs described Sandburg as "one of the most brilliant young orators in the Socialist movement in the United States."

3. Sandburg was aboard the Red Special in Wisconsin during September 1908.

Mrs. Albert E. Yerex to Theodore Debs

January 12, 1909
Chicago, Illinois

My Dear Mr. Debs:

Before the conclusion of our trip Mr. Reynolds spoke to me in regard to two receipts which Mr. Yerex held among his papers, of railroad fare paid by yourself and him between San Diego and Los Angeles, on account of getting left by our Special, and asked me if when I came across them I would take the matter up and try to get a refund of amount of \$3.60 each. I told him I would do so. This I did just as soon as I could compell myself to look through the little grip which Mr. Yerex brought home with him, holding all contracts and papers connected with his trip. I made the attempt several times before I could get courage to look through the last papers he had worked with; and only did this when absolutely compelled to have a paper which I knew was in that grip, and then came across the two

receipts which I at once sent to the Santa Fe asking refund. This they sent to me in due time, as it was taken up with the Los Angeles Office. Enclosed please find amount of your receipt.

After the dreadful shock and strain which I had been under so long I found it necessary to get away for a time, and about the first of December I went to stay with a friend living on a farm for a little rest, just returned last week, feeling much rested, but seems to me feeling worse in some ways than ever, to come back to a place which was once such a happy home, and find none, and no one to meet or greet me.

Three whole Months have gone by, and we must live on and on, and to think it must be without him for all time. Every letter or paper I pick up has Alberts figuring or notations on it and I lay it down to be taken up again with the same results another day. Every turn and move I make, I miss him more and more. I am trying to do the best I can, and think each day of what he has said so many times "cheer up Tone, be brave; there never was anything so bad but that it might be worse," and each day when I think of that many times, I can see where it might be worse, tho it certainly seems sometimes it could not.

I have decided to continue the work which Mr. Yerex had so well established, and as I have always been associated with him as Asst. manager, and know the work so well, my friends advise me to arrange to get some one to assist me and continue it as outlined by Mr. Yerex.

Mr. Debs—if you personally and as a member of the Socialist Presidential Party, can *consistently* write me a letter, stating what you think of the work outlined for the Debs Special and carried out by Mr. Yerex on the Western portion of the Tour—and *my* ability to arrange the complete Eastern portion of the tour of 39 days; covering schedule, contracts, and everything entire, including diner connected with it, and my ability to take entire management of this Special Train, and whether it was carried out as outlined in a successful manner; I feel that it would be of very great value to me in the continuance of the business.

You know Mr. Debs, that many might feel that a WOMAN would NOT be CAPABLE to manage such a business, much less to conduct a Special Train (especially a Presidential Campaign Train), and if you can consistently, as I said before, say anything which would inspire CONFIDENCE in MY ABILITY to do so it would be indeed most sincerely appreciated. I think you get my thought as to this.

Would you be willing for me to refer to you at any time?

Although my connection with the Debs Special Train was a most sad experience to me, I still look back to it with many pleasant mem-

ories of those connected with it and their kindness to me while in the greatest sorrow of my life. I shall ever remember you all with a heart full of appreciation and fondness, and trust that the many friendships formed during those trying times for me will ever be true, and that at some future time we may have the pleasure of meeting many of the members and friends of the most wonderful trip of its kind ever known.

I trust that you, Mrs. Debs and Marguerite had a most happy Holiday time and that it will continue throughout the New Year with nothing to mar your pleasure and happiness. I am indeed very, very glad it is over, for it was especially sad to me, as Albert always made so much of all Holidays, and we have always had almost every one of the Family dinners and re-unions at our home for the past 25 years.

While I hear often from the girls (Comrades) Miss Rowe and Miss Boyd,¹ their entire letters are made up of the pleasures of "the trip of their lives, on the Debs Special," and always wish to be remembered to all friends of the party.

I would be glad to see any or all of you at any time you might be in the City, and trust you will surely let me know should you come.

I hope I may hear from you at your earliest convenience, and with many kind regards to yourself and family and all other friends of our party you may chance to meet, I beg to remain,

Most sincerely and cordially,
Mrs. A. E. Yerex

TLS, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. Employees of Rex Tours who worked as stenographers and clerks on the Red Special.

Theodore Debs to Mrs. Albert E. Yerex

January 21, 1909

[Terre Haute, Indiana]

My dear Mrs. Yerex:—

Your favor of the 12th inst., has been received and has been read with mingled pleasure and regret. I can well imagine your feelings of lonesomeness since the passing of your dear husband. Having had the good fortune to know him, even for a few days, and to know what a fine gentle spirit he was, I can readily imagine his devotion for you and the sweetness and sanctity of his domestic relations which met with such a sad and untimely end. With all my heart do I sym-

pathize with you in your sorrow, and yet I know that this is saying so very little. I would if I could help you grow stronger in your bereavement and trust to the passing days to dull the keen edges of {your} pain and reconcile you to your lot. You are not alone, although you may at times seem to be because in the absence of your husband you so keenly feel your lonesomeness. But your husband is in truth still with you. All the memories of his sweet and unselfish life surround you and will abide with you forever. As for him he is at least at rest and pain will harrow his sensitive nerves no more. He lived purely, honestly and uprightly, and these virtues combine to rear a monument to his memory that will endure for all time.

Of course I will furnish the desired testimonial. You will find my own enclosed with that of Eugene who is now in Kansas. Upon receiving your letter I dropped him a line and he responded at once with great pleasure, adding that if there was anything more needed he wished you to call upon him without the least reluctance or hesitation. He has been very busy since the campaign but he remembers you as we all do with the fullest appreciation of your thoughtfulness and your kindness during the time you were with us on the "Red Special." There were times when we were all more or less tried for a {brief spell} ~~moment~~ and when perhaps we were a bit irritable or impatient, but never once during all the tour was there the slightest incident to mar the kindly and pleasant relations between you and all who were aboard of our train.

Miss Boyd and Miss Rowe we shall always remember with affectionate regards. They are two exceptionally fine young women and I am hoping that all good will come into their lives and that all happiness may fall to their lot. Remember us all to them most kindly when you have occasion to write or when you see them. Remember us also with loving regards to your dear, sweet mother and to your sister. You are a noble family in the real sense of that term and if the earth were populated with such fine spirits this would indeed be paradise.

If the letters enclosed do not serve your purpose or if anything else is needed you have only to let me know. You can always refer to us and use our name as freely as you choose and you may give inquiring persons our address with the full assurance that if any inquiry comes to us regarding you and your capability to manage a train in the most satisfactory manner it will {receive} ~~have such~~ an answer {that} will leave no ~~room for~~ doubt as to our opinion upon that point.

Thank you for your kindness in sending the check for the refund from the Santa Fe. You need not have troubled yourself about this and I am sorry if you did so. It would have been alright just the same.

Thank you cordially for your kind invitation and when Mrs. Debs and I visit Chicago I hope we may have the opportunity of calling to pay our respects and {of} ~~to~~ renewing our exceedingly pleasant relations.

Mrs. Debs and all the members of our family join in loving sympathy and all good wishes, and I wish you to believe me always,

Yours faithfully
[Theodore Debs]

[enclosure]

To whom it may concern:—

This is to certify that the “Red Special” train of the Socialist Party during the recent national political campaign was managed by Mrs. A. E. Yerex of “The Rex Tours” to the entire satisfaction of all concerned. From the beginning to the close of the trip, covering over two months, there was not an incident occurred to interfere with the program or to prevent the schedule from being carried out to the letter. Every detail of the trip was managed by Mrs. Yerex with not only admirable skill and efficiency but with the most considerate attention for the welfare of her guests. Every member of the party will {gladly} certify to the excellence of Mrs. Yerex’s management. Not only was the contract carried out to the letter but there were many attentions shown us which were not included in the written agreement. Everything possible was done from the beginning to the close of the trip to insure its success, so far as its management was concerned.

Mrs. Yerex is alert, vigilant, attentive to details, has a natural aptitude for the work in which she is engaged, and I am taking no risk in making this unqualified recommendation of the “Rex Tours” under her capable and intelligent management.

Secretary of the Red Special

TLC (with one-page Theodore Debs letter of reference), InTI, Debs Collection.

EVD to Claude G. Bowers

February 14, 1909

Girard, Kansas

My dear friend:—

Your letter is full of kindness and I thank you for every word of it. I am glad you liked the book¹ and I feel especially gratified to hear of your good mother’s² appreciative estimate of it. Please thank her

for me and give her my profound regards and say to her that some time I hope to have the pleasure and honor of meeting her in person. The word of a mother is always sweet to me. You will never know all your mother is to you until she goes out from you. No man ever lived long enough or treated his mother kindly and tenderly and considerately enough to discharge in the smallest part his sacred obligation to her.

Thanking you again and again with a sense of gladness that my book is in your hands, I am always,

Yours faithfully,
E. V. Debs

TLS, InU, Lilly Library, Bowers MSS.

1. *Debs: His Life, Writings and Speeches* had been published as part of the 1908 campaign.

2. The Terre Haute city directory in 1909 lists Bowers as boarding at the home of his mother, Juliet Bowers. He married Sybil McCaslin on November 28, 1911.

EVD to Morris Hillquit

February 19, 1909
Girard, Kansas

My dear Comrade:—

Your favor of the 16th inst., has been received. Please accept my thanks for your excellent contribution to the "Liberty Edition."¹

I have read carefully what you say in regard to the proposed election of an additional representative by our party to the International Socialist Bureau² and while such action seems warranted by the facts you present, I do not approve that method of extinguishing a rival party.³ If it is a bona fide national party, no matter how small, it is entitled to representation; if it is not, it has no such claim, and in either case the Bureau itself should decide the question upon its merits.

I agree to all you say about the S.L.P. It is reduced to a small remnant and ought to be out of the way, and would be out of the way had it not been for the tactical blunder, to put it no stronger, of our own party.

The S.L.P. shrewdly put us in the hole and now we seek to crush it by the power of {numbers.} That is not fair and in the long run it will not win. It will not look good in the record and I can not be a party to it.

If the S.L.P. unity proposition⁴ had been permitted to go to a

referendum vote, as it should have been, it would have been adopted. If there was any bad faith it would have been exposed and rebuked and our party would have won out, even if unity had not been consummated. But I think unity would have resulted, and that the decent element would have been assimilated in the united party. The few trouble-makers would have been slunk away or had their fangs extracted. Their power for mischief would have been at an end.

Instead of that the S.L.P. was given a new lease, and its waning power vitalized for fresh activity along the old lines.

They who like the oracular Berger {declared} that there was no S.L.P. to unite with, are now evidently haunted by its ghost. At any rate I am opposed to striking even the ghost of a dead rival below the belt.

For this reason I should have to decline the nomination if tendered, even if my present situation did not prevent me from assuming any further duties or responsibilities. Besides, the party has already conferred upon me far more than my share of honors.

But I appreciate with a deep sense of gratitude your personal interest in proposing the nomination and the kindly spirit in which you urge its acceptance. Also I heartily concur in your suggestion as to my getting in closer touch with the international movement. I have long since felt the need of this and have hoped for the opportunity, but somehow I am always held in leash by the hand of fate. Perhaps my time will come later and in the meanwhile I will make the most of such opportunities as {are} at hand.

Commend me to Mrs. Hillquit and believe me always,

Yours faithfully,
Eugene V. Debs

P.S. I will send you some copies of the edition containing your contribution when it appears.

TLS, WHi, Hillquit Papers.

1. The *Appeal's* Liberty Edition, edited by Debs, appeared on March 6, 1909, and included a short article by Hillquit, "The International Bond of Brotherhood."

2. Located in Brussels, the International Socialist Bureau sought to unify and coordinate the activities of the various national socialist parties.

3. Under DeLeon the Socialist Labor Party suffered a steady decline in membership and support for its papers, the *Daily People* and the *Weekly People*. Hillquit proposed to extinguish the Socialist Labor party by claiming its seat on the International Socialist Bureau for the growing Socialist Party of America.

4. At the Socialist Labor party's national executive committee meeting in January 1908, a unity resolution was passed and an invitation extended to the national officers of the Socialist party to meet with Socialist Labor party representatives to discuss a

merger of the two groups, but the proposal was rejected by the Socialist party's national executive committee.

EVD to Morris Hillquit

February 26, 1909

Girard, Kansas

My dear Comrade:—

I have your favor of the 23d inst and have read it carefully. I am glad to have this further expression of your views in regard to the representation on the International Bureau. I think your position consistent and logical and I can certainly take no reasonable exception to it. I differ with you somewhat but that is of small consequence.

It is precisely because the question of unity was not permitted to go to a referendum that I find fault and I think this was where the gravest mistake was made and if it is not apparent now it will be in time, if I am not much mistaken. Evidently the National committee did not want the rank and file to determine the question. However this may be a good deal of dissatisfaction was created among our own members entirely apart from the question itself of uniting with the S.L.P. This question has not been finally decided. The S.L.P. is at this time gaining ground because of what I conceive to {have} been a blunder on the part of our leaders. This question has finally got to be met and disposed of on its merits and our party will find all efforts to evade it or dodge it or ignore it to be vain at last.

I am very glad you took the position you did with reference to crowding De Leon from the ticket¹ when you had the chance. That is my idea of winning tactics.

Believe me always,

Yours faithfully,
E. V. Debs

TLS, WHi, Hillquit Papers.

1. In the 1908 congressional election in New York's Ninth District, Hillquit received 21.23 percent of the votes cast, DeLeon only 1.29 percent.

EVD to Robert M. La Follette¹

March 7, 1909

Girard, Kansas

Dear Senator La Follette:

I do not know how closely you have been following what are known as the Mexican cases.² For nearly two years the leaders of the Mexican Liberal Party have been in American jails. No one seems to be able to get any information as to when they are to be tried. The Appeal to Reason has through its own special correspondents made a study of these cases.³ It is almost impossible to conceive the enormity of the outrages of which these patriots have been the victims, both in their own country and in the United States. I beg of you to take the time, busy as you are, to read the statement made by Ricardo Flores Magon, President of the Mexican Liberal Party, who has been in jail upon the alleged charge of having violated the neutrality laws, for almost two years. It is shocking and revolting beyond words, and I am convinced that it is absolutely true in every harrowing detail. It is enough to make the blood of Americans who are not yet themselves vassals burn with indignation.

Not to be too long, I am writing to ask if you can not introduce a resolution in the senate demanding an investigation of these cases. The whole working class is vitally interested and a large section of it is conscious of that fact. There are fourteen million peon slaves in Mexico, and there is a billion of American capital invested in that country. The average wage is 37½ cents a day in Mexican money. The railroads, mines, smelters, cotton industries, etc. are mainly owned by American capitalists. They are having their industries developed and operated on the basis of peon labor. That is one of the reasons why there are over two millions of idle workingmen in the United States, and why millions of others are getting such miserable wages.

You will no doubt recall Root's visit to Diaz⁴ while he was Secretary of State. An ovation was given him, and for good reasons. He was the emissary of the capitalists in negotiating a secret treaty of peace. Anyone with the least insight can comprehend it at a glance. Diaz is a devil in human form. A meaner mercenary does not exist. The bloody butcheries he has been guilty of would put a hyena to shame. He is getting his full share of the plunder that is being wrung from the peon slaves by American capitalists. This accounts for Mexican patriots rotting in American jails. During their preliminary hearing when it was found that there was no evidence against them, and they were about to be dismissed, Attorney General Bonaparte wired the

District Attorney: "Hold them on any account. They are wanted in Mexico." Of course they are wanted in Mexico. They are the fearless and incorruptible leaders of the Liberal Party and the sworn enemies of tyranny and of peon slavery, and Diaz wants to get them into his bloody claws to murder them as he has murdered thousands of others for the same cause.

Magon, Villareal, Rivera, Sarabia, Araujo, and other leaders of the Mexican Liberal Party, who are either in our jails or penitentiaries, along with scores of others of their countrymen, are all patriots in the loftiest sense of that term. Each of them is a cultured, high-minded gentleman, who loves his fellowmen too well to allow the present bloody tyranny to exist without protest. All of them have sacrificed their material interests, their liberty, and have repeatedly risked their lives in the cause of freedom.

Is it not the concern of the American people that such men are allowed to lie in our jails for two years without being granted a trial? If they are guilty, why are they not tried? If they are not guilty, why are they not released? Is the United States Government the catcher of the escaped refugees of Diaz? It must be confessed that it looks very much that way. Government officials of the United States, high and low, are cooperating heartily with the Diaz despotism to imprison and murder patriots whose crime is their love of liberty, and their abhorrence of peon slavery.

But apart from all these considerations, fourteen millions of human beings are writhing in the fetters of peonage at our very doors. They are struggling to be free. Is our government to crush their aspirations with an iron heel; to destroy their hopes by conspiring to imprison and murder their leaders?

I venture to say that if the American people knew of the atrocities that are being perpetrated at this very hour upon the patriots of Mexico who have sought refuge under our flag from the bloody tyrant across the Rio Grande they would rise in revolt all over the land. If we honor the memories of Jefferson, Paine, Sam Adams, Franklin, and other patriots of our own country, we cannot but honor Magon, and his compatriots who are fighting to deliver their own unhappy country from the Diaz despotism based upon force and plunder, and steeped in the blood of innocents.

This surely must constitute a proper subject for investigation by the American Congress. A speech in the Senate upon this subject would do more to bring the attention of the people to this vital question than any other one thing I can think of at this time. I am sending you by even mail the papers which contain the latest accounts in reference to the more important cases. Mr. Warren, the managing

editor of the *Appeal to Reason*, has just returned from Texas where he instituted a personal investigation. The judge who had just tried one of the patriots at San Antonio, Araujo by name, sending him to the Federal Prison at Ft. Leavenworth for two years and a half, declared at the time he pronounced the sentence in open court, that he was prejudiced against the defendant and that he was bound to break up the opposition to the Diaz administration. This is truly a fine state of affairs.

Warren and I have just returned from the Federal Prison at Leavenworth where we had a personal interview with Araujo⁵ and we found him to be one of the finest, most cultured, educated and refined young men we have ever met anywhere.

If you do not see your way clear to introduce a resolution⁶ demanding an investigation, perhaps a resolution calling upon the secretary of state to furnish the senate with the papers and essential data and information in these cases might be in order. You know better in regard to this, but in any event, I hope you will see your way clear to take some action. You are the only member of the United States Senate to whom I would make this request.

With all kind personal regards, and hoping I may have a line from you, I remain,

Very sincerely yours,
Eugene V. Debs.

TL transcript, NNC, Steffens Papers.

1. Robert Marion La Follette (1855-1925) served in the United States Congress from Wisconsin from 1885 to 1891, as governor of Wisconsin from 1900 to 1906, and as United States senator from Wisconsin from 1906 to 1924. As governor, La Follette introduced a broad range of reforms, which came to be called the Wisconsin Idea and served as a model for reform in state government throughout the country, and as United States senator he became a leader of the reform impulse of the Progressive Era. Debs usually denounced "mere reformers," who delayed the inevitable collapse of capitalism, but he expressed great admiration for La Follette's opposition to World War I and defense of free speech and supported La Follette's presidential candidacy on the Progressive party ticket in 1924.

2. During the winter and spring of 1909 and summer of 1910 the *Appeal* gave extensive coverage to "the Mexican cases," focusing particularly upon the imprisonment, trial, and conviction of Antonio Araujo, Litrado Rivera, Antonio I. Villarreal, Manuel Sarabia, and Ricardo Flores Magon, Mexican exiles who were working for the overthrow of the Porfirio Díaz regime, which sought their extradition to Mexico. In front-page editorials in the *Appeal*, Debs depicted the arrest of the Mexicans as part of a conspiracy among the Díaz government, American capitalists, and the Roosevelt-Taft administrations to preserve the low wage scale in Mexico and to suppress the revolutionary movement in that country.

3. Both George Henry Shoaf, the *Appeal's* special correspondent, and Fred Warren wrote long, detailed accounts of the government's handling of the Mexican cases,

which for the Mexican exiles resulted in prison terms ranging from a year to three years for violating the neutrality laws.

4. As Roosevelt's secretary of state Elihu Root (1845-1937) visited Mexico in September-October 1907.

5. Debs's account of his visit, "With Araujo in Prison," appeared in the *Appeal* on March 13, 1909.

6. La Follette joined others in the Senate and House in passing a joint resolution calling for an investigation of the government's treatment of the Mexican exiles. The House Judiciary Committee held hearings on the issue in June 1910 but made no recommendations before the session adjourned.

EVD to Joseph A. Labadie

March 13, 1909

Girard, Kansas

My dear Jo:—

Your note of the 10th with enclosure is in hand. Thank you warmly for your kind remembrance. The two Liberty verses you send are characteristic and I will pass them over to Comrade Warren and know that he will be glad to give them space.

I was disappointed in not seeing you at Detroit last fall. Hoped to have at least a half hour with you but was denied owing to the pressure of the crowd. Truth to tell I was pretty badly worn and would have hardly been fit company for such a royal soul as you. I was booked for sixty-five days continuous without a break, speaking from five to twenty times a day. I did not have the Sundays off for recuperation as did the capitalist candidates. But I should have been happy to see you just the same. On such trips one sees very many strangers while denied the joy of seeing Comrades beloved. I always have a very warm feeling for you regardless of your philosophy or tactics for I know your great heart is always dead right.

Yours always,
E. V. Debs

TLS, MiU, Labadie Collection.

EVD to Adolph F. Germer

April 5, 1909

Terre Haute, Indiana

My dear Germer:—

Have received yours of 2nd. Sorry I missed you the other day. Started for East St. Louis but found that I could not make it and get back to St. Louis in time to make the eastbound train on which I had to leave and which did not stop at East St. Louis.

Note with deep interest what you say about Mother Jones. Hope she has fully recovered. Found a letter from her on my return from Girard. If she is still there give her my love and tell her that everything is O.K. and not to worry, nor to work so hard. I am here but a short time and crowded full of work so you will pardon this excuse of a letter.

The awful conditions you refer to weigh heavily upon the heart of every one who has such an organ. Hope you will be able to secure John O'Neill¹ for a goodly number of dates. He will surely wake the sleeping and show them where they are "at." Have not seen the Philistine² as I do not any longer get it.

Theo. appreciates your kind remembrance and returns his loving regards. Will convey your message to Stevie³ soon as I see him and know he will be happy to be remembered to you. I am always

Your loving comrade

E. V. Debs

TLS, WHi, Germer Papers.

1. John M. O'Neill (1857-1936) worked as a journalist in the Colorado mining towns during the 1890s and became editor of the Western Federation of Miners *Miners' Magazine* in 1901. Like Debs, O'Neill was an early supporter and later a critic of the IWW. Debs's articles and speeches were regularly printed in the *Miners' Magazine*.

2. Elbert Hubbard's monthly.

3. Stephen M. Reynolds.

EVD to William F. Gable¹

April 21, 1909

Girard, Kansas

My dear Friend:—

Your good letter of the 16th has been forwarded to me from Terre Haute. A thousand thanks! You have a fine spirit. I sometimes wish

I could take such a view of things. Then again there are situations in which one must speak out and hurt feelings. It is painful, but it cannot be helped. I cannot excuse Hubbard for the way he treats Socialism. If he was opposed to it and took his stand and made his fight, I should think all the more of him for it. But he favors it just enough to coin its fine sentiments into profit for himself, while at every opportunity he stabs it to the heart. I can have no use for such a man. With all his brilliant gifts he is repulsive; and even more so because of his prostitution of such gifts.

I have not the time to write you, as we are getting out a big edition, and for the present every moment of my time is taken. There is much I would like to say, and some time I hope I may see you personally and have a chance to talk it all over with you. Be assured that I appreciate fully the fine sentiments your letter contains and the fine spirit which inspired them. Horace is a grand white soul. He has the integrity of a god.

I am,

Always yours faithfully,
E. V. Debs

TL transcript, DLC, Horace Traubel Papers.

1. William F. Gable (1851-1921) was the proprietor of the largest department store in Altoona, Pennsylvania, the People's Store. Gable was a close friend of Horace Traubel and a contributor to the *Conservator*. At the time of his death his collection of books (including a first edition of *Leaves of Grass*), rare manuscripts, and autographs was described as one of the largest in Pennsylvania.

George Allan England¹ to EVD

June 7, 1909

Peak Island, Maine

My dear Comrade:

At this time I desire to extend to you the hand of heartfelt sympathy. I have read of the loss which has occurred in your family²—a family marked by unusual and intimate affection—and I feel that if you will permit me to intrude, just now, to the extent of a word of sympathy, I must tell you that you are by no means forgotten. My heart, believe me, is but one of thousands which beat in unison with your own, which share your joys and sorrows, and which would gladly bleed to save you.

Coming near to this affliction, the present dastardly outrage of the

Government in persecuting you³ for having fought the good fight, must seem doubly hateful. But I know you can and will rise above any such attack. To me, it seems an honor that your efforts, your voice, your pen should have drawn this new lightning-stroke. And at the same time that I share your grief, I also glory in your strength!

I enclose my pledge for future help, if needed, and I am, as ever, my dear Comrade and friend,

Most faithfully and affectionately yours,
George Allan England

TLS, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. George Allan England (1877-1936) was the Socialist party's unsuccessful candidate for Congress from Maine in 1908 and for governor in 1913 and the author of numerous travel and adventure stories and books. His articles appeared regularly in the socialist press, and he published a number of books dealing with socialism, including *International Socialism as a Political Force* (1908), *Socialism and the Law* (1913), and *The Story of the Appeal [to Reason]* (1915).

2. Debs's sister, Eugenia Debs Selby, died on May 25, 1909.

3. On May 7, 1907, Fred Warren, editor of the *Appeal*, was indicted in federal court for advertising in the February 7, 1907, edition of the *Appeal* a \$1,000 reward to anyone who would kidnap former Kentucky Governor William S. Taylor (who had been indicted for murder in Kentucky and had fled to Indiana) and return him to the authorities in Kentucky. Warren was attempting, he argued, to dramatize the kidnapping involved in the Haywood, Moyer, and Pettibone case and the inconsistency in the "capitalist judicial system," but he was charged with the improper use of the mails and defamation of Taylor's character. The trial was finally held at Fort Scott, Kansas, in May 1909 and Warren was found guilty and sentenced to pay a \$1,500 fine and to serve a six-month jail term. During June and July 1909 the *Appeal* emphasized the significance of Warren's case as a free-speech issue and warned its readers that Debs and Julius A. Wayland were next on the government's list of targets for prosecution in criminal libel proceedings, but charges were not brought.

Horace Traubel to EVD

June 22, 1909

Altoona, Pennsylvania

Dear Brother;—

I am here for a few days with your friend and my friend Gable. I heard of the death of your sister. And at the same time I read your war-call in the *Appeal*.¹ You are made for love and war. For the human war. For the war against war. Nothing breaks your heart or turns you back. That's right. We have our work to do. No matter who falls and has to be physically left behind we must keep on. Keep on maybe with our eyes blinded with tears. But keep on. You are always loyal.

I would as soon expect the sun not to come up in the morning as you not to be on the fighting line. You so possess love that love possesses you. I seem every day nearer to you. You seem every day nearer to me.

Horace Traubel

TLc, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. In a front-page article in the June 6, 1909, issue of the *Appeal*, Debs promised "a fight to the finish" in defense of freedom of the press, which, he believed, the case against Fred Warren and the rumored cases against himself and Wayland were intended to suppress.

EVD to Stephen Marion Reynolds

July 23, 1909

Girard, Kansas

My dear Stephen:—

Returning from Oklahoma I find your welcome letter awaiting me. The Socialists of Oklahoma have arranged a series of ten encampments in different parts of the state and I am to address them all. Walter Thomas Mills and Caroline A. Lowe¹ are in constant attendance and remain through all the sessions. Caroline always has some very kind words for you.

I am deeply pained to hear of Jean's² illness. The poor child simply was overwrought from the suffering she saw at the hospital. Your returning was balm to her soul. It was all she needed. The very sight of you brought peace to her mind, quiet to her nerves and she slept. Magic power of love!

Note all you say about your eastern visit and the dear comrades you met there. I see them all now and you in their midst and the picture breathes of love and comradeship and is good to look upon. Some day we will be down that way and go among them together and among the afflicted and suffering and despondent, as another did in the olden time.

I hope you are all well at the "Red House."³ Remember me to each, including Bicknell,⁴ most lovingly.

Yours always,
'Gene.

TLS (typed signature), InH, Reynolds Collection.

1. Caroline A. Lowe (1874-1933) was a Kansas schoolteacher before embracing

socialism and becoming a popular speaker on the socialist encampment circuit in the Southwest. A leader in the woman-suffrage and women's-rights campaigns, Lowe later served on the staff of the People's College in Fort Scott, Kansas.

2. Reynolds's daughter.

3. Reynolds's home at 1115 South Sixth Street in Terre Haute was the city's informal cultural center. In January 1909, Elbert Hubbard spoke at the little Red House to an audience that, the *Terre Haute Spectator* said, "filled the rooms to capacity." Other speakers, the paper continued, "will be here this winter to deliver addresses at the Reynolds' residence."

4. George Bicknell was an arts and design teacher who had a shop and lived in Reynolds's home. Bicknell's articles on Indiana craftsmen appeared in *Craftsmen* and other periodicals, and his "Eugene V. Debs at Home" was published in *Twentieth Century Magazine* in July 1910 and was widely reprinted.

EVD to William F. Gable

October 25, 1909

En route, near Conneaut, Ohio

My dear Mr. Gable,

Never shall I forget yesterday's beautiful evening and never, never shall I forget you. From the very depths of my heart I thank you.

If Horace is still there embrace him for me—and ask him to call at the P.O. & if there's any more mail for me to have it forwarded to *Springfield, Mass.*

If the papers have any report & you can without trouble send a dozen copies to Springfield, I shall be glad to get them. But please go to no trouble.

Remember me kindly to dear Mrs. Gable and the children. As I vision your sweet and hospitable home I feel myself exalted and purified—I love you and Horace as I do my own life. Count me until the sun sets forever

Your brother
E. V. Debs

I have just written to Mrs. Debs & *tried* to tell her about you.

ALS, CtY.

EVD to Stephen Marion Reynolds and Jessica Ford Reynolds

November 12, 1909
Terre Haute, Indiana

My dear Stevie and Jessica:—

Good bye! Hoped to run down to see you but have just time enough to pack my grips and make the train. Have been busy every minute since returning from the East and my present trip will probably take me to the Pacific Coast. The crowds all over the East were tremendous. Met scads of your friends and lovers. Must have been a million who loaded me with their love for you. Hope to see you all on my return. Love and life to you! My heart is with you always.

Your brother
E. V. Debs

TLS, InH, Reynolds Collection.

William F. Gable to Theodore Debs

November 23, 1909
Altoona, Pennsylvania

It was a great pleasure to me to receive your favor, with enclosures, all of which were highly interesting. It pleased me to know that your good and great brother thought of me in connection with the Ferrer poem.¹ I've read it and like it very much. Do I understand that I am to keep it; and if not, I would like permission to make a copy of it. I sort of feel it in my bones that the great poem on Ferrer will be written by Horace Traubel. It will be written in America, and he is the one American whose heart and brain are best able to handle the subject. How do you feel about that?

It was a great pleasure and privilege to meet and talk with, and take by the hand, that great, kind and modest man, Eugene V. Debs. He made hosts of friends in Altoona, and the Socialist vote doubled up at the last election! Think of Altoona having Debs and Traubel here at the same time! It was a great event. I'll repeat what I've written to several friends, that to have Debs and Traubel here at the same time made the city limits of Altoona bulge like thunder! But I think it did Altoona good.

I hope too, to have the privilege of meeting and knowing you, as

I've heard Horace speak of you so often, and I've read enough of your letters to see that you are "true blue," through and through.

I am,

Your sincere friend,
William F. Gable.

TLS, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. Francisco Guardia Ferrer (1859-1909) was a Spanish educator, freethinker, and revolutionist whose execution by the Spanish government in October 1909 triggered mass protest demonstrations and an outpouring of attacks on the Spanish government and the Catholic church. Ferrer's life and death were memorialized in countless poems, editorials, and essays in the months following his execution, and Debs clipped a dozen such items for his scrapbook.

EVD to William English Walling

December 7, 1909

Boulder, Colorado

Dear Comrade Walling:—

Yours of the 24th and copy of Simons' letter¹ to you of the 19th ult. have been forwarded to me here. I've had but time to read them hastily but I'm with you thoroughly and thank you for bringing the matter to my attention. I've been watching the situation closely and especially the tendencies to reactionism, to which we are so unalterably opposed. The Socialist Party has already catered far too much to the A.F. of L. and there is no doubt that a halt will soon have to be called. The revolutionary character of our party and our movement must be preserved in all its integrity, *at all costs*, for if that be compromised it had better cease to exist.

I'm on a prolonged speaking tour and booked every day and kept so busy day and night that I have but little chance to do anything else. However, I'm to reach Girard soon and I think I shall have something to say in the Appeal that will be to the point. I have no fear that any great number will be deflected when it comes to a "show-down."

Wish I could have an hour or two with you. Believe me always,

Yours faithfully,
E. V. Debs

P.S.: I am more than gratified with your uncompromising spirit and attitude. If the trimmers had their way we'd degenerate into bourgeois reformers. But they'll not have their way.²

TLc, CSmH, Walling Papers.

1. Algie Martin Simons (1870-1950) was one of the most influential socialist writers and editors during the period before World War I. At different times he edited the *International Socialist Review*, the *Chicago Daily Socialist*, and *Coming Nation*, and he was a prolific author of articles and books dealing with labor and socialism. In 1917 he was expelled from the party for his opposition to its position on the war.

Simons's letter to Walling of November 19, 1909, which Walling shared with Debs and other party leaders, called for more Socialist party cooperation with the AFL and the trade unions and raised the possibility of an American labor party similar to the one in England.

2. This letter from Debs to Walling was printed in boldface type in the *International Socialist Review* on January 10, 1910.

EVD to William English Walling

December 13, 1909

Girard, Kansas

My dear Comrade:—

Returning here at midnight I find your telegram awaiting me. The answer has gone forward by wire as requested. You are at perfect liberty to use my letter as may best serve your purpose. Since writing you I have also taken occasion to write to Simons. What I had to say to him was without circumlocution. I was particular to say that my letter was not private but I doubt if he will publish it. I may send it to you later. The party is in no immediate danger but there has got to be an understanding as to where we stand with reference to some vital questions relating chiefly to tactics. The cowardly and compromising tendencies so much in evidence recently have got to be checked and will be when the attention of the rank and file is called to them.

Yours always,
E. V. Debs.

TLc, CSmH, Walling Papers.

William English Walling to EVD

December 14, 1909

New York City

My dear Mr. Debs:—

After the wonderful revolutionary spirit of your letter, which indeed as far as I know has been that which you have maintained at every point of your career, neither Stokes nor I will have any doubt as to the spirit which will inspire you in the efforts we must all now make to purify the Party. I do not, of course, speak of expulsions, trials or any such foolishness, but of the natural and justifiable desire to put into the high places of the Party only uncompromising Socialists and to reduce to the ranks all those on whom, for any reason, any doubt can be cast.

Stokes and I thought it advisable to publish your letter. If you have decided otherwise, we have no reason whatever to doubt the wisdom of your decision. We hope and believe that your expression in the Appeal to Reason will in itself be sufficiently strong and unmistakeable to serve as a warning to all.

The next step is, of course, to make some improvements on the Executive Committee.¹ I agree with Frank Bohn,² Gustavus Meyers³ and others of the most active and revolutionary members in New York, who feel that Hillquit is the chief enemy here. Since Spargo⁴ and Hunter have been replaced in the affections of the New York local for fully a year by Wanhope⁵ and others, and since their names have been dropped from the Central Committee's recommendation for the National Executive, I believe we can hope that they will fail of election. Berger is a frank and outright opponent of everything revolutionary, and his services are such that I have no doubt he will be retained on the Executive Committee. Hillquit, on the contrary, on account of the flexibility of his character, constitutes a growing menace not only in New York, but in the whole country. Very likely there is nothing I can tell you about him, but the following sentence taken from one of his letters to Stokes (which will be published within a few days in the New York Call) will perhaps prove an eye-opener. This sentence, in a letter to Stokes, of Dec. 3rd, was as follows:

"I have at all times maintained that the prime object of the Socialist Party is to organize the working class of this country politically; that it would be very desirable to have the Socialist Party as such perform that task; that it has so far not succeeded in doing so, and that if a bona-fide workingmen's party should be organized

in this country for political purposes on a true workingman's platform, and upon the principles of independent and uncompromising working class politics, our party could not consistently oppose such an organization, but that it would have to support it and co-operate with it. This, as I understand it, has also been the position of Hunter, Berger, Simons and Spargo, and if I am not mistaken, this is today the position of the overwhelming majority of the members of our party. At any rate, I always considered and still consider, it the only sane and logical attitude for Marxian Socialists to take. None of us ever made a secret of these views; on the contrary, we have been discussing them in private and public very freely, whenever an occasion presented itself."

This is an absolutely clear statement that Hillquit would try to force the Socialist Party to support a "Labor" Party formed exactly on the lines of the British I.L.P., without any Socialism in its Constitution, without any mention of the class struggle and without any element of revolution either in its theory or tactics. In view of the reactionary position of the A. F. of L. in this country and of the miserable compromising attitude even of the radical minority in that body, such a movement would of course be even a more miserable fiasco that it has been in Great Britain.

Furthermore, Hillquit states a distinct untruth in the words above quoted. He has never dared to take such a position in public; at least not sufficiently in public so that the American party has any notion that this is his position. He would not have dared to write these lines to anybody but Stokes, on whose friendship he was imposing, thinking him to be a good-hearted person easily misled, by such craftiness. Now, however, Stokes is going to publish the whole correspondence.

The only possible way I can see of getting Hillquit off of the Committee is if you and Fred Warren would both allow your friends to urge you as members of the Executive Committee and would also endorse Wanhope or some similar person. The referendum of Muskotine [*sic*], Iowa, might also do the work; but perhaps the clause of that referendum, making it retro-active, might fail to pass. It is a tremendous crisis, which you certainly feel more than any one else in the country and which only you and your friends can solve—by the most uncompromising tactics. It is not necessary to attack or denounce anybody by name, but merely to put up revolutionary men and measures to take the place of compromise and the compromisers.

A few words of personal explanation are doubtless needed. As you perhaps know, I have been working with the party and never for a moment against it for the last ten or twelve years, and I have given

nearly all my time both in this country and abroad to the cause of Socialism. That I am not yet a party member needs a few words of explanation. In the first place I have made a great many party members, including my brother who, as you will remember, was in turn credited with the conversion of Medill Patterson.⁶ My wife⁷ has been a member of the party for fifteen years and I should have joined but for one strong and, perhaps you will concede, sufficient reason.

I have been working for years on a book,⁸ not on Socialism, but on the Socialist movement. If this book is to be read by a non-Socialist public, which is exclusively the one to which I am addressing myself, it would have to be written either by a famous Socialist like yourself, or else by one who could claim to be strictly non-partisan in his attitude. The purpose of the book is to make propaganda among our so-called educated classes, and I believe it will be better adapted to that narrow but important purpose than any that has yet appeared in this country. Since beginning my work on this book I have become a convert to the supreme importance of the party, but I feel that I have a moral right to complete the work and put it before the public as non-partisan, and that I can best serve the Socialist cause in this way.

Unless Hillquit and his friends have obtained a still firmer control over the party by next spring, I shall join it. If they get possession of the present party, doubtless there will be a new Socialist organization which I can and shall join.

On one question I am decided; I shall fight Berger and Hillquit either inside or outside of the party just the same as I would fight Gompers, Mitchell or Morrison were they inside of our organization, for I can see no practical difference whatever between them. The mere endorsement of Socialist principles, as an ideal, has for me no practical importance whatever, unless accompanied by Socialist—that is, revolutionary tactics. At least half the preachers and professors of the country now endorse Socialism *as an ideal* for a century or two hence.

Frank Bohn has consented to write a postscript of a few words on the New York City situation, with which he is thoroughly familiar since he has been speaking two or three times a week to the various branches.

Yours fraternally,
[William English Walling]

TLc, WHi, Walling Papers.

1. Walling hoped to remove from the party's national executive committee Victor Berger, Morris Hillquit, Robert Hunter, John Spargo, and Algie Simons on grounds

that they were part of a conspiracy to transform the party into a conservative labor party, but in the party election held in January 1910 only Simons was removed from the committee.

2. Frank Bohn (1878-1975) graduated from Ohio State University in 1900 and earned a doctorate at the University of Michigan in 1904. He worked as an organizer and lecturer in the western mining camps, helped launch the IWW in 1905, and was a strong critic of the reform wing of the Socialist party.

3. Gustavus Meyers (1872-1942) was the author of two of the leading muckraking books of the era: *The History of Great American Fortunes* (1909) and *The History of the Supreme Court of the United States* (1912).

4. John Spargo (1876-1966) was the author of a number of widely read books on socialism and socialists before World War I, including *The Common Sense of Socialism* (1908) and *Elements of Socialism* (1912). Spargo's *Bitter Cry of the Children* (1906) was an important book in the movement to abolish child labor. He left the party in 1917 in protest against its stance on the war.

5. Joseph Wanhope was the Socialist party candidate for governor of New York in 1908. A writer, his articles appeared frequently in the *New York Call* and other socialist publications.

6. Joseph Medill Patterson (1879-1946) was one of the most influential millionaire converts to socialism. His letter of resignation as Chicago commissioner of public works, in which he espoused a socialist solution to the nation's ills, was published in the *Chicago Socialist* on March 10, 1906. Patterson was editor and publisher of the *Chicago Tribune* and, from 1914 to 1946, the *New York Daily News*.

7. Anna Strunsky Walling (1878-1964) graduated from Stanford University in 1900. She married Walling in 1906 and worked closely with him in a variety of reform movements, including the launching of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

8. Walling published *Socialism As It Is* in 1912 and *Larger Aspects of Socialism* in 1913.

EVD to Adolph F. Germer

December 15, 1909

Girard, Kansas

My dear Germer:—

I have just returned from the west and your letter is now with me. I fear it will be impossible for me to attend the Indianapolis convention. Beginning early in January I am booked for a speaking tour, as I am informed here, and there will probably be no chance to get to the convention. I am sorry for if I could do so I would gladly join you and do what I could to help you have the right action taken and the right program adopted.

At Los Angeles a few days ago I had a long talk with Joe Cannon¹ of the W.F. of M. He will be in Indianapolis and he will see you and

the rest of the revolutionary element. He is a thoroughly fine fellow, clear headed and sound to the core.

Note what you say about the Cherry disaster.² It was undoubtedly murder in the first degree. My blood boils when I think of it and my heart bleeds for the widows and orphans.

Pardon haste as I am having to leave here tomorrow. May have a chance to write you or see you. A thousand good wishes to you and your fellow workers.

Yours always,
E. V. Debs

TLS, WHi, Germer Papers.

1. Joseph D. Cannon (1871-1952) was an organizer and member of the executive board of the Western Federation of Miners. He was the Socialist party candidate for Congress from Arizona in 1906 and 1908, for the United States Senate from New York in 1916, and for governor of New York in 1920.

2. Nearly 400 miners were killed in a mine explosion at Cherry, Illinois, on November 22, 1909.

EVD to Fred D. Warren

January 3, 1910
Terre Haute, Indiana

My dear Fred:—

Yours of the 29th. received. Glad Washington has taken notice. Evidently the protest meetings¹ are making their influence felt. The growling of the beast is sufficient evidence of this. We have not been twisting his tail in vain. You are right in ignoring the order. It is another case of watching the Appeal and trying to ditch it. But we'll stick to the main track and every time they get in the way the dung will fly. The "department" would never think of interfering with any {other} lecture bureau or lecture course on such a damned bowel-complaint pretext. This ought to be played up big. It can be made the best advertisement of the protest meetings we have yet had.

Let it be understood that they are trying to squelch such meetings and it will be the making of them and they will be wanted everywhere.

There is one conspicuous scoundrel in the garb of a priest the Appeal must uncover when it can get around to him and that is Jim Hill's man Friday, Archbishop Ireland.² Shoaf³ must quietly get onto his trail. I know enough to create a sensation but if all the facts of his intrigues with Hill, McKinley, Roosevelt and his enrichment and

the federal courts awarding him thousands of acres⁴ of land are uncovered the stench will create a pestilence. There is no hypocrite and scoundrel so hideous and repulsive as a long-faced priest who rolls his eyes and has all his religion in {his} belly. Ireland is one of the keystones in the edifice of capitalist conspiracy and his intrigues, if known, will wake up the working class and stir up the country as few other things could do at this time. You remember the red hat incident, Roosevelt, Bellamy Storer, Maria and all that.⁵ It is a nasty mess and this hypocrite priest is the dirtiest tool in it and all in the name of sweet religion and the crucified Christ.

Have a thousand things to do here, mostly little ones, in the way of cleaning up and shaping up for the future but will soon be out of the woods and ready to hand you copy. Hope all is well with you. The *Appeal* of Jan. 1st.⁶ bristles like a porcupine and is all afire with the militant spirit. This is the right way. There must be action. Every issue must contain a full charge. No blank cartridges. We must take the initiative, {press} the issue and carry the war into Africa. Let music swell the breeze—but give 'em hell! Keep your lamps on "Push." There is where danger lurks and where the fire is apt to break out at any minute. Hope Max and all the rest are treading the primrose path of joy.

Yours always
Debs

TLS, CtU, Fred Warren Papers.

1. Meetings sponsored by the *Appeal* protesting the conviction and sentencing of Fred Warren, who was free on bail. Debs agreed to speak at any such meeting where the "local comrades" purchased from 600 to 1,000 subscriptions to the *Appeal*. The Post Office Department threatened to but did not withdraw the *Appeal*'s second-class mailing privilege on grounds that many of the subscriptions generated by the "Warren Protest Meetings" were free subscriptions and not entitled to the second-class privilege.

2. John Ireland (1838-1918) had become one of the best known and most respected American Catholic clergymen by the time he was made archbishop of St. Paul in 1888. A Republican in politics, Ireland was a friend and confidant of both McKinley and Roosevelt, an exceptional exponent of social equality, and a severe critic of socialism.

3. George Shoaf was the *Appeal*'s special correspondent and covered many of the paper's most sensational and controversial stories during Debs's tenure on the paper.

4. Beginning in 1879, Ireland acquired large tracts of railroad land, eventually 400,000 acres, in western Minnesota, where more than 4,000 Catholic families settled and founded "Ireland towns." The project was carried out under the auspices of the Catholic Colonization Bureau.

5. Bellamy Storer (1847-1922) was a prominent Cincinnati lawyer and two-term Republican congressman from Ohio's First District from 1891 to 1895. He served as American minister to Belgium and Spain from 1897 to 1902 and as ambassador to Austria-Hungary from 1902 to 1906. In a letter to the *Springfield Republican* on September 22, 1910, Bellamy's wife, Maria Longworth Storer (1849-1932), claimed

that her husband, on instructions from Roosevelt, had sought (unsuccessfully) to secure a cardinal's biretta for Ireland.

6. The *Appeal* of January 1, 1910, announced the beginning of a series of issues to be devoted to the corruption of the federal courts in general and that of Judge Peter S. Grosscup in particular.

EVD to Fred D. Warren

January 4, 1910

Terre Haute, Indiana

My dear Fred:—

Here is a letter from Gitterman¹ with something in it. Please have it type-written without the signature and then *have the original destroyed*. Please be sure to have this done. These are not coincidences. Let Senator Long² explain them. Pollock³ may also explain. But the *Disappeared {Pollock} Documents* is the important thing and a sensational story can be built around it. Let the *Appeal* ask again *what became of these documents*. {Senate is now in session—send marked copy to each Senator.} These things reported by Gitterman, especially the department clerks' names, coupled with Senator Long as his appointees will bring the things pretty close to home and will show also that the *Appeal* is keen-scented and on the trail of these reptiles and that their slime is in their tortuous windings and they cannot escape. There is material here for a rattling and sensational article, if you think well of it, and I think you will.

Be sure and destroy the letter for Gitterman would be fired instantly if he were suspected.

Yours
Debs

Suggest that you write an official letter as Mg. Ed. of Ap to Sen. La Follette & Senator Gore,⁴ asking them what became of charges filed against Pollock, *public documents* which you have a right to see & which ought to be on file—& ask them to make the request in *Open Senate* for the documents & demand to know what became of them & why they are not in the file where they belong. Insist to La Follette & Gore that the *Appeal* has a right to know where these documents are, especially as its Mg. Ed. has been sentenced by the judge involved. Who stole the documents? Where are they? Make this hot as hell!⁵

TLS (with handwritten note), CtU, Fred Warren Papers.

1. John L. Gitterman was on the staff of the Interstate Commerce Commission

in Washington and was an occasional contributor of letters from Washington to the *Appeal*.

2. Chester Isaiah Long (1860-1934) was a congressman from Kansas in 1895-97 and 1899-1903 and United States senator from 1903 to 1909.

3. John C. Pollock (1858-1937) served on the U.S. District Court for Kansas from 1903 until his death. In a series of stories beginning on October 30, 1909, the *Appeal* had accused Pollock of, among other things, accepting fees from both sides in a civil trial, gambling, and being drunk on the bench. Earlier in the year Pollock had passed sentence on Warren in the kidnapping-reward case.

4. Thomas Pryor Gore (1870-1949) was United States senator from Oklahoma from 1907 to 1920.

5. On February 19, 1910, the *Appeal* launched a campaign urging its readers to write their congressmen and senators to demand the impeachment of Pollock and Judge Peter Stenger Grosscup.

EVD to Fred D. Warren

January 5, 1910

Terre Haute, Indiana

My dear Fred:—

Here's a suggestion: write to Borland¹ and ask him to send you a congressional directory containing the *list of senate and house committees*. Take the list and analyze the chairman of each committee in the *Appeal*. It will be found that upon the important committees the chairman was selected solely to control legislation along the line over which his committee has jurisdiction in the interests of the trusts and corporations. For instance, Senator Elkins² of W. Va., the plutocrat, railroad magnate and coal baron is chairman of committee on interstate commerce. This is one of the most important committees. Just think for a moment of Elkins and his committee having control of all bills relating to transporation. The average reader can see the point at a glance.

Now I suggest that you announce in an early issue that the *Appeal* is going through the senate and house committees like a cyclone, exposing their personnel and showing that they are but the guardians of the plutocracy at the national capitol. I suggest that you treat one of these chairmen in each issue of the *Appeal*. Let the article appear *in the same column and on the same page of each issue with a little portrait of the subject* and the name of his committee at the top. In each issue announce the name of the subject to be treated in the next following issue. When the announcement is made of this new program of attack, have a marked copy of the *Appeal* sent to every senator and congressman. If you will do that you will have congress buzzing and hell

popping. The corporation tools serving as legislators are so damned vulnerable that the very announcement and threatened exposure will strike terror to them.

Let me also suggest that in the treatment of each subject you mention the names of other members of the committee who are peculiarly vulnerable.

Each subject treated should have a short biographical sketch included, showing what he did before he entered congress, what corporations he served, what corporations he now owns stock in, and what his present personal, political and financial affiliations are.³

Sherman⁴ appoints the committees in the senate and Cannon⁵ in the house and it may be readily surmised that only safe men are made chairmen, but the average person does not think of this until it is brought to his attention. When the Appeal begins to treat these gentlemen and show them up, one at a time, it will be an eye-opener and I think will prove to be one of the most striking and fruitful lines of exposure of capitalist methods ever attempted.

You could get the inside facts about all these trust tools without much trouble or expense. Doubtless Borland could suggest somebody at Washington to dig up the essential facts, or perhaps {Shoaf} might go there. These sketches ought to be short but as illuminating as a flashlight. Some of these chairmen are heavy stockholders in trusts and you could no doubt find out what their corporate connections are and then show that the trusts and corporations they are stockholders in, or have served as lawyers, or both, placed them where they are and that in their legislative capacity they represent directly such trusts and corporations and are of necessity the sworn enemies of the people who pay their salaries. I suggest that the same line of attack be made upon the whole federal judiciary, beginning with the supreme court and going through the entire list of circuit and district courts, showing the antecedents of each, what kind of lawyers they were etc. Nearly all of them were corporation and trust lawyers and as a matter of fact that is what they are now in the case of the trusts vs. the people now on trial in the court of the civilized world. The picture of each judge, a small one, should accompany each sketch.

Perhaps it would be well to have in each issue a sketch of a congressional chairman and a sketch of {a} federal judge, one of each, and appearing in the same column each issue so they will be looked for by the readers, say upper part of fourth page, one sketch and portrait, double column, in each corner. This will be a winner as sure as you live. It can be made red hot and only the bare facts need to be stated. The number of insurgents in both rep. and dem. parties is steadily growing and the situation is rife and in ferment. Needs just this, or

something like it, to touch it off. It will be eagerly welcomed by the independent members of both who are not in the machine. It is notorious that not a postmaster or other minor official can be appointed except by Hitchcock's⁶ O.K. All those congressmen that refuse to bend the knee to the trust have had their recommendations held up and they are sore about it and revolt is brewing.

Have just received Appeal. It is a scorching number. Shoaf's article⁷ is about as hot a thing of its kind as has ever been in print. It is a fearful impeachment. That such a recital of the foul deeds of such a whited sepulcher is necessary is in itself sufficient commentary on the capitalist system. After reading this one cannot but wonder that even capitalism, yes, even capitalism, could be bold enough to put such a leprous beast upon the bench.

Chicago ought to be flooded with this issue. If it were cried on the streets by a thousand newsboys and placed on as many newsstands a hundred thousand copies could be sold in a day and that is what ought to be done. That is the place to start the fire. Can this not be done? You could run off a special edition for that purpose and engage some good man at Chicago to handle it. The consuming conflagration ought to rage all around this monster. If half a million copies of this issue of the Appeal can be circulated in and around Chicago Grosscup⁸ would be driven from the bench by an outraged public sentiment.

Be sure and have a lot of these at the meeting I am to address at Chicago on the 13th.⁹ Snyder can arrange with the local committee to have these distributed. If an example is made of just one judge and the people rise up in indignation the whole federal judiciary as now constituted will begin to totter and this base despotism will lose its power. Concentrate your fire on Grosscup long enough to burn him up. His record is peculiarly adapted to arousing public sentiment against him. There is not an element of rottenness it does not contain and many of them are of a character to outrage even a libertine, a gambler, a thief, or a courtesan. You can stake your life that I will open fire on Grosscup as well as on Pollock in my Chicago speech. I'll be everlastingly damned if I don't handle these judicial lepers without fear or favor.

Yours always
Debs.

TLS, CtU, Fred Warren Papers.

1. William Patterson Borland (1867-1919) was a Democratic member of Congress from Missouri from 1909 to 1919. He practiced law in Kansas City from 1892 until his death.

2. Stephen Benton Elkins (1841-1911) served as secretary of war under Benjamin

Harrison and as United States senator from West Virginia until his death. The Elkins Act of 1903, stiffening penalties against rebates, was considered a major reform of the first Roosevelt administration. Elkins controlled major coal and railroad interests in West Virginia.

3. Much of Debs's advice—not all—concerning the makeup of congressional committees was reflected in the *Appeal* during the winter and spring of 1910.

4. James Schoolcraft Sherman (1855-1912) served as congressman from New York from 1887 until 1909, except for two years, 1891 to 1893. In 1908 he was elected vice-president as Taft's running mate and served in that position until his death in October 1912.

5. Joseph Gurney Cannon (1836-1926) was a congressman from Illinois from 1873 to 1891 and from 1893 to 1913. During his tenure as Speaker of the House from 1903 to 1911, Cannon's arbitrary and partisan exercise of power, which came to be called Cannonism, helped provoke the House Rebellion of 1910, which brought about significant changes in the membership and election of the Rules Committee and the exclusion of the Speaker from that committee.

6. Frank Harris Hitchcock (1869-1935) was postmaster general from 1909 to 1913.

7. George Shoaf's front-page article in the January 8, 1910, issue was titled "Judge Peter S. Grosscup, The Home Wrecker."

8. Peter Stenger Grosscup (1852-1921) was at this time presiding judge of the Seventh U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in Chicago. Debs's dislike of Grosscup dated back to the Pullman Strike, during which Grosscup, then a district judge in Chicago, joined William A. Wood in issuing the blanket injunction against Debs and other ARU officers. In his writings Debs repeatedly attacked Grosscup as a "tool of the corporations," and the *Appeal* was at this time leading a crusade calling for Grosscup's impeachment.

9. Debs's Chicago speech, under the title "Debs Flays Grosscup," was printed in the January 29, 1910, issue of the *Appeal*.

EVD to Fred D. Warren

January 8, 1910

Terre Haute, Indiana

My dear Fred:—

Have yours of the 6th. Glad Shoaf is in Washington. He will meet Borland and Gitterman there and dig up all that is needed. That bunch has a keen smell and will surely track the beasts to their lairs. Glad you have written to Gore and LaFollette. Altogether they ought to flush something. Note what you say about Ireland. When I see you we will talk it over.

Not a bit surprised, but very regretful, that your case¹ has been postponed till May. Far rather the issue had been met. But the Appeal proposes and the Federal Fakir disposes. You may be right in saying there is advantage in the delay, but I think not. If the court decided against you at this time there would be a great roar. However, we

will make the most of the situation. Since everything is working in our favor and we can't lose anyway it's practically all the same to us how the thing works out. The May Day protest meeting is the central and winning idea. Special pains should be taken to have booming meetings at Girard, Ft. Scott, Rich Hill and St. Louis, where the case is to be tried. Our best orators should be pressed into action. Comrades from all over Kansas, Missouri, Arkansas, and other western states should with their wives and families be urged to attend the Girard, Ft. Scott, and Rich Hill meetings. Of course they would all be held on the same day, but I am sure a tremendous crowd would attend each meeting. In this way we could make your trail from Rich Hill to Washington a streak of avenging lightning.

Glad you will not {announce} postponement till after Chicago and other meetings.

Will have the stirring article in regard to May Day, free press {etc.}, with you in time as suggested. Will see you before that time and we will develop the plan. St. Paul will be alright as you suggest if the trial is held there. We can put enough "reds" in there to make the plutes think there's another Indian war.

Yes, have seen Milwaukee circular and reply. Berger is a coward. When he is attacked, promptly Elizabeth Thomas, Thompson² and Gaylord³ appear to tell what a big man he is. I can see it all from here. When the Appeal article appeared Berger turned purple and green, sputtered like a coyote with the colic {and} ordered Miss Thomas forthwith to get out the heavy artillery. Of course the German movement is the only article. What is done in Germany is the only thing. So Berger's cabinet at once floods the socialist press with what has been done in Germany and how big a man Berger is. And this is sufficient reason why Berger should be elected to office for life. No Berger, no socialist movement! That's the logic. The fact is that Berger needs and sorely needs the prestige of socialist office in his business. Without that he would cut a very small figure and well does he know it. To hold public office is his means of filling the public eye. If I were so inclined I could send something crashing back there that would give him a fit. But I shant. *The position of the Appeal is absolutely right.*

The barber shop incident stamps Max⁴ as a wise little guy, a fit son of his dad, a chip off the old block. He knew that once upon a time I must have had a shock of hair like a mop and that it is the barber's business to harvest the hair crop and hence I went in under the mower and emerged as bald of hair as a Girard airship is of flies.

But I still have the better of Brewer. Baldness is a visitation of

Providence, via the barber shop, but whiskers is a man's own criminal neglect.

Tell Max the little shoe he sent me at the time I lost mine on the Frisco train is now on an oval shelflet beside the mirror of the dresser in my bed room where I can see it every morning when I arise and every night when I retire to nodland. Beside it there is one of Boydie's,⁵ about the same size, which has been lonesome for the lack of company during these last six years. The sweet child spirit that prompted Max to send me that shoe has warmed my heart and made me rich many a time. There is not money enough in all old Morgan's vaults to buy from me those two teeny bits of leather.

Enclosed find a letter from Atlanta. I have thought it time to call Watson's bluff.⁶ Suggest that you publish my letter to Roberts in next issue of the Appeal. If I get Watson on the platform there will surely be a warm time while it lasts.

Enclosed I hand you a letter from Saint Louis. Do as you please with it. I have sent him some pamphlets and printed matter from here. If you think it worth while you can send him a copy of my book and put him on the free list for six months, or either one or the other. If not, throw it in the waste basket. It may be that he is a poor devil and would better have the benefit of the doubt.

Herewith you will find some editorial matter.

I have rarely had such a busy time as I've had since reaching home. It seems as if a thousand things had waited to attack me at once. Fortunately I've been well and vigorous and have been hammering away early and late, including the holidays, every minute of the time. Have had an immense lot of letters, about three quarters of them requests for something, {or} in regard to troubles and complications of some kind. But the big cause is progressing and these little things don't worry us. I never felt as strong and self-reliant and confident as I am today and that is true of us all. I know that in the face of the fight you have before you, tremendous as are all the odds against you, you expand to heroic proportions, for you know that Warren and Right are unconquerable and that though all the hosts of hell be against you you can still face the world unafraid.

Sorry that Mrs. Debs did not get to Girard, both of us are sorry. Mrs. Debs is so anxious to meet Mrs. Warren and to see the boys. She and Boydie would be right at home with you as you would be right at home under our roof. Some day we are going to have you, all of you, here with us, and don't forget it. At this point Theodore, whose name gives him away, says you'll not be caught under my roof if you know me as well as he does. Its really a calamity to be too well known.

The job of robbing the office this time was not pulled off because of the fear that the culprit might be caught red-handed with his trousers off the track as "Push" was by the night marshal on his flight from the arsenal.

Yours always
Debs

Pls. return this Roberts (Watson) correspondence when you are through with it.

TLS, CtU, Fred Warren Papers.

1. The hearing on Warren's appeal of the kidnap-reward sentence was changed from January 1910 in St. Louis to May 8, 1910, in St. Paul.

2. Carl Dean Thompson (1870-1949) was a minister in the Congregational church until 1901, when he became active in socialist politics and a strong supporter of Victor Berger in Wisconsin. He was a socialist member of the Wisconsin legislature 1907-9 and city clerk in Milwaukee in 1910-11.

3. Winfield Gaylord was, like Thompson, one of the "ministerial leaders" of the socialist party in Wisconsin and a Berger ally. He was elected to the Wisconsin state senate in 1908.

4. Fred Warren's son.

5. Oscar Baur, Jr. (1903-36), was the son of Katherine Debs's stepbrother. He lived with Gene and Katherine for a number of years following his mother's death in 1908.

6. For nine consecutive months beginning in October 1909, Tom Watson published a series of articles in *Tom Watson's Magazine* on "Socialists and Socialism," in which he attempted to "disembowel Bebel," "explode Marx," and prove that socialism would never "make a white woman secure from the lusts of the negro." The articles were answered most effectively, not by Debs, but by Daniel DeLeon in *Watson on the Gridiron*.

EVD to Fred D. Warren

January 8, 1910

Terre Haute, Indiana

My dear Fred:—

In the letter I have just sent you to Roberts of Atlanta in regard to meeting Watson in debate I wish you to insert the word "bourgeois" in the sentence at the bottom of the letter reading "*and other bowel complaints will take care of themselves.*" Have this read "*bourgeois bowel complaints etc.* Please be sure to make the insertion of this word in the sentence quite near the close of the letter. I have no copy here and quote from memory.

I think this is a good move and if Watson accepts we will make arrangements to have the Appeal handle the debate and I think we can make it worth while. But I doubt very much if Watson accepts.¹

If he does there will be a different kind of a debate than the kid glove affairs that are usually pulled off. Hope this will reach you in time to get it in the next issue.

Yours
Debs

P.S. Enclosed find some articles. One of them is signed. I think it would better go in that way but do as you wish with it.

TLS, CtU, Fred Warren Papers.

1. This correspondence has not been found, but the Watson-Debs debate was never held and the *Appeal* did not print Debs's letter to Roberts.

Theodore Debs to Fred D. Warren

January 10, 1910
Terre Haute, Indiana

Dear Comrade Warren:—

Gene requests me to send you this letter and ask you if possible to send a man to Leavenworth to investigate this story. If it is true it is an awful story.¹ The prison being the one in which our Mexican comrades² are confined makes the story all the more important and if this criminal official can be shown up Gene thinks it will have an important bearing on public sentiment both in reference to capitalism and its corrupt rule and our Mexican comrades who are confined in Leavenworth. It is certainly a terrible story and just the kind for the *Appeal* to get hold of and lay bare, giving names and facts, backed up by affidavits of eye witnesses. Here is a case of a clean, honest subordinate, doing his duty, filing complaint against a rotten, degenerate "superior" who commits crimes against nature of which prisoners are the victims, with the result that after an investigation under the Taft regime the honest subordinate is fired and the degenerate retained and vindicated. Here is the raw material for a bombshell and I believe you will readily see it. I know you have your hands full but this seems to be an exceptional case, especially because of the Mexican prisoners.

Gene has just received a letter signed by Magon, Villerreal and Rivera,³ urging him to come to Florence, Ariz. immediately on a matter of the extremest importance. With the letter came one from the wife of De Lara and also one from Comrade Fred G. White of Florence making the same request. There is something serious brew-

ing there. Gene has taken the letter home with him as it [is] written in a very fine hand and there is enough of it to make a good sized pamphlet and it will take at least a couple of hours to read it. What the nature of the emergency is I do not know but I thought to mention it to you as you may have something on the same subject. Seems as if everything is breaking loose at once and in every case immediate attention is demanded.

Yours as ever
Theo.

TLS, CtU, Fred Warren Papers.

1. More than a year passed before the *Appeal* began a long series of articles on the "Leavenworth Scandal," based on charges by a former guard at the federal prison, Louis P. Zickgraf. Beginning in the April 29, 1911, issue of the *Appeal*, articles by George Shoaf and Allen W. Ricker described in great detail the corruption, brutality, and "immoral conduct, especially in reference to young men," that were allegedly tolerated and encouraged by Warden R. W. McClaughey and Deputy Warden Frank H. Lemon.

2. Antonio Araujo was still serving his sentence in Leavenworth for violation of the neutrality laws.

3. Ricardo Flores Magon, Antonio I. Villarreal, and Litrado Rivera were released from the prison at Florence on August 3, 1910, after serving eighteen months for violations of the neutrality laws.

Theodore Debs to Fred D. Warren

January 11, 1910

Terre Haute, Indiana

Dear Comrade Warren:—

I have just left Gene and he is in bed and about used up, not having slept for three nights from nervous exhaustion. He wishes me to ask you to make no more dates as he feels that it will be necessary for him after he has filled the schedule in hand to resign from the *Appeal* and take a period of complete rest. This has got to be done if he is to avoid a complete collapse. He has had no rest since his return but has been crowded and harassed into a state of exhaustion and now he is expected to go out and face big audiences in a continuous campaign of six weeks or more. I know he is in no condition to do himself justice at the meeting to be held in Chicago, on Thursday, and that he has had no time to make any preparation. His present situation is such that no human being could stand it, and a horse would break down under the load. Everybody who has a grievance

piles in into him and his willingness to be loaded down by everybody has brought {on} this condition. But there is a limit to endurance and that has about been reached and we are going to insist that when the present schedule is filled he cut loose from everything and, if necessary, hide himself, as Dr. Cook¹ has done, to avoid being killed by his friends. I want Gene to quit speaking, writing and everything else and take a rest for a year at least, till he has gotten himself in shape again. All his life he has been in the thick of the fight, sacrificing his home, freezing in the winter and broiling in the summer, knocking around over the railroads and laying out at nights when he ought to be in bed. He has done his share of that sort of business and he is now at an age when it is telling on him, and if the warning is not heeded he will break down utterly and we are not going to allow that if we can help it. I am really fearful of his being able to go through with the schedule which we now have.

I have written you thus fully that you may understand why this change will have to be made in Gene's plans and work.

I hope he will rally sufficiently in time for the Chicago meeting. I understand that later in the month he will have a day at Girard and he can then explain things to you more fully.

Yours as ever
Theodore Debs

TLS, CtU, Fred Warren Papers.

1. Frederick Albert Cook (1865-1940) was a physician and polar explorer whose claim to have reached the North Pole in April 1908, sixteen months ahead of Robert E. Peary, created an international controversy. Cook's disappearance between April 1908 and September 1909, when he made his claim to have reached the pole from Lerwich, Shetland Islands, and his account of his activity during the intervening months were used by Peary supporters to challenge Cook's claim to have beaten Peary to the pole.

Ricardo Flores Magon to EVD

January 13, 1910

Territorial Prison, Florence, Arizona

My dear comrade:

Your very kind letter of Dec 30th and Cannon's letter were received last Sunday.

I am very obliged to your good wishes and to the interest you take in our cases.

Long ago we lost confidence in the Courts and if we wanted to carry on the appeal was not because we expected a fair decision from the Superior Courts. The appeal in our opinion could have served only to furnish material for an active press campaign which would have saved us from further persecution.

You are inclined to believe that as soon as our sentence expire we will be restorred to liberty. *No, dear Debs*—Rivera is the only one who has a very slight chance to gain his freedom. Villarreal and myself will be rearrested. Just a few weeks before our {trial} started in Tombstone, an indictment for conspiracy to violate the neutrality laws was returned against Villarreal and myself in Del Rio, Texas. Shoaf read that indictment and had a piece about it in the "Appeal." Same indictment is now in the possession of our friend A. A. Worsley, Tucson, Ariz.¹

During the last uprising in Mexico and according to the press dispatchs, a number of separate violations of the neutrality laws took place in several points along the border. The conspiracy charge is too broad and our enemies can bring against us several indictments more of the same nature of that returned in Del Rio; notwithstanding that we were in jail in Los Angeles at the time of the last uprising and that we know nothing about those alleged violations.

Besides, the old libel charges pending against Villarreal and myself may be reopened in St. Louis, Mo. any time at the will of the Mexican Government. Seven years gives the statute on limmitations for offenses of that kind.

Diaz² has never been a quitter, 16 revolutionists have already been sentenced to death in Mexico and just a few days ago comrade Rangel³ was tried and convicted in San Antonio, Tex., for violation to the neutrality laws. We can't believe that the persecution against us is going to be discontinued—1910 is a presidential election year in Mexico. Our sentences will expire about the very time when public indignation would have reached through Mexico the highest pitch. Do you think we are going to be turned loose under such circumstances?

No!. We will be rearrested and for I know it. I am asking you and comrades Wayland and Warren to reopen the fight in the "Appeal" before it may be too late. At the expiration of this sentence⁴ we will be asked to furnish no less than \$500000 bail each. The money wanted for bails and defense can be raised through the "Appeal to Reason" and other socialist papers. Kindly take in consideration this matter and do every thing in your power to raise funds for our defense.

Remember this: When our sentence expire we will have been in prison three years. Three years of hunger and bitter humiliations!

The main cause of all the defeats we have suffered before the Courts, has been, *lack of money* and we will be defeated again if our friends don't put enough money to secure us a proper defense.

Fraternally yours
R. Flores Magon

ALS, Warren Papers, Schenectady, New York.

1. Alinus A. Worsley (1868-1938) was an attorney in Tucson. As a member of the Arizona legislature he wrote many of the state's labor laws.

2. Porfirio Díaz (1830-1915) was president of Mexico from 1877 to 1880 and from 1884 to 1911. The overthrow of his dictatorial regime, which Magon and the other Mexican exiles had long sought, finally was achieved in the Mexican Revolution of 1911.

3. Jesus M. Rangel was sentenced to thirty months' imprisonment.

4. On July 9, 1910, a month before the release of Magon, Villarreal, and Rivera, the *Appeal* began a front-page serialization of John Kenneth Turner's "Barbarous Mexico—Slave Colony of the United States." Earlier, during the winter and spring of 1910, the paper had called attention to the cases of Magon and the other Mexican exiles in shorter articles headed "Diaz at Work in America."

EVD to Fred D. Warren

January 21, 1910

En route, Omaha, Nebraska, to Chicago, Illinois

My Dear Fred:—

Here is a little copy. A hot roast on Ireland,¹ but not too hot. Every decent reader will amen it.

See editorial enclosed on Jefferson and the Mails.² Suggest that you give this prominent place. The quotation from Jefferson on this subject ought to be run as a red top liner on upper margin of first page. The article on Pollock and Warren³ ought to be put *in box in black type*.

Grand meeting at Omaha last night. Whooped themselves hoarse. By god it was great. There is no doubt we are going to raise 57 kinds of hell with capitalism before we get through. I am doing my best, old man, to beat you to jail.

This typewriter, you will observe, is not a prohibitionist.⁴ Brewer can write about like Ben⁵ can shoot. This is just a little mixed pickles we are sending you, the next will be chow chow and then will come the cayenne. Brewer says when he gets the *hang* of the machine he will no longer resort to the *electrocution* of his letters. Got away from Omaha at one this a.m. and are now bowling along toward the Windy

City. We are as frisky as a pair of goats on a tin roof. Keep Push on picket duty for something is liable to go off at any minute. Has the office been broken into since I left? Hope not. But I'm making hay all the same. Got away with another fellow's overshoes at the hotel last night but Brewer's scruples overpowered him and I had to leave without the booty. Give my love to Max and the other two little gods⁶ of the household.

Yours always.
Debs.

TLS, CtU, Fred Warren Papers.

1. In "Leopold and Ireland" (*Appeal*, February 5, 1910), Debs attacked "money-bags" Ireland for "rushing to the rescue of the unspeakable Leopold of Belgium, whose atrocities in the Congo have shocked all civilization."

2. "Jefferson and the Mails," also in the February 5 issue of the *Appeal*, quoted Jefferson in support of the "absolutely free transportation of the mails." At the time the *Appeal* was protesting a bill in Congress that would have raised the cost of mailing the *Appeal*.

3. Debs's articles on the sentence given Warren by Judge Pollock appeared regularly in the *Appeal* during 1910. One, "John Zenger and Fred Warren," called Warren "the historic successor of John Peter Zenger" (*Appeal*, August 27, 1910).

4. The letter contained numerous typographical errors, most of them corrected by Debs.

5. Ben Warren (1876-1967) was Fred Warren's brother. He was press foreman and later business manager of the *Appeal*.

6. Max, Glenn, and Karl Warren, Fred Warren's sons.

Robert Hunter to EVD

January 27, 1910

Pinehurst, North Carolina

Dear 'Gene;—

I have your letter, a copy of which I sent sometime ago to Simons. Naturally I am grateful for your kind and even loving words, coming as they do at a moment when I was resenting the implication contained in your letter to The Review.¹ I would not have believed that you could cast old friends aside without a moments warning and without first having written them as to how they stood. The letter which Walling sent to numerous comrades accusing a few of your old friends of treasonable conduct I thought might effect those with whom they were not personally acquainted, but I never dreamed that you would give it a moments consideration. Frankly, 'Gene, your letter was like a blow in the face. Of course if the thing were a question a principle,

which it was not, the matter of friendship would not enter into it at all, but when one's honor is attacked you feel that you may expect the friendship of those who have known you in the past to work overtime. I refuse, however, to let pride stop me from giving you a full and frank statement of my position. If when you understand how I feel and what I aim at you think it a matter for opposition then of course I shall not have a word to say but I do not wish you to judge five of your old friends upon the word of one who is a comparative stranger to you. Now without wishing to trouble you unnecessarily I want a moment of your time to make my own position clear and the position so far as I know it of Simons, Hillquit, Berger and Spargo toward the unions. I do not want to see a break between you and these friends of yours and mine unless it is absolutely necessary and certainly not until you have understood their position clearly. Of course I don't presume to speak for them but in so far as I have heard their views expressed at various meetings of the Executive Committee I think I may say that the following is approximately what they aim at.

Last March I think it was I attended the first meeting of the National Executive Committee. I at that time said that I believed the American Federation of Labor was laying its plans for establishing a labor party. I said that from what I had heard rumored the Civic Federation would unquestionably favor the establishment of such a labor party for the purpose of crushing Socialism and I urged in the strongest possible way immediate action on the part of our committee. Spargo had the same idea and urged it equally strongly.

Now the plan put forward was this, that we select as National organizers a few of the ablest and best known Trade Union men in our ranks and that we send them on tours throughout the unions of their craft to preach Socialism, to get subscriptions for Socialist papers and to organize the Socialist Trade Unionists into an active fighting body in every town visited. Our plan was to get a man to go through the mining camps, another among the carpenters, another among the Cigar Makers' Unions, etc. to carry on a special Socialist propaganda. I urged that we should try to persuade you to make a special tour among the railway workers. The plan was finally agreed to by the committee and two men were sent out, one to the machinists and one to the moulders as an experiment.

They met with such success that we decided at our last meeting to extend the work and Barns is now trying to get Van Horn² of the miners and a few men of his calibre to work directly under the National office.

Now 'Gene lets take stock for one moment. The following orga-

nizations have already endorsed the Socialist programme by resolution, by constitutional provision, or otherwise.

United Mine Workers	300,000 members
International Association of Machinists	48,000
Pattern Makers' League	9,000
United Metal Workers	22,000
Boilermakers and Iron Ship Builders	14,000
Amalgamated Engineers	2,000
United Brewery Workmen	39,000
Bakery and Confectionary Workers	14,000
Boot and Shoe Workers	32,000
Textile Workers	10,000
Ladies Garment Workers	1,800
United Cloth, Hat and Cap Makers	33,000
Woodworkers	20,000
Flint Glass Workers	10,000
Amalgamated Glass Workers	2,800
Carriage and Wagon Workers	3,200
Western Unions, incl. W.F. of Miners	<u>100,000</u>
Total	630,800

Now I know that these organizations do not by any means contain a majority of Socialists, yet nearly all of them contain a considerable per centage of Socialists. The following organizations have in the opinion of the best informed persons, not less than thirty per cent. Socialists. I give them and their voting power in the convention of the A.F. of L.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Votes</i>
Bakery and Confectionary Workers	105
Boilermakers and Iron Ship Builders of America	152
Boot & Shoe Workers' Union	320
Brewery Workers' International Union	400
Carpenters & Joiners of America, Brotherhood	1,796
Cigarmakers' International Union of America	409
Garment Workers of America, United	439
Machinists International Association of—	621
Mine Workers of America, United	2,525
Moulders Union of North America, Internat'l	500
Painters, Decorators & Paperhangers, Brotherhood	648
Pattern Makers' League of North America	55
Tailors' Union, Journeymen	161
Typographical Union, International	440

Wood Workers' International Union Amalgamated

40

Altogether the above unions have a total voting strength in the A.F. of L. Conventions of 8,511 which is a majority of the total votes cast. Now it seems to me obvious that our chief activity ought to be to push our propaganda in these fifteen unions. We ought to organize the 30% who are already Socialists and add an additional 21% and thus control those unions. They occupy a strategic position in the labor movement and if we could center our propaganda, circulate our papers and *intensively* cultivate that field we could, I am sure, within two or three years absolutely control those unions.

The weakness of *extensive* propaganda is that it must cover a wide field which is tremendously difficult to organize afterward. We sow our seed broadcast and while I should not wish to stop that, I believe that one tenth of our total effort centered at this bulls eye for a period of two or three years would make something give way. If we can capture all the above unions we could dictate terms. There would then have to be a break with the Civic Federation and if the leaders attempted to start a Civic Federation Labor Party we would be in a position to defeat absolutely any such project

Undoubtedly if we began to gain control of some of these unions the fight would grow bitter but if it were necessary or advisable for the Socialist unions to get out of the A.F. of L. they would go out with several powerful International Unions and they could then launch a new national organization which would be at the very start as powerful as the Gompers faction.

Now I believe, in fact *I know*, that this can be done if we can all work in absolute unison. At the same time I am absolutely convinced that if we do not pursue some such policy we shall have to face an anti-Socialist Labor Party that will carry on to the political field the same fight that now exists on the industrial field. We shall divide our own Socialist forces, half of them perhaps going to the Labor Party and half remaining true to us. It will then be a fight to see who can survive with the result of course in the end that we shall win out. But I believe that by now getting *after the rank and file* strong and concentrating all our efforts on the 21% that we need in the fifteen most powerful unions in America, we shall be able to prevent the formation of any fake labor party and within two or three years turn those unions into our ranks.

Now its a matter of absolute unconcern to me personally what Gompers and Mitchell do in the meantime. They can be elected to any position they like. As the thing now stands we are helpless. We have no chance to do anything and I do not believe we will have in

many years to come unless we carry out some such plan as suggested, viz. *get the rank and file* and by united persistent work control the majority of votes in the convention of the A.F. of L.

We want now merely to carry on an intense, well centered propaganda and to await results and all I write this to you for is to give you some idea of what we are actually aiming at instead of allowing you to remain under the impression that all this Trade Union effort is for the purpose of winning the heart of Sam Gompers or of John Mitchell. If I am judge of anything this plan pursued will, if successful mean that in a very few years the Union movement of America will be pretty well within our control.

I have been wanting for two years to have a talk with you about these questions and several times I would have urged you to attend the National Executive Committee to consider this plan with us if I had not thought that you would consider yourself too busy to attend. Now, 'Gene, I hope, if possible, that we can go on with our work and get it pretty well advanced before Gompers and the Civic Federation realize what we are doing, for as soon as they do men will be sent on the trail of our speakers with the results that our propaganda will be neutralized to some extent. Surely you of all persons can have no objections to our establishing a corps of special trade union organizers, for if nothing but agitation results the money will be well spent.

I know it is hard to make one's position clear in a letter. We discussed the thing for hours in committee and I assure you that every man there aims at one thing and one thing only, to organize Socialist Trade Unionists in one powerful body which would make impossible a Civic Federation Labor Party.

Now 'Gene, one other word. You know that I believe with you that industrial unionism is inevitable. I think all the present members of the Executive Committee believe that also. But personally I do not believe, as I have frankly told you, in forming dual organizations. I have always maintained that if you were in any International Union in the country you could have your own way. I believe you are more popular with the rank and file of the A.F. of L. than any dozen of the old leaders. But I believe that you are playing into the hands of Gompers. He cannot attack your character, your standing or your loyalty, but he does manage to dismay your union friends by constantly holding you up as a disrupter and a secessionist. Nevertheless, I know your heart and I know your glorious intolerance and I have long since given up the hope of ever persuading you in any instance to change your tactics. But if you will not yourself do the work outlined,—work which you could do a thousand times more easily than all the rest of us combined, don't tie our hands by opposition and by criticism. Help

us even though you will not actively join with us. Surely there can be no objection to fighting both flanks of the enemy. If you must, go ahead fighting on your own line and we will give you what help we can, but let us fight on our line and you give us what help you can.

The trouble in the past has been that we could not make our agitation intense enough. We have done it weakly and feebly and consequently we lost one year much that we gained the previous year because of the poverty of our effort, but if we can now do this thing in a big stirring powerful way uniting in a common effort the ablest Socialists in the Trade Union movement, I believe that we will fight a glorious fight and win a glorious victory.

Fraternally yours,
Robert Hunter

Your speech to the Miners³ was a corker!

TLS (with handwritten note), InTI, Debs Collection.

1. Debs's letter of December 7, 1909, to William English Walling was printed in the January 1910 issue of the *International Socialist Review*.

2. William D. Van Horn (1857-1935) was president of District 11 of the UMWA from 1907 to 1913. An active socialist, he was the party's candidate for Congress in Indiana's Fifth District in 1908.

3. Debs addressed the national convention of the UMWA in Indianapolis on January 22, 1910.

EVD to Fred D. Warren

February 1, 1910
Ashland, Ohio

My Dear Fred:—

Let me call your attention to the long statement and letter addressed to us and signed by Magon, Villarrael and Rivera, a copy of which I asked Mrs. Brewer to hand to you. This letter was smuggled out of the penitentiary and must be treated confidentially as far as the authors are concerned. Please let me suggest that you take this letter home and read it over carefully as I have done. It has fired every drop of my blood. I have concluded that this {is} the case of supreme importance in the present moment and that even your own {does} not begin to compare to it. These heroes have fought and suffered a thousand times more than any of us; they have been slugged, kidnapped starved, beaten and all but assassinated. What we have done in comparison is insignificant and contemptible. I am ashamed of my

paltry record when I think of these grand souls and their transcendent heroism, rotting in our prisons, their heads shaved and wearing stripes and suffering every indignity a brutal keeper can subject them to. The very criminal who took the strike breakers across the {Mexican} line, armed and broke the strike by murdering the strikers, trampling down the neutrality laws, and who ought to be in the penitentiary for life, is now, by the grace of Taft, appointed prison keeper¹ and has these heroes under his heel and their bodies under his lash. When I read of this I become almost wild. I feel disgraced that this should be so and I submitting to it. By God I feel at this very moment like issuing a call to arms to rescue these patriots and humanitarians, and if this be treason, the God damned scoundrels can make the most of it.

But what I am writing to you about particularly at this time is to call your attention to the fact that their sentence expires July 31st {and} that they are to then be re-arrested and kept in jail under one pretext and another until they rot and die. That is the plan of Diaz and his sovereign American hirelings will carry it out unless we thwart it and blow their plans to hell by arousing the people. Now I think the Appeal ought to turn its batteries on this dark conspiracy. To publish the facts which appear in the letter of the three Mexicans will arouse thousands. It is a horrible story. We can especially show that the strike breaker and murderer is now the prison keeper while the heroes and emancipators are rotting in his dungeons. Say, if the American people are not dead as mummies this can be made to arouse them as they have never been aroused before and we can make hell so hot for the plutes between now and July 31st that they will not dare to lay their leprous paws on these comrades when they emerge from their chamber of horrors. I would be willing to call a meeting at some central point on the day of release and call for volunteers and avow the determination, in behalf of the people, to prevent the re-arrest and further torture and persecution of these heroes, *if we have got to incite an insurrection*. I will volunteer to place myself at the head of it and I don't know of anything in which I would rather be at the front, or of any fight in which I would rather be shot full of holes, if that must be my fate. I would feel a thousand times better in such a fight and for such a cause than to feel as I now do with these noble comrades of ours being devoured alive by jackals without our making an effort to save them. We are a damned poor and miserable crowd of leaders if we can see nothing in such a situation to make us forget all about ourselves and issue a fearless call to duty to all such Americans as are not as dead in soul as smoked halibuts.

This can be made a great fight between now and July 31st and we

can culminate with demonstrations all over the country on that date that will shake the country and Taft off his throne. This will not interfere with your fight and your demonstrations but will go hand in hand with them. Only the Appeal can make this fight. Only you can make the Appeal make it.² It is up to you. I am putting it up to you just exactly as I feel and I am without doubt as to where you stand if you see this thing as I do. This is not a hasty conclusion of mine but arrived at only after many hours and days and nights of painful agitation and calm deliberation. This is the fight to make and the tocsin to sound to set the feet tramping and the defiance of the hosts ringing through the land.

There is another reason why I urge the Appeal to take hold of this fight and go its whole length on it. Not only is it an international fight and will lead to international support, making the Appeal the international organ it should be, but you can rise to your own full stature in your present position, by forgetting your own jail sentence and proclaiming your determination to go to the rescue of the Mexican revolutionists who are fighting the battles of freedom and who are now in convicts' stripes and whose cause is the cause of every American worthy the name of man. I tell you that these Mexicans in the penitentiary have already made history and their names are already immortal. To help them win this fight is to revolutionize Mexico and write one of the greatest chapters in modern history. This fight is going to be won and the only question is shall we be to Magon what La Fayette was to Washington. It will be immeasurably to your credit and add immeasurably to your strength as a champion of the people to sound the battle cry in this fight and issue the command through the Appeal, in the name of the people, that the Mexican vultures shall keep their claws off the Mexican leaders when they are released or take the consequences, and if they attempt through their hounds to drive them back to prison we will start something that will make every plute think hell is popping all around him.

Had great meeting here last night. It was a master stroke. Stirred the whole community. Every body is talking about it this morning. Strong local will now be organized here. All kinds of strange rumors in circulation when we arrived. Local chairman fluked at the last moment, afraid to go on the stage Brewer had to act as chairman and he did it in rich brown style. It did not take us long to get in action and we were loaded for anything from a chipmunk to a rhinoceros. They tried to prevent the meeting³ and threats were made that it should not be held but it was held, there was a great audience and after we got fairly started they began to cheer and towards the last we carried them by storm. You can bet the dung, entrails and

feathers flew when we went through Grosscup's record and there was not a chirp from the few friends of his⁴ who were there and it is good for them that they had sense enough to keep quiet under the castigation for we were in the right mood to skin anything from head to toe nails that smelled of Grosscup. This meeting has been a center shot. Grosscup will hear from it, the people are stirred, organization will follow and there will be a great harvest of good results. Will write you in regard to the meeting for the Appeal. This is only for your private eye.

Yours always,
DEBS.

P.S. If you take command in this fight for the Mexicans, draw your sword, and issue your battle cry, in your present situation, yourself under sentence, it will be the most inspiring example in history and the effect of it will be incalculable, both upon the movement in general and yourself in particular. When we are ready the first page of the Appeal could be covered with a clarion cry that would awaken the world? Think it over and when we meet we can consummate the plans and open the ball.

TLS, CtU, Fred Warren Papers.

1. During a strike at the Cananea Consolidated Copper Company in June 1906, Arizona Ranger Captain Thomas Rynning led a group of 275 armed "volunteers" across the Mexican border at Naco, Arizona, to "suppress the rioting." According to the *Appeal* (March 19, 1910), Rynning was appointed by Taft as superintendent of the Arizona prison "as a reward" for his services.

2. Warren's own case continued to dominate the columns of the *Appeal* until the end of May 1910, when it announced (May 28) that "in resuming this fight [for the imprisoned Mexican exiles] the *Appeal*, is merely continuing its contest with the federal courts," particularly its campaign to secure the impeachment of Judges Pollock and Grosscup.

3. The local committee in Ashland had rented the "opera house" for \$30 for the Debs meeting and was later offered \$150 to "surrender the house," but it refused.

4. Grosscup was born in Ashland, Ohio, and practiced law there from 1873 to 1883.

EVD to Fred D. Warren

February 3, 1910
Findlay, Ohio

My dear Fred:

Great meeting here last night and the crowd was full of the real fire. In the boxes & parquet were 35 old men, graybeards, from 70

to 75 years of age, nearly all Lincoln Republicans, who have joined the movement and it was a sight that would have been good for your eyes. When I discussed your case the fire flashed from their eyes and you could see that the old soldiers among them were ready to again seize their rifles, if necessary, and march forth to battle once more for the overthrow of slavery.

When this trip is completed Ohio will be lined up for action and the Appeal will have here one of its richest fields and greatest strongholds.

Yours always
E. V. Debs

Brewer is getting beyond my control. These great meetings set him wild

ALS, CtU, Fred Warren Papers.

EVD to Robert Hunter

February 4, 1910
En route, Ohio

My Dear Robert:—

Yours of the 27th ult. has overtaken me here and I have read it carefully. Unfortunately I am under such pressure on this long ~~extended~~ speaking trip that I cannot ~~begin to~~ answer as I wish. Time forbids. I must come straight to the point. If my letter to Simons was a blow in {your} face your mixing with the fakirs at Toronto¹ was a blow in the face of the whole Socialist movement. Understand me, I not only do not object to your working on the rank and file of the {A.F. of L.,} but I would encourage you in every possible way and on a thousand occasions I have commended you and your work, quoted you in my speeches and given you full credit for your splendid services. But I draw the line sharp and clean on the traitors and fakirs who are running the A.F. of L in the interest of the capitalists. As now constituted the A.F. of L. does not run its officers but its officers run it. Gompers is the boss and he is kept where he is by the capitalists whose slaves dumbly do their masters' bidding and it is made unanimous, sad to say, by a few Socialists whose antics {at} each convention, in slobbering over Gompers and being puked on in return by him, would make angels weep. Berger's performances in this connection have been disgraceful and contemptible beyond words and you are

at perfect liberty to use this statement as you wish for I have no private opinion in these matters that the rank and file are not entitled to know.

It is only necessary for Gompers, the miserable traitor and coward, to say to the other fakirs at a convention that the capitalists tried to bribe him to have them shed their regulation tears, the size of horseballs, and on the inner circle of this group are the Socialists, arch-suckers that they are, the first and freakiest in raising Gompers' salary and making his election unanimous. If this is not contemptible and disgusting to the last degree, to put it mildly, I don't know what it is unless it is treason to the working class. For alleged revolutionary Leaders {to} honey around and mix up with such arch-traitors as run the A.F. of L. conventions is absolutely inexcusable and the time is near when they will be held accountable for it. It is this very thing that confounds and confuses the rank and file, muddles the situation and makes our already difficult task next to impossible; and it is this very thing that will result in the launching of a union labor party and when it comes such Socialists as attend A.F. of L. conventions and mix with Gompers and his gang will be largely responsible for it.

When you and Simons go to an A.F. of L. convention you are identified with and become a part of it and you have got to take the consequences. I have heard you both condemned over and over again by party comrades who have hitherto held you in the highest esteem. You maintain at least a semi-friendly relation with Gompers, Mitchell and other tools of the capitalist class and in that you cannot justify yourself as a revolutionist to save your life. Gompers is the deadly enemy of my class and so is Mitchell, and I am theirs. Between us there can be nothing but war and I want them to distinctly understand it and when they launch their Civic-Federationized fake labor party, which they have just announced, I will hit it just as hard as I can and as often, and I will make Gompers and Mitchell face the issue or drive them off the platform, and the rank and file will trust me because I have not been hand in glove with them, not affiliated with them at their fakir conventions as you and Simons have done, thus at least implying some degree of tolerance and sanction for their attitude and policy.

I am for clear cut action and uncompromising tactics. I do not propose to try to win the intimidated rank and file of the A.F. of L. by publicly pandering {to their} corrupt bosses. For you personally

my feeling remains unchanged but you have made a mistake, and so has Simons, and the time will come when you will realize it.

Yours aye
[Eugene V. Debs]

TLC, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. The AFL convention was held in Toronto in November 1909.

EVD to Fred D. Warren

February 8, 1910
Canton, Ohio

My dear Fred:

Yrs recd. Your Mexican program is *just the thing*. I heartily concur. You are absolutely right. We will turn loose just as you say & it will be time enough & allow for the completion of present work.

Your letter gave me unspeakable joy. I *knew* your response would be right—that it could not be otherwise

Have to dash this off with a score of comrades pressing about me for attention.

Yours always
E. V. D

ALS, CtU, Fred Warren Papers.

William English Walling to EVD

February 12, 1910
New York City

My dear Mr. Debs:—

On the same page of this morning's Call with the announcement of the election of the new Executive Committee is Morris Braun's proposal,¹ accepted by the C.F.U., to inaugurate a Labor Party—a proposal which he makes *as a Socialist* on the ground that the Socialist leaders of this country are *unanimously* in favor of it. I enclose the first page of the Call. This is only one more of the outrages and insults put upon you.

We all get into the habit of speaking optimistically to people who

are either so ignorant or so weak that we suspect that they may not have the strength to hold out. Men who have confidence in themselves and one another and whose enthusiasm cannot be questioned, ought rather, it seems to me, to be pessimistic. The greater the obstacle, the more energy is put forth to conquer it by the right kind of men; so I hope my pessimism may only stir you to still greater efforts than the magnificent ones you have been making for so many years.

The recent elections to the National Executive seem to me to be as bad as they could possibly be.

1: The worst possible man headed the poll, and the rest of the order was exactly the reverse of what it should have been.²

2: The election consists in a complete vindication of your opponents since they must have secured under this election system approximately three-fourths of the votes.

3: The best member of the Executive Committee, Work,³ was defeated; while Simons, the best of our opponents, was the only one not elected. If my letter had anything to do with the result, this proves that a large part of the rank and file of the party are fools, for it reflected infinitely more discredit on the others than it did on Simons, who at least had the courage of his convictions.

4: I notice that five out of the seven members of the Executive Committee come from the Eastern Coast,⁴ where Socialism cast only two per cent of the total vote; one comes from the Middle West,⁵ where four or five per cent is the rule; while the far West, the mountains and the Pacific Coast are represented by only one individual,⁶ though the Socialist vote varies from five to ten per cent in that region. (The Atlantic Coast has less than $\frac{1}{3}$ the party membership, and less than $\frac{1}{4}$ the vote!).

The result is, however, as I predicted to Stokes, Slobodin⁷ and others. There has been no machinery used on our side, no wire-pulling, and no campaign of slander. It will probably appear that not more than half of the rank and file had voted. It is true also that they had a "ticket" whereas our vote was scattered. But this affords cold consolation. You and your kind will never stoop to machine methods, you will never have a "ticket," and you will never get out a full vote in party members.

I suppose there is little doubt in your mind that the "trimmers" will control the coming convention in June. I notice that the majority of the state secretaries are on their side, and since they control both the Daily Socialist⁸ and the Call, as well as the Executive Committee, and the Appeal to Reason has so little influence, it seems to me that the part of militant and at the same time far-sighted revolutionaries is to prepare for the worst.

The best people in the party are with you, but they will not stoop to political manouvering and so will be of little value. With the Call and the Daily Socialist hammering on the other side from day to day, things are likely to grow worse rather than better. Is it not time that the revolutionaries became less weakly optimistic? Much as I admire Stokes, Bohn, Myers and Slobodin, I feel that they all have this fault in common. Ought not they to be inspired with a more *serious* view?

As far as I am concerned, I am as bitterly and absolutely opposed to the "Socialism" of Victor Berger and Robert Hunter as I am to the trade unionism of Gompers or the politics of Hearst.⁹ In fact, as bourgeois reformers, if that is to be the game, I find the latter far superior.

Fraternally yours,
[William English Walling]

TLC, WHi, Walling Papers.

1. Morris Braun was treasurer of the Central Federated Union in New York City. On February 11, 1910, the union voted to appeal to Gompers to organize a National Labor party, "modeled on the lines of the British Labor Party."

2. Robert Hunter, who led the poll in the national executive committee election, was followed by Victor Berger, Morris Hillquit, John Spargo, George H. Goebel of New Jersey, Lena Morrow Lewis of California, and James F. Carey of Massachusetts.

3. John M. Work (1869-1961) was a delegate from Iowa to the founding convention of the Socialist party in 1901 and served as national secretary of the party from 1911 to 1913. From 1917 to 1942 he was in charge of the editorial page of the *Milwaukee Leader*.

4. Hunter, Hillquit, Spargo, Goebel, and Carey.

5. Berger.

6. Lewis.

7. Harry L. Slobodin (1866-1951) was a New York attorney and for a time national secretary of the Socialist Labor party before joining the Socialist party in 1901. His articles on socialist affairs appeared regularly in the *New York Call* until 1917, when he broke with the party on the war issue.

8. The *Chicago Daily Socialist* was being edited by Algie Simons.

9. William Randolph Hearst (1863-1951) served in Congress from New York from 1903 to 1907 and was considered as a possible Democratic party candidate for president in 1904. As an independent reform candidate, he ran unsuccessfully for mayor of New York City in 1905, for governor of New York in 1906, and again for mayor of New York City in 1909.

EVD to Theodore Debs

February 13, 1910

Pottsville, Pennsylvania

My dear old Pard:

Great house here last night—packed, standing room & all & running over into the halls & sidewalks.

Here is where the Molly Maguires¹ were hanged—stood on the spot & saw the gallows.

This will be my last letter till I see you. Hell at Phila—don't know what I'll run into there²—maybe riot and jail. Hope not.

A thousand big kisses to you all.

Your old pard
Eugene

ALS, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. The Molly Maguires were accused and convicted of terrorizing the anthracite coal region of Pennsylvania during the decade following the Civil War. Infiltrated by Pinkerton agents, the Mollies were accused of responsibility for a variety of violent crimes, including the murder of company officers, and in a series of sensational trials between 1875 and 1877, twenty-four members were convicted and ten of them were hanged. On June 21, 1877, "Pennsylvania's Day with the Rope," six Mollies were hanged in Pottsville, Pennsylvania.

2. Debs spoke at Labor Lyceum Hall in Philadelphia on February 22, 1910, during a bitter streetcar workers' strike in that city.

EVD to Max Ehrmann

February 15, 1910

New Castle, Pennsylvania

My Dear Friend:—

I have your more than kind letter and thank you for it warmly. I have been sending you an occasional paper thinking it might be of interest to you and I am glad to know you have found them so. Believe me I appreciate fully each kind word your letter contains and I have for you the same warm feeling you have always shown for me. The suggestion you make in reference to my biography interests me although I can hardly persuade myself that it is worth the while. I believe with Ingersoll that a life should be lived before it is written. When mine is over there may not be enough in it to claim biographical attention. However, on my return I shall be glad to talk it over with

you as you suggest. When I was home last I thought we might have you with us an evening but the days went by and I was so busy that before I knew it the time was up and I had to make my usual break for the train. I have read with great interest the printed matter enclosed by you and appreciate your kindness in including my name in the list of your friends. You already have a permanent place in literature but you are going to enlarge it for your greater work still awaits you. With all loving regards and hoping all your fondest dreams may be fully realized I am

Yours always,
Eugene V. Debs

TLS, InGrD, Archives, Ehrmann Papers.

EVD to Fred D. Warren

February 15, 1910
Youngstown, Ohio

My Dear Fred:—

Yours with Turner's¹ received. Hurrah! This is truly a providential stroke for the Appeal and for us all and especially for the Socialist movement. It can and must be made the biggest thing ever sprung. The revolutionary gods themselves must have prepared this opening. All the conditions are on tiptoe for it. Am champing at the bits already. Would like to knock off right now and jump into the ring for my part of it. I can read Turner's great heart in every line of his letter. I catch the spirit and it fills and thrills me. This exactly fits my ideas and will enable us to make the fight on an issue that will arouse the world and {on} lines that will lead to victory. Will send the letter to Shoaf as requested. The matter will be treated confidentially. This is as it should be. This big gun must be fired on the enemy as a total surprise like a crashing bolt from the smiling blue. I am fairly itching to get into this fight. I am snorting like Job's war horse of old that sniffed the battle from afar and threw up his head and tail in eager anticipation of the glory of being in the thick of it. Brewer can hardly stick to the typewriter. He would rather be pulling a trigger or swinging a shillalah than pounding the prosaic keys. The war that's in the air is as stimulating as old wine. Not much chance to write. About a peck of letters here and every second has a string to it. Your fight will beautifully lead up to the Mexican fight and the Mexican fight will broaden into the American fight and the American fight is the fight

of the world and we are going to win 'em all. I would hate like hell to be dead at such a time as this. I'm just twenty five this morning and feel {like} a ton of wild cats. The American's craven cowardice is the Appeal's golden opportunity. What an object lesson! The American little dreams that it has dug its {own} grave and that in another month it will rot and stink. There never was such a perfect combination giving us all the chances and offering the whole world as a prize. When I see you we'll go over the situation. My pen will be inspired in that fight. Every drop of my blood and every cell in my brain tell me so.

Yours for victory,
Debs.

TLS, CtU, Fred Warren Papers.

1. John Kenneth Turner (1879-1948) was a free-lance journalist whose articles on "Barbarous Mexico" began to appear in the *American Magazine* in October 1909. The series was suspended by the *American* a few months later and in its May 28, 1910, issue the *Appeal* picked up the Turner articles. In "How the American Press Is Throttled," the opening article in the series on Mexico, Turner charged the *American* with the "virtual suppression of "Barbarous Mexico."

EVD to Peter Witt¹

February 15, 1910
New Castle, Pennsylvania

My Dear Peter:—

Your good letter has just reached me. Each word has been read with interest and appreciation. Your criticism of my speech is right and I heartily approve it. My wife, had she been present, would have thanked you for your candor. She has often said just what you have told me and I know she is right and that you are right but there are times when it seem impossible to keep within the bounds of calmness and discreet expression. In discussing such corrupt judges as Grosscup and Pollock it vexes one sorely to find decent words with which to characterize them. And yet you are right in regard to the effect upon the audience and I am glad you have written just as you have.

I have never seen much of you and yet I have somehow always known that you were sound to the core, that you were clean and brave and wholesome, and I have always loved you. I remember that years ago you were kind and loyal when it meant something to be so and I have always had a warm spot in my heart for Pete Witt.²

I return the old letter signed as requested. It recalls a flood of memories. Sometime I hope we can have time enough together to talk it all over. Give my loving regards to Mrs. Witt whom I was happy to meet and count me

Yours always
Eugene V. Debs

TLS, OCLWHi, Witt Papers.

1. Peter Witt (1869-1948) was a Cleveland traction commissioner and consultant with a keen interest in political and social reform. He was best known in Cleveland for the annual town meetings, at which he presided, and for the sharp wit with which he challenged the meetings' guest speakers.

2. In November 1895 during Debs's imprisonment in Woodstock, Witt wrote to Debs to ask if he could accept a speaking engagement "celebrating Lincoln day." In a letter dated November 4, 1895, Debs told Witt that he would "try to give you a date as requested but [could] not promise at this time." InTI, Debs Collection.

Reginald Wright Kauffman¹ to EVD

February 17, 1910
New York City

Dear Comrade Debs:—

Here, after several years of hardy study, is what I hope will at least not prove hard reading—my "What is Socialism?". It isn't heavy, you'll see that at a glance—but it is a sincere attempt to "tell in simple language" what it has cost me considerable sacrifice to acquire and what, once acquired, has proved of inestimable intellectual value.

I have ventured to dedicate it to you and John D. as the best representatives of the two camps, and, though I may seem to begin with Rockefeller—in order not to frighten the uninitiated—I think that you'll find that I end with Debs and that I stand by my conclusion!

Won't you let me have your opinion?

Very truly yours,
Reginald Wright Kauffman

TLS, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. Reginald Wright Kauffman (1877-1959) was a poet, novelist, and for a time editor of *Hampton's Magazine*. In *What Is Socialism?* (1910) Kauffman tried to distinguish between "real socialism and the innumerable shams under the head of socialism."

EVD to Fred D. Warren

February 18, 1910

Greensburg, Pennsylvania

My Dear Fred:—

Grosscup is leaving the country¹ and Phillipps² is to resign. The Appeal has done it. Let me suggest that you make that claim at once and make it big. Also announce that if Grosscup is expecting to stay away only long enough to quiet public clamor he does not know the Appeal. Serve notice that the Appeal will camp on his trail whether he is in Egypt or Illinois until he has been driven from the bench he has disgraced. Serve notice that the Appeal will have a public reception awaiting him on his return and that the public sentiment aroused by the Appeal will be fanned into greater fury if he expects to continue on the federal bench. Nothing {less} than his retirement in disgrace will satisfy the Appeal or the people. He has had his day and it has been a long one and now the people will have theirs and the Appeal will see to it that they don't fall asleep. The return of Grosscup must be watched by the Appeal and his entry to Chicago must be proclaimed by the Appeal and made the signal for protest demonstrations. The Appeal has him going and there must be no let up until he is off the bench. That will be something. It will show the power of the Appeal and it will make other judicial lepers tremble in their wigs. We are not after Grosscup personally, but we are after the judge and when we have the judge we will let the individual sink into oblivion. The announcement of the Appeal should be positive and ringing on this point. Let me suggest that you make the clear and emphatic statement that it is war to the death between the Appeal and Grosscup and Pollock and other judicial corruptionists and that the Appeal will not rest until they are driven from the bench or the Appeal itself is dead.

Enclosed I hand you a copy of an editorial which appeared in a recent issue of the *Western Laborer* published at Omaha. It is {a} union labor paper of considerable circulation for a labor paper and I think the reproduction of this article would appeal in some measure to trade unions and union men and by that means help to make our lecture tour a success. I am hopeful that in the progress of this agitation we may secure dates under the auspices of progressive labor unions as well as Socialist locals and the article I enclose is calculated to break down the prejudice which so many unionists have against Socialism. In many places there are no Socialist locals but there are labor unions that might arrange meetings for us and it would be a foregone conclusion that where we address such a meeting we would establish a

local and give the Appeal a circulation. The article is somewhat flattering personally and I don't wish you to print it on my own account. If you don't think it will be helpful to us in our work leave it out.

We are bucking a snow storm right straight along and beating it to a standstill at its own game. Every house is crowded to the doors. All hell—and that's the coke regions—can't keep the people away. They are simply mobbing us with their enthusiasm and their subscriptions. Brewer has a sad and tired look just selling books. This is the most successful trip for propaganda I have ever had any part in. I believe the results will be large and lasting.

Yours always,
Debs.

TLS, CtU, Fred Warren Papers.

1. In February 1910, Judge Peter Grosscup left for a tour of Europe and Africa, a trip that, according to the *Appeal* (February 26, 1910), was motivated by Grosscup's hope of avoiding impeachment proceedings.

2. John Finis Philips (1834-1919) was a federal district court judge in the Western District of Missouri from 1888 to 1910. His retirement in 1910, the *Appeal* claimed (February 26, 1910), was "a mighty shrewd way to avoid impeachment" for, among other charges made by the *Appeal* against Philips, accepting fishing trips and other gifts from railroads involved in litigation in his court.

EVD to Fred D. Warren

March 1, 1910

Terre Haute, Indiana

My dear Fred:—

Enclosed find a couple of editorials, one in the Fort Wayne News which shows by the {testy} spirit of it that we are getting next to the capitalist cuticle, and the other, a more serious one, in the Peoria Star, a paper of the character of the K.C. Star and one of the most widely circulated in this section. It goes to show that we are stirring up the people and that our efforts can no longer be ignored.

The closing paragraph in the Star article which says we must *attack the system and not the man* is worthy of reproduction and comment. We {have} to attack the system through the man and we attack the man only as represents the system. It would be a fine state of affairs if we preserved silence, as the capitalist papers do, while rotten judges reveled in filth, and we said not a word about them or their conduct. You might say too that these capitalist papers are beautifully inconsistent when they exhort us to attack the system and not the man.

Ask them if they act on their own advice when they deal with socialists. If the socialist happens to get a divorce he is attacked in screaming headlines as a free lover. If a socialist agitator tumbles over a rye straw he is attacked without mercy, but a capitalist judge may go on a prolonged debauch as the guest of railroad corporations but we must not say one word about it for it would be wrong, you know, to attack the man. The simple fact is that it depends altogether upon who the man is. If he is a corporation lickspittle and stands for capitalism he must not be attacked, but if he is a socialist and opposes the murderous system corner-stoned in prostitution called capitalism, attack him without mercy, invade his private life and tear him limb from limb, for nothing too vile can be said about him. This is capitalist consistency based upon bourgeois morals. To the contrary and notwithstanding we will continue to go after the Grosscupps, Pollocks et al until we have driven them into oblivion and in the meantime we will be hammering away at the rotten system that spawns such degenerates and foists them on the public to look solemn in their high seats in the temples of justice while their pockets bulge with the price of their venality and corruption.

The other two clippings are in regard to our Philadelphia meeting, from the Inquirer and North American respectively, and contain some good stuff from which you can make an extract or two if you care.

Yours always
Debs

TLS, CtU, Fred Warren Papers.

EVD to Fred D. Warren

March 2, 1910

[Terre Haute, Indiana]

My dear Fred:—

Enclosed find a couple of short articles for the Appeal. Do with them as you wish.

Ask Glenn, the great authority on astronomy, what it is that keeps the moon in space without any visible means of support. After he has guessed awhile tell him *its beams*, of course. Then laugh heartily and watch Glenn narrowly and you will have a little fun at the expense of the astronomer.

Boydie has the measles and is so broken out that he looks like an Apache squaw at a ghost dance. I have been poking fun at him and

he has sworn vengeance as soon as he can escape from the reservation. The doctor, however, keeps a pretty close watch on him and I am reasonably safe, especially as I am heavily armed and on the alert for any flank attack. Wish I could have Glenn and Karl and Max all here with Boydie. We would raise hallelujah in fourteen chapters and wind up with all being arrested. Loving remembrance to you, all around your happy board!

Yours always
DEBS

TLS, CtU, Fred Warren Papers.

EVD to Fred D. Warren

March 3, 1910

Terre Haute, Indiana

I wish to make special request that the enclosed article¹ be published and if possible placed on the fourth page. It is carefully written and as carefully digested. The socialists, so-called, who were delegates at the miners' convention and voted for the Civic Federation must be rebuked. Discipline demands it. The party will suffer if it is not done. Gildea,² one of the officials of the miners, and a socialist who was in the convention, told me this act of cowardice and treachery on the part of the socialists had disgusted the delegates who are ready to become socialists and had largely discredited socialism among the miners. Just before this vote {in} which certain socialists stood by the Civic Federation a photograph of the socialist delegates had been taken and one of them tore up his photograph and said he would be damned if he would have his picture among a lot of traitors. The Appeal is the paper to speak out upon this matter. There is nothing to lose in being fearless and honest and outspoken in such a matter. There is everything to lose by preserving a cowardly silence in a professedly revolutionary organization. The enclosed article is right in principle and {sound} in tactics. I will stake my reputation on it. Not a point can be scored against it by anybody. It is bullet proof and it will be applauded all over the mining regions by the men who are now disgusted because the Civic Federation was saved to the mine owners by the votes and influence of socialists. This article will clarify the atmosphere, revive confidence and at the same time make these recreant socialists account to {their} betrayed constituents. This kind of an attitude conforms to the Appeal's general policy under your

direction; the policy which demands that the truth shall be spoken about socialists as well as others when they are weak, or cowardly, or treacherous, and it is this policy that inspires the confidence and respect of the workers and makes the Appeal a tower of strength among the people.

Yours always
Debs

TLS, CtU, Fred Warren Papers.

1. In the article "Socialists and the Civic Federation" (*Appeal*, March 12, 1910), Debs attacked John Mitchell's "puerile plea" at the UMWA convention in Indianapolis for the union's support of the Civic Federation and particularly denounced the socialist delegates to the convention who had voted in favor of the federation.

2. Charles P. Gildea was a national organizer and executive board member of the UMW from Pennsylvania. In 1906 he was the Socialist party candidate for lieutenant governor of that state.

EVD to Fred D. Warren

March 7, 1910
Terre Haute, Indiana

My dear Fred:—

Yours received. It is full and running over with kindness. Thank you warmly. Glad you have closed with Turner and that everything is O.K. for the Mexican fight. Do not in the least doubt it will be the most deadly material ever belched from the Appeal's batteries. It will take in the whole administration, especially Taft, and the fight will have its strongest element in its being international, wiping out the boundry line and making the fight a common one between the working class and the plutocracy. The dramatic element will not be lacking. Turner's turndown by the American and his pick-up by the Appeal must be treated in masterly style, to bring out all there is in it. Exit American, degenerate betrayer of the people; enter Appeal brave champion of their cause!

Your figure about the gods and the Appeal is alright. I had a wireless from one of them countersigning your declaration of war on Taft, Diaz and the plutes and OK.ing your battle plans. All the gods of

high Olympus and old Mars himself are smiling down grimly and saying, "give 'em hell." Count on me to a finish.

Yours
DEBS

Pls. tell Walter¹ to send my next check to *Cumberland Md.*

TLS, CtU, Fred Warren Papers.

1. Walter Hurt.

EVD to Fred D. Warren

March 12, 1910

Terre Haute, Indiana

My dear Fred:—

The editor of the Daily News of Des Moines asked for the enclosed article but I think he got cold feet when he saw it. At least I have not seen the article in print. I think it worth producing in the Appeal with an explanatory note so I have put it in shape, ready for the printer, so you will have no trouble with it, and I wish you would give it space in the Appeal.¹

I also enclose a little article in reference to a preacher² who said I ought to be hung as a traitor for my Philadelphia speech and that he would be glad to pull the rope. He has the better of some of his brethren of the cloth in that he speaks out boldly just as he feels. The plutes ought to make him a substantial allowance for his patriotism. Of course this preacher regards the looters of Philidelphia and the degenerate officials who are braining children on the streets as the most illustrious patriots.

Am just getting ready to leave. Have a card from Brewer saying that he will be on the same train that I take out of here. Fear there will be bloodshed. Boydie is already patrolling the tracks heavily armed—with a toy pistol—and swears he will shoot on sight and perforate the first set of smoked alfalfa whiskers that looms up in the gloaming. Brewer and Boydie are deadly enemies you know and I tremble to think of the encounter. Better advise Mrs. Brewer to prepare for the worst.

Please say to Mrs. Brewer that I have just received her immediate delivery letter regarding dates for Maine in September. Will answer the letter at first point along the road where we have a chance to write.

Must now spring a little matter on you that will turn you green with envy, blue with disappointment and purple with rage in a jiffy. Have a letter from a comrade in Arizona who informs me that he has named his burro after me. I'll bet a billion that with all your alleged fame you can't boast a burro named after you in all the world. Break the news to "Push"—gently. He will appreciate the pathos of it and walk around to Creel's henroost and weep in dejection and despair.

Good bye and love's happiest greeting to you all!

GENE

Boydie wants me to thank you warmly for having the copies of the "Boytown Railroad" sent to him. They were recd. in good order and while Boydie was laid up with the measles he matured all his plans to organize a "Boytown Club" etc. & he is now actively at work in his Boytown company

TLS, CtU, Fred Warren Papers.

1. Debs's article, "What I Would Do If I Were President," was described as "a little too pointed for our capitalist papers" and printed in the March 26, 1910, issue of the *Appeal*.

2. Warren printed an article, "Blessed Are the Merciful" (*Appeal*, March 26, 1910), in which he quoted "a New Jersey preacher" who volunteered "to officiate at the other end of the rope" in Debs's hanging and suggested that the clergyman's congregation give "a hangman's halter as the proper symbol of his meek and merciful office."

EVD to Fred D. Warren

March 22, 1910

New York City

My Dear Fred:—

The enclosed poem sent to me by Mrs. Brewer has been read with real appreciation. It has the divine fire in it and you should by all means publish it. Don't let your modesty stand in the way of giving it the space it deserves in the *Appeal*, not so much on your own account as for the stimulating effect such lines have upon the workers in the ranks.

Enclosed find a little editorial. Will not attempt to write more than to say that we are alright. Tomorrow we will write you the May Day Demonstration article. Brewer has told me what you want. I had not lost sight of it and was only waiting for the right time and for the

spirit to move. This ought to be an appeal that will arouse and we will try to make it so.¹

Shoaf has done great work at Philadelphia, serving as Mahon's² secretary and putting out the hot and vital stuff that has kept the strike in fighting form and trim. Our meeting there was a most remarkable one and we stirred them to the highest pitch but from reports of the present situation the outlook is not very cheering for a decisive victory. Still, the fight is bound to have its good results.

Yours always,
DEBS.

Also enclose a circulation article³

TLS, CtU, Fred Warren Papers.

1. "Debs Strikes" appeared in the May 7, 1910, *Appeal*.

2. William D. Mahon (1861-1949) was president of the Street and Electric Railway Employees Union.

3. In "Bullseye" (*Appeal*, April 16, 1910), Debs noted that the *Appeal's* circulation had grown to 400,000 and that "each new sub means another nail in the profit system's casket."

EVD to Grace D. Brewer

March 23, 1910

New York City

Dear Comrade Brewer:—

Your note of the 17th has been received. All you say is noted with interest and satisfaction. More than glad that all is serene at the temple. Thank you for enclosing the note from the comrade about the baby's name. Do not doubt but the managing editor looked green-eyed. But it is all off with him. He is no longer a rival since I have a military title. He will have to go to Monett or elsewhere and get a reputation before I can fool away any further time on him.

Please send me at once here to New York City, Gen'l Delivery, a copy of my book which I wish to inscribe and give to a comrade here.

As to placing another order for my book George and I both think that 1000 copies should be ordered now.¹ Later we can see about placing further orders. If you can find out how long it will be after the order is placed before the books are ready for delivery we can determine with more accuracy the number of books which should be ordered.

No further halls have been burned since last report.² Since that

affair at Cumberland George has not been traveling in advance and this may explain some. However, we are after bigger game than mere fires. We are figuring on an earth quake with a few cyclones on the side. There is no doubt that our combination is rattling the earth a little and that since we landed our solar plexus on the eastern appendix the old planet has tilted a bit and is somewhat sprung at the axis. Halley's comet has shrunk to the size of a moth ball since our combination was launched into space. Give our love to all the comrades. Hope Creel³ may soon be on his pedals again. Be sure to say to him for George and me that we are with him with all our hearts and earnestly hoping to hear of his speedy and complete recovery. Too bad, this affliction has come upon him. But with the coming of the sun shine and the spring time he will surely soon be up and out and at himself again. There is no hope for Push. He is inoculated with the virus of Billiken and afflictions simply will not go near him or roost anywhere near his premises. No wonder he is getting fat and defiant. Would like to look in to the old corner for just a minute or two. My heart is often there moseying around in the spots sweet to my memory and caressing the good comrades who will be dear to me to the end of my days.

George is as tickled over his new typewriter as a boy would be with a pair of new red topped boots. He is chuckling to himself all the time he is fondling the keys. Can't be blamed for that because it {is} sure enough a little darling and right on to the job every second. Little Sammy was with us for a few hours yesterday. This fine little soul of the ghetto remembers you all with a heart full of gratitude. George dug him up out of the awful chaos of the east side and made him very happy for at least a little while. We hope this finds you cheerful and all things coming your way.

Yours faithfully,
E. V. Debs

TLS (with typed signature), MiDW, Archives of Labor History and Urban Affairs, Brewer Collection.

1. The *Appeal* regularly advertised the sale of *Debs: His Life, Writings and Speeches* at \$3 for five copies, \$10 for twenty copies.

2. On March 14, 1910, the Academy of Music at Cumberland, Maryland, was "burned to the ground a few hours before Debs' meeting," which was canceled.

3. Herr Lee Glessner Creel was a writer on the *Appeal* staff, best known for his *Prostitution for Profit: A Police Reporter's View of the White Slave Traffic*, which was published in 1911.

EVD to Theodore Debs

April 4, 1910

Rochester, New York

My dear old Pard:

Had a perfectly magnificent meeting here in the opera house yesterday afternoon. A wonderful triumph in every way. A troop of little girls & boys in white walked on the stage & presented me with a huge bouquet of red carnations in long red ribbons & then each of them handed me a separate flower as they filed by. It was a touching scene—the audience was first moved to tears and then shook the building with applause. Am going to place the flowers on the grave of Susan B. Anthony¹ this morning before leaving for Buffalo. Comrade Mrs. Kennan,² a woman who looks much like Kate, is going with me. You met her here on the Red Special—she's a noble woman. Five days more old pard & I'll be with you—& I'll be happy indeed.

Love & my hooks about your hide. Your old pard

Eugene

ALS, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. As a young man active in the Terre Haute Occidental Literary Club, Debs had been responsible for Susan B. Anthony's (1820-1906) appearance in Terre Haute and had been strongly impressed by the suffragist's cool courage and single-minded dedication to her cause.

2. Mable I. Kennan was a longtime associate of Anthony in the woman suffrage movement and a leader in the Rochester Labor Lyceum. Her account of "Eugene V. Debs in Rochester" appeared in the *Chicago Socialist* on April 11, 1910.

EVD to Claude G. Bowers

April 13, 1910

Terre Haute, Indiana

My dear Friend:—

I read your beautiful lecture on Burns¹ and wish to send you this word of thanks and appreciation. A marked copy of the paper containing the lecture was sent to me by my brother while I was East and I felt then that I should drop you a line but the passing days were all so crowded that I could not find the time. Your interpretation of the character of Burns and of his democracy is not only clear and illuminating but truly poetic and if his spiritual ears are attuned to

what is now said of him he must have smiled indeed when your lecture was delivered. So many well meant but stupid apologies have been made for Burns because of his so-called infirmities of character that it is refreshing to hear of him exactly as he was by one whose own poetic nature enables him to understand that if Burns had not been exactly as he was, singing or sighing, in love or in liquor, he could not have been Burns at all.

With thanks and congratulations I am as ever

Yours cordially
Eugene V. Debs

TLS, InU, Lilly Library, Bowers MSS.

1. Bowers's lecture on "The Religion of Robert Burns" was given at the Presbyterian church in Sullivan, Indiana, on March 13, 1910. The *Terre Haute Star* (March 14, 1910) reported that Bowers interpreted Burns as having been "against intolerance . . . not against the religion of Christ."

EVD to Theodore Debs

May 8, 1910

Fort Smith, Arkansas

My dear old Pard:

Grand meeting here last night. See paper. An old schoolmate of yours is in my room—in salvation army suit—English¹ by name—used to live out on E. Main—knows you & the whole gang well. Left there in 1879.

A young miner was in my room last night—one of the brightest I've ever known. He said, "the most beautiful article that ever appeared in the Appeal was about the home by the wayside, beginning with quotation from Homer—and it "must have been written by you"—I remembered the article quite well & answered, "No, that article was written by my brother Theodore"—and so it was. You doubtless remember it. That was a beautiful tribute from one you've never seen. That's how we touch and mould the lives of others & that's how the seed produced the flower, & the acorn the oak.

This will be my last till I see you. Hope you're all happy.

Kisses from your old pard
Eugene

ALS, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. The *Terre Haute* city directories for the 1870s list only Charles English, a carpenter.

EVD to James Oneal

May 9, 1910
Texarkana, Texas

My dear "Jim"

Yours recd. You go to the convention¹—it is not at all probable that I shall be able to attend. You & Reynolds² will do the work.

Am most interested in your book³—and in your work generally. Shall be glad if I can help the book along. Success to all you undertake! Things are moving and the future grows brighter every day. Shall be more than glad to see you. Loving regards to you and Jud⁴ and all good wishes from

Yours always
E. V. Debs

ALS, TxU, Holl MSS.

1. The Socialist party's first national Congress was held in Chicago on May 15, 1910.

2. Oneal and Stephen M. Reynolds were Indiana delegates to the party congress in May.

3. Oneal's *The Workers in American History* was published in 1910.

4. Judson Oneal, James's brother.

EVD to Fred D. Warren

May 16, 1910
Terre Haute, Indiana

My dear Fred:—

Hearty congratulations! You acquitted yourself with true chivalry in the presence of your judges and your victory is complete.¹ The verdict is utterly without consequence. The case is already decided, emphatically and conclusively decided, in your favor. Watched you closely and followed you with every heart-beat as you stood before the Herods of the capitalist law. We are all prouder of you now than ever before, and even the best of us are inclined to envy you. The gods are surely training and tempering you as a Jove of Emancipation to hurl upon capitalist despotism the flaming thunderbolts of wrath and destruction.

Advanced sheet received the stuff is seething hot and the make-up admirable. Can suggest no improvement. Have corrected a slight error as per enclosed copy.

Check received. Many thanks!

The days before us invite to action as never before. The field is dazzlingly attractive and I don't see how any live human being can keep out of the fight.

Best love to you all.

Yours always
Debs

TLS, CtU, Fred Warren Papers.

1. On May 9, 1910, Warren's appeal was heard at the federal court of appeals in St. Paul, Minnesota. Warren's address to the three-judge panel was printed in the *Appeal* on May 21 and widely reprinted thereafter as a strong statement in defense of freedom of the press.

EVD to Fred D. Warren

May 17, 1910
Terre Haute, Indiana

My dear Fred:—

When I met you at Chicago I told you I had a little plan I wished to carry out but there was no chance to talk it over. I wish to repeat it now. I have at last secured a list of the secretaries of all the locals of miners in North America. It is not in print. I have the only copy and it is type-written and I have never been able to get it before. It was furnished to me confidentially and with the understanding that it is not to pass out of my hands. There are over 3000 of the addresses of these secretaries. They have never before been reached by the *Appeal* or any one else in any methodical or complete manner. I now propose to send to each of them the circular matter advertising my lectures on labor and I believe it will be possible, in fact I know it will, to secure many speaking engagements under their auspices. Now I propose in connection with this lecture matter to send two copies of different issues of the *Appeal* and a special subscription blank, since it will all go out under one cent postage. Now what I want you to do is, if you think it worth while to the *Appeal*, to send me \$40.00 to cover the postage etc.. Theo. and his little girl¹ will direct the wrappers and put up and mail the packages. It will take just about \$40.00 to cover the postage and wrappers. In other words, if you will furnish the postage at that end we will do the work and get the stuff out at this end. I believe it will be worth while all around and that it will have substantial results both as regards our lecture plans and sub-

scriptions to the Appeal. Now I may be mistaken and I don't want you to feel in the least bound to accept my views. You will have your own opinion based upon the suggestion as herein made and I want you to act in accordance with that opinion totally regardless of my own. If you agree with me you can stand the postage and Theodore can write to the Appeal from week to week for as many copies as he will need to send out under this arrangement. He has his regular work to do and his little girl can only help him after school, so that it will take some time to send them all out, but the work will be begun at once and each week a certain number will go out until the whole list has been covered, and I think this is better than if they were all covered at the same time. If you agree I can write to Ben² and tell him what kind of {a} subscription blank to print and how many, so you will have no further bother about the matter.

Now I am going to send the lecture stuff out anyway, on my own account, and the Appeal copies also if you care to furnish them, so that if you do not see your way clear to cover the postage for the Appeal it will be alright anyway for the matter will go out all the same and if there is anything in it it will not be lost.

Now, old man, do just as you please. If this don't strike you don't bother about it a second. Throw it aside without another thought. Whatever you do, favorable or otherwise, will have my hearty approval, the one as well as the other.

Yours always
Debs

TLS, CtU, Fred Warren Papers.

1. Marguerite Debs (Cooper).

2. Benjamin Franklin Wilson was a field organizer for the Socialist party in Kansas and staff member of the *Appeal*. In 1912 he was elected as a socialist to the Kansas state legislature from Crawford County (Girard).

EVD to Fred D. Warren

May 17, 1910

Terre Haute, Indiana

My dear Fred:—

Your of the 16th. is just received. Have gone through article enclosed and return it herewith. I have added a little at the close. The article as you had it was perfect, I think, and could not be improved.

Yes, I should have been only too glad to have been with you at St.

Paul. Your victory was complete. Poor little West!¹ He has completely vanished. His discomfiture must have been complete. He thought he was loaded for bear and did not even get a crack at a gallinipper. You outwitted the gang completely, left them holding the bag, and even the bag is hunting its hole. Bone² must have smelled a rat. Anyway, he was wise in {first} trying it on the dog by pushing West out as feeler, while he started for Texas.

Glad you are feeling so fine. There is some mighty tall fighting ahead. The Mexican cases are next on the schedule and we will have to get into action and call them hard if they undertake to carry out their damnable program. Oscar Lawler³ is adding fresh stinks to his name every day. The kind of fame he has been achieving would choke a decent skunk with its stench. The time will come when he will get his in full for his dirty work in climbing up to the touchhole of power over the broken bodies and blasted lives of the victims of his perfidy.

Enclosed you will find a little editorial matter. Will send you some more tomorrow. The convention will probably fill you up but this may come in handy in filling in.

Yours always
Debs

TLS, CtU, Fred Warren Papers.

1. James S. West was counsel for the government at Warren's appeal hearing in St. Paul.

2. Harry J. Bone was federal district attorney in Kansas City and had been responsible for the prosecution in Warren's jury trial.

3. Oscar Lawler was the federal district attorney for Southern California who was denounced by the *Appeal* for his handling of the Mexican exile cases in Los Angeles in 1908. In May 1910 he was made assistant United States attorney general. In its June 11, 1910, issue the *Appeal* accused Lawler of plotting the suppression of the paper in retaliation for its earlier criticism of him.

EVD to Fred D. Warren

May 20, 1910
Terre Haute, Indiana

My dear Fred:—

Yours of the 19th. enclosing check for \$40.00 received. Thanks! It would save no postage to have the papers sent out from Girard as they cannot go out at the pound rate anyway. They will have to go in a separate wrapper to each secretary stamped with a one cent stamp

for the reason that each wrapper will contain not only two copies of the Appeal but a portrait lecture circular of my own with other matter advertising my lecture and in addition to this a couple of small lists advertising my "Reply to John Mitchell"¹ etc. which I have agreed to send out for Kerr² along with the rest of the matter, and without cost to him, and which he has already furnished in a sufficient quantity to meet the demand. I think it very necessary that this "Reply to Mitchell" should be circulated among the miners at this time, and to help along the rest of the matter we have in hand, and this is why it occurred to me to have Kerr send {the} small advertising list above referred to.

If the matter could have gone out without postage I should have preferred by all means to have it go out direct from the Appeal office, but on account of the other printing matter that goes in the wrapper with the papers each wrapper will have to be separately stamped and that is why the postage will be so high and why I called upon you to cover that item.

Theodore has already made the necessary preparations for wrappers and everything else and tomorrow he will begin to address the wrappers and he and his little girl, and perhaps other help, will get out the papers just as soon as possible, acting on your suggestion that the whole situation be covered as speedily as possible.

There is but one thing lacking and that is the subscription blank. Please have Ben print 3,500 of these blanks on light paper of the size and form enclosed and send them here to Theo. as soon as possible. If you or Ben can improve on this form will be glad to have you do so.

We already have a couple of thousand of the Appeal here, mainly of the issue of Jan. 22nd. containing my Chicago speech on Grosscup which have not yet been distributed and which will serve this purpose excellently. Along with this issue of the Appeal there should go a copy of the issue of the 21st. of May, I think, containing your speech at St. Paul. These two copies will go together perfectly. We propose to send to each address these two copies with the lecture matter and the Kerr list which will just exactly go to the limit of the allowance for a cent of postage.

Please have 2000 copies of the Appeal of May 21st. sent here to Theodore, and also the subscription blanks, then he can begin to get out the papers without delay.

After these papers are gone, or about gone, he can write to Mrs. Brewer and call for a sufficient number more of these {two numbers or two} other live numbers to complete the job.

I am leaving for Louisville and if you have anything further to say

or suggest in this matter drop a line to Theodore and he will understand. Hope we shall get results out of this and believe we will.

Yours always
Debs

TLS, CtU, Fred Warren Papers.

1. One of Debs's most widely reprinted pamphlets, *Reply to John Mitchell*, was published in 1904 and included a charge of collusion between the United Mine Workers president and the coal-mine operators in "forcing down the wages of the mine slaves."

2. Charles C. Kerr of Chicago was a major publisher of socialist books, pamphlets, and other materials, including the *International Socialist Review*.

EVD to George D. Brewer

June 26, [1910]

En route, Schenectady, New York, to Terre Haute, Indiana

My dear Brewer:

Had perfectly magnificent meeting at Schenectady last night—opera house crowded to the doors & stage filled to the foot-lights. They are having the finest, biggest & most harmonious state convention ever held in New York. A finer body of Socialist men and women I never met. A hundred of them at least inquired about you—and I had to tell them that I could stand you no longer—that I was through with you & Theodore forever.

I quit speaking as the clock was striking ten and you should have seen the audience—seemed to me they were all one and that I could hear one great heart throb, the heart of the crowd, the heart of humanity.

How I wish you had been there and how many times I thought of you during the evening!

Well, old man, I've got to go to the hospital on my return and submit to an operation—it can be put off no longer. The doctor at Terre Haute doesn't think it will be serious, nor do I. I'm going to the hospital at Rochester Minn., where the Mayo brothers¹ are and Mrs. Debs is going with me. I hope to report good as new when it's over. Otherwise feeling fine and ready for anything the fates may have to spring on us.

Mrs. Debs was perfectly delighted with the spoons Mrs. Brewer was kind enough to send her—and both of us feel grateful beyond words for such sweet remembrance.

Irvine² preaches his last sermon at the Ascension today—they've forced him out at last—and it's better so. Had several letters & telegrams urging me to be there but I couldn't spare the time, having to leave on the night train for the West so as to be at home in the morning.

Love to you and Mrs. Brewer & the Wilsons & Creels &—yes, Push, although I'm "leary" of him since he's been at Chicago.

Yours always

E. V. Debs

ALS, MiDW, Archives of Labor History and Urban Affairs, Brewer Collection.

1. Since 1889, William James Mayo (1861-1939) and Charles Horace Mayo (1865-1939) had operated at Rochester, Minnesota, the only adequate surgical facilities for much of Minnesota and Iowa. In the most detailed account of Debs's operation found, Theodore Debs described it in a letter to Adolph F. Germer (June 3, 1915) as the removal of a tumor "from his side," adding that the operation had been performed "without an opiate."

2. Alexander Fitzgerald Irvine (1863-1941) was a native of Ireland and an ordained Congregational minister who served at the Church of the Ascension in New York from 1907 to 1910, when he was dismissed for his "liberal views and socialist tendencies." Irvine later joined the *Appeal* staff as a lecturer and was elected to the Socialist party's national executive committee in 1912.

EVD to George D. Brewer

July 7, 1910

Terre Haute, Indiana

The intense heat and humidity of the past few days have so enervated and depressed me physically, that I have not felt like writing, or you would have heard from me sooner. I have thought the matter of the fall campaign all over and have arrived at a pretty definite conclusion so far as my own activities are concerned. Personally, I would prefer to entirely quit the platform for a year at least, and there are strong inducements to this course which need not be discussed here. But there are also strong reasons why I should be in the field this fall and I believe I have taken them all into account, especially the Appeal to Reason and the great work upon which its success so largely depends, and I have also to consider that this [is] a campaign year, a national campaign at that, and so I have concluded to give myself to field work as far as I can do so consistently with my health and strength and with other duties I owe to myself and family.

I have been an exile from home on account of the labor movement nearly all of my active life, and especially since I have been married, giving up all the comforts of home to serve the cause. I have now reached a point in life when I can do so no longer and where I would be unjust to myself and cruelly so to my wife if I attempted it. For this reason and without going into further details I should not be away from home more than one third of the time, but I am willing to make it half the time to carry out our plans. But this is all the time I can put in on the road, at least for the present and until I am mentally and physically recuperated. Nor do I wish any trip to be longer than two weeks. Beginning with September you can book me for two weeks at a time, and for every two weeks I am out speaking I want to be home two weeks, during which I can rest and at the same time write for the Appeal and keep up my correspondence and meet other demands, so that no time will be lost.

Of course if this arrangement will not be satisfactory to Comrades Warren and Wayland I would not think of pressing it for an instant, nor would I have it accepted. They have both treated me with the greatest kindness and consideration and never since my connection with the paper have I had the least cause for complaint. They, of course, have to look out for the interests of the paper and I am expecting them to do that, and to give the paper preference, and if the arrangement I have suggested is not considered a suitable or satisfactory one to the paper I shall expect to be told so frankly and I shall have only the same good will for the paper and every one connected with it that I always have had and continue to commend and support it as I always have done.

I cannot stand the long stretches of travel and the continuous round of work and excitement I did for so many years, and to attempt it and appear before an audience jaded and fall flat would not help the Appeal, nor myself, nor any one else. I believe I appreciate my limitations and within these I wish to serve and shall serve to the full extent of my ability and power.

In this connection I want to suggest that Irvine, in my opinion, is the man for the Appeal to press into service. With a ringing announcement in the Appeal showing how he came to quit the church, the church of which the Belmonts and Astors are communicants, I believe there would be applications for him from all over the country and that he could be readily booked and be a decided help in developing the Appeal Bureau,¹ which I am more and more convinced will prove to be the greatest circulation-expander and paper-builder ever brought forth in the socialist movement. Irvine would pave the way for another and there are several available people who could and

would make good in the field. Kier Hardie, who was suggested by Fred in your previous letter, would make an excellent man and if we decide upon plans herein outlined I will gladly write to him in regard to a tour of the country under Appeal auspices and I do not in the least doubt it would prove a great success.

I had hoped to be out to see Fred and Wayland ere this but my going to the hospital has prevented. Just at present we have a number of visiting relatives here but I expect to be able to leave for Rochester soon so as to be have the operation over with as soon as possible. Let me hear from you as soon as convenient. It goes without saying that if I am in the field this fall it will rejoice me to have as heretofore your co-operation and support, of which I have the fullest possible appreciation.

Yours always
E. V. Debs

TLS, MiDW, Archives of Labor History and Urban Affairs, Brewer Collection.

1. The *Appeal* lecture bureau was managed by Grace D. Brewer, George Brewer's wife.

EVD to Fred D. Warren

July 8, 1910

Terre Haute, Indiana

My dear Fred:—

Enclosed find a personal appeal to the Army over my name and also an editorial. I believe the letter to the Army should be on first page.¹ Read it and use your own judgment.

Let me suggest that you, *over your name and title*, as managing editor of the *Appeal*, write to the attorney general² and also to President Taft and ask them if Magon, Villareal, Rivera, Araujo et al are to be re-arrested on their release, and if so *on what ground*. Tell them that a million and a half of readers {of} the *Appeal to Reason* are interested in this matter and want to know. ~~why they are to be re-arrested~~. Print your letters in the *Appeal*. ~~to each of these~~. If they fail or refuse to answer it will put them on record and their silence will answer for them. Let me suggest that this will be an important move on your part and that you write at once and print your letters, which can be

put in half dozen lines, in the next issue. Will send you some more copy tomorrow. Love to all the gang!

Yours always
E. V. Debs

TLS, CtU, Fred Warren Papers.

1. Debs's "Personal Letter to the Appeal Army" appeared in the July 23, 1910, issue of the paper. In it Debs announced that he would "go to a hospital for an operation," asked that no letters be sent him, and urged the army to "keep the circulation rising."

2. George Woodward Wickersham (1858-1936) was attorney general throughout Taft's term.

EVD to Fred D. Warren

July 11, 1910
Terre Haute, Indiana

My dear Fred:—

Larson¹ of the Chicago Daily was down last night to insist on my speaking at the picnic to be given for the Daily August 21st. He told me about having a talk with you and Brewer and about your saying that we would give him a date if possible. I feel as you do about this but told him that I could not answer definitely until I had been at the hospital and knew what the outcome of the operation would be. I told him I would let him know definitely in good time. He is very anxious that both you and I shall speak there. The entire committee is of the same mind. Larson assured me they would make good to the Appeal in the way of subs and otherwise.

It strikes {me} that this would be a fine place for you to make a speech at this time. In my opinion it is far more for you to speak than me. You would draw an immense crowd and it is you they really want to hear. I would serve but indifferently as a second and there would be fully as many persons to hear you as if I {too} was on the bill. I promised Larson to write and urge you to attend if possible and I hope you can shape your affairs so you can do so. I really believe this to be a timely opening for you and your message and if you can take advantage of it I believe the good that will follow will make it amply worth your while.

Enclosed find a little copy. I shall go to the hospital next week.

Hope to recover soon and believe I will. Lots of beautiful fighting just ahead.

Yours always,
Debs

TLS, CtU, Fred Warren Papers.

1. James P. Larsen was on the staff of the *Chicago Daily Socialist*. He was an Illinois delegate to the 1912 Socialist party convention in Indianapolis.

EVD to Grace D. Brewer

July 13, 1910
Terre Haute, Indiana

Dear Comrade Brewer:—

I have read your letter with very much appreciation. Please accept my warmest thanks. Mrs. Debs or I will let you know from time to time how things are progressing at the hospital. You and George must not be anxious in the least for we feel very confident that everything will come out alright.

Note with much interest that your sisters are with you. What a joy to you all! Wish I could be there just one evening with Mrs. Debs so we might have a nice little dinner and a lovely little visit together. Be sure to remember me to them with loving regards.

Glad Caroline¹ has arrived and is now with you. This will make your little group complete and it will be one of the very finest I know. You will have to fine Caroline all the simoleons she has for going to a hotel. Hold her up without mercy so the offense may not be repeated.

Mrs. Debs is getting ready to go with me and Boydie is telling us how much he will miss us. Boydie is still bragging on George of whom he is reminded every day as he uses the baseball mitt that George gave him. Any one {casting} any reflections on Geo. while Boydie is around would get called down in a hurry.

Glad the little tokens reached you. The pleasure of sending them is in itself such a rich return.

With love from Kate and Boydie and myself to you and your sisters and George and Caroline,

Your comrade,
E. V. Debs

P.S. Tell George I suspect that Berger may be behind that application for a lecture date at Milwaukee which I sent him a day or two

ago. I may be wholly wrong but it has occurred to me that they may have resorted to this method of getting a date from us during the campaign, especially as they are straining every nerve to send Berger to congress. The matter is not important. Whether {Berger} is behind the matter or not, if a satisfactory arrangement can be made for a lecture there we will fill the engagement.²

TLS, MiDW, Archives of Labor History and Urban Affairs, Brewer Collection.

1. Caroline A. Lowe was in Kansas on an "agitation tour" in support of socialist candidates in the fall election.

2. Debs's speaking tours to both coasts during the 1910 campaign were regularly chronicled in an *Appeal* column, "Debs Speaking Dates," but no engagements were filled in Wisconsin.

EVD to Fred D. Warren

July 13, 1910

Terre Haute, Indiana

My dear Fred:—

Enclosed is a letter from Washington, evidently from some government slave who is afraid to sign his name. He makes a suggestion that I think a good one and if you agree suppose you pass it over to "Push" and let him write an article covering the matter,¹ also an article as suggested, on the piece work system now being established by the capitalist government at Washington. The piece work system is the most ingenious and highly perfected method of bleeding {and} sweating slaves and the government is adopting it to cut down expenses so that the revenue may be wholly devoted to capitalist graft, blow-hole battleships etc. etc.

It is worthy of note in connection with this letter that the slaves at Washington in the government service, as well as those in the industries, look to the *Appeal* to fight their battles. This is really fine, the highest possible compliment that could be paid to the *Appeal*, especially by one who fears to sign his own name, and perhaps it might be well to publish this letter in full and then comment on it. "Push" will know how to handle this. It is a fine testimonial to the *Appeal* that Uncle Sam's slaves look to it instead of to him for relief. A strong point could be scored here in a short article.

Am sending you in a tube a somewhat soiled picture of the great-souled Myron W. Reed.² Please put it up in the *Appeal* office. No

one in all the world better deserves to have his picture there and that picture, that finely illuminated face, will be an inspiration to every one who looks upon it.

Theodore had a letter from an enthusiastic young woman in New York this morning, to whom he had sent a copy of the *Appeal* containing your Saint Paul speech. The young woman is all enraptured and says: "Isn't Mr. Warren grand! I just adore him."

Say, old man, this thing has gone far enough. I'll be everlastingly hornswoggled if I can stand this much longer. Where is this going to end? And likewise, where do I come in? At this rate I'll soon be reduced from a star actor to a supe and wind up by peddling spectacles for blind gophers.

Have just heard from the hospital people and will go there next week for my summer opening.

Yours always
Debs

TLS, CtU, Fred Warren Papers.

1. A letter from "A Washingtonian" was the basis of Charles Lincoln Phifer's "The Greatest Single Steal in History" (*Appeal*, August 13, 1910), which described United States Steel's takeover of the Tennessee Coal and Iron Company during Roosevelt's second term.

2. Myron Winslow Reed (1836-99) was long revered by Debs for his application of Christian doctrine to modern labor questions. Reed's sermons at the Broadway Theatre Church in Denver were notable for their sympathetic attitude toward workers, and Debs frequently published "Myron Reed Isms" in the *Railway Times*.

EVD to Fred D. Warren

July 15, 1910

Terre Haute, Indiana

My dear Fred:—

Yours of the 14th. is received. Note that you are to be in Texas in August covering the proposed date at Chicago. It's alright. Being already booked that settles it and the Chicago comrades can't expect you. Understand they're going to give you a big reception down in the Lone Star state and that there is to be egg nog and scrambled pullet {fruit} on the bill. You are pretty damned wise in doing your rehearsing down where there is plenty of room and drawing the line on five attacks, giving you plenty of chance to make your getaway. But don't forget that they do shoot down there and I hate to think about your being applauded with Colts. If you escape wire me—and

Brewer and I will take the chances. But damned if I'm not uneasy about you. If anything was to happen it would leave us in a hell of a fix. Pollock, however, would crack his heels. It would let him out. Better have "Push" prepare a suitable obituary before you start. He can say that you fell in a desperate charge and that you were full of high purposes to the end. Enclosed find a little copy.

Always yours
Debs

P.S. I think this article on Prize Fighting¹ has in it the best characterization of Roosevelt and what he stands for I have yet done. You can use it with or without my name as you prefer.

TLS, CtU, Fred Warren Papers.

1. In "Roosevelt and Prize Fighting" (*Appeal*, July 30, 1910), Debs denounced Roosevelt for having called prizefighting a manly sport and claimed that socialists were "not patrons of brutal, degrading prize rings."

EVD to Fred D. Warren

July 19, 1910
[Terre Haute, Indiana]

My dear Fred:—

Enclosed find some editorial matter. Have just concluded that I am a lucky dog. Have had a letter highly complimenting me on an article in the *Appeal*—which I did not write—and knocking an article which I did write. Verily, its better to be born lucky than rich. But my conscience would not allow me to take credit that did not belong to me or dodge blame that did, so I told the truth, and again I am happy.

Am pretty nearly cleaned up here and have completed arrangements to leave here with my wife for the carvatorium on Saturday or Sunday. Will let you know—if I'm alive. Feeling fine over the *Appeal's* prospects. Really believe there will be the finest fighting this fall we've ever had.

Yours
Debs

TLS, CtU, Fred Warren Papers.

Cora Bennett Stephenson¹ to Theodore Debs

[ca. July 28, 1910]

[unknown]

My dear comrade:

It has been on my mind for three days to thank you for the most pertinent article on Roosevelt.² I needed it to read to a young cousin who is about to cast his first vote. Your article is so succinctly and pointedly written as to possess great value, in the use to which I put it.

In this—your sending me this particular article you appear to share {your} brother's clairvoyant power of knowing what his friends need. I am thinking of the several occasions when he has come to my rescue; and I am feeling most keenly the sympathy and unerring instinct of loving-kindness that prompted his sending the Whitman. God guard him & keep him.

I left my own copy of Whitman, up on the sand at a summer resort, some eight years ago. I did not understand Whitman at that time. But all unconsciously I felt the pull of his profundity & health of soul.

For the past few weeks I have been over-wrought and mastered by a sense of isolation. But the mere reading of your post-card filled me with the tonic assurance of comradeship.

And because I have spent the day with the Whitman, I am restored: "sure, alive, sufficient."

I thank you, most sincerely, for your kindness.

Cora Bennett Stephenson

Sunday.

ALS, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. Born in Jeffersonville, Indiana, in 1872, Cora Estella Bennett Stephenson graduated from DePauw University in 1894 and taught Latin in the public schools of Indiana and biology in the University of Puerto Rico and the Louisville, Kentucky, public schools. From 1914 to 1917, Mrs. Stephenson was on the editorial staff of *Smart Set*.

2. Theodore Debs's article "Roosevelt and Beveridge," which appeared in the *Terre Haute Post* on July 18, 1910, criticized the former president's proposed plan to campaign in Indiana for the reelection of Senator Beveridge and concluded that Roosevelt was "great only because the people are small, . . . mainly idolators, . . . and hero worshippers."

EVD to Grace D. Brewer

July 30, 1910
Rochester, Minnesota

Dear Comrade Brewer:

Your note of the 26th has been received. You can announce the subject "Socialism and Living Issues" in our advertising matter.

Feeling pretty sore but healing up gradually and in good time will be alright again, provided there are no further complications and there appear to be no symptoms at this time. Hope that "Push" has quieted down and that your lives are no longer in peril. Understand that Creel is out for tariff reform and wants fried chicken on the free list. We are sending you all our warmest greetings.

Yours fraternally
E. V. Debs
Kate.

Please send me here copy of Appeal of July 30th & also copy of Aug. 6th

ALS (in hand of Katherine Metzel Debs, including signature), MiDW, Archives of Labor History and Urban Affairs, Brewer Collection.

Katherine Metzel Debs to Fred D. Warren

August 1, 1910
Rochester, Minnesota

Dear Mr. Warren:

Gene sends you enclosed editorial. The Doctor has just dressed his wound. It is very much inflamed and it kept him awake and in pain all night but the doctor thinks it is getting along alright. We are earnestly hoping so.

Yours sincerely,
Katherine M. Debs.

ALS, CtU, Fred Warren Papers.

Katherine Metzel Debs to Fred D. Warren

August 2, 1910

Rochester, Minnesota

Dear Comrade Warren:

I have just received your kind letter of the 30th and I have read the kind words it contains with much appreciation.

It is indeed a great comfort to have such assurance of sympathy from Comrades beloved at such a time.

We have just left the doctor who has dressed Gene's wound and he thinks it is getting along alright, although he found it necessary this morning to insert a probe to relieve the suppuration. The wound aches and throbs constantly and it is so situated that scarcely a movement of the body is possible without straining and producing more or less irritation. Until last night Gene has scarcely slept an hour in peace and he can hardly get in any position that is comfortable, but this was to be expected and is not of serious consequence so long as the progress of healing is satisfactory and the final outcome is recovery. I will keep you advised as to any changes and I hope to have only favorable reports to send you,

Yours sincerely
Katherine M. Debs.

P.S. Gene sends you and all the Appeal Comrades his kindest remembrances. Many thanks also for the check.¹

ALS, CtU, Fred Warren Papers.

1. Debs's salary at the *Appeal* was \$100 per week. In a letter dated August 8, 1958, George D. Brewer told Adolph Germer that Debs always sent half his pay to Theodore Debs, a practice that, according to Brewer, caused Katherine Debs to "resent" Theodore.

Katherine Metzel Debs to James Whitcomb Riley

August 12, 1910

Terre Haute, Indiana

Dear Mr. Riley:

We have just noticed with deep regret the report of your illness in the morning papers. Please receive from Gene and myself this word of loving sympathy and good cheer. Doubtless your indisposition is

but momentary and you will soon be quite yourself again. Most earnestly do we hope so.

Gene has also been afflicted, having had to submit to an operation but he is getting along finely and his recovery will be speedy and complete.

With fondest recollections of the dear old days and with all loving regards and kind wishes from us all, I am as ever,

Yours sincerely
Katherine M. Debs.

ALS, InU, Lilly Library, Riley MSS.

EVD to Fred D. Warren

August 17, 1910
Terre Haute, Indiana

My dear Fred:—

Yours of the 15th. is received. Am picking up right along, although the intense heat makes it rather slower than it would be otherwise. Many thanks for your kind words. We shall surely by our joint efforts go up to half a million in the next couple of months.

Have read with interest of your Joplin meeting. It was sure enough a corker. Brewer's treachery was execrable. I hope you will not think I schooled him in such villany. I am ashamed of him but he will probably take a fresh chew and congratulate himself on his victory. Perhaps the influence of good association this fall may purge him and deskunkify him. If not we will yoke him up with Withrow¹ and they can start the institution for the culture of modesty, fidelity and humility.

But after all Brewer can't be held responsible for the flood. Evidently it was on your account and due to your reputation that Barnsley² was there with the airships. You surely are in league with Jonah, or his reincarnation, and are getting your revenge by coaxing people out and then drowning them. Even "Push" with his malevolent cynicism and sardonic smile would not be guilty of such atrocity.

Am looking forward to the Coming Nation with eager expectancy. You have a great team in Russell and Simons.³ You could have gotten

no better. Of course I shall be glad to write for the paper as you suggest and help it along in any other way I can.

Enclosed find an editorial.⁴ Love to Max and all of his house,

Yours
Debs

TLS, CtU, Fred Warren Papers.

1. W. Thomas Withrow wrote for the *Appeal* and for other Wayland publications, *Studies in Socialism* and *Wayland's Monthly*.

2. Ulysses S. Barnsley was a founder and director of the Girard Airship Company, in one of whose airships he barnstormed at state and county fairs in Kansas, Missouri, Oklahoma, and Texas.

3. Warren and Wayland had decided to revive the *Coming Nation* as a literary magazine designed for socialist families. Algie Simons moved to Girard to serve as managing editor and Charles Edward Russell (1860-1941), muckraking journalist and frequent socialist candidate for public office in New York, wrote most of the editorials.

4. Debs's "John Zenger and Fred Warren" in the August 27, 1910, *Appeal* was his first signed editorial following his operation.

EVD to James Oneal

September 13, 1910
Boston, Massachusetts

My Dear Jimmie:—

Yours has just reached me and gladly do I comply with your request. Enclosed you will find what I think will serve your purpose.¹ If this is not what it should be drop me a line with any suggestion you may have and I will re-write it to fit the demand. I hope you will have good luck in selling the book. It is good stuff and ought to be spread among the slaves. I think that later you should enlarge it and get out both cloth and paper editions.

Note what you say about labor day and glad you had a chance to get in at least one clear note. I can guess at what the other fellows gave the crowd, the regulation dope that is ladeled out by the grafting politicians and their allies, the Mitchells² and other fakirs who are now running the unions in Terre Haute, but who some day will go down to rise no more. I can guess too about how eagerly you waited for your turn and how straight you sent your hot message to the mark. May you have many more opportunities to speak the true word to the working class!

I quite agree with you as to the outlook. We are just getting fairly

started and there is not a doubt that we are going to make things hum from this time on.

Yours always,
E. V. Debs

TLS (with typed signature), NNU Tam, Debs Collection.

1. Debs's "Salutatory!" appeared in the first issue of *Social Advance* (February 11, 1911), which was published in Terre Haute by Oneal, his brother Judson, and Stephen M. Reynolds.

2. John M. Mitchell of the UMWA ranked high on Debs's list of labor fakirs.

EVD to George D. Brewer

September 26, 1910
Terre Haute, Indiana

My dear Brewer:—

Yours received. My guess is that Untermann¹ had the California dates cancelled.² I may be mistaken but that's the way it looks to me. We will find out if we care to know. Aside from all other considerations it's {a} breach of faith that no capitalist party and no capitalist bureau would be guilty of. What is strange about it is that Stitt Wilson³ who so pleaded with me in a personal letter to come out there has not vouchsafed a word of explanation. Waiting until we were ready to start and then throwing us down at the last minute is pretty tough—coming from socialists. But we can stand even this—aye, and a thousand times more for the {cause} of socialism.

Glad you have written as you have in answer to Rogers. Herewith find his letter.

See enclosed letter from Bassett.⁴ Have written him asking him to cut out all receptions etc. Have told him I would refer his letter to Mrs. Brewer and that he would be advised as to our train schedules. Kindly see that this is done.

I feel most keenly on the California matter on account of Mrs. Brewer. I know how hard and patiently she worked to make that program and I can imagine her feelings when without a minute of warning it was destroyed. That's what we get for refusing to truckle to expedients and spread out nets for votes. Be it so. One principle

is worth a thousand engagements—and then some. We are all joining in love and joy to you and Mrs. Brewer.

Yours always
E. V. Debs

Enclosed just recd. from Phil. He's evidently getting better.

TLS (typed signature, with handwritten note), MiDW, Archives of Labor History and Urban Affairs, Brewer Collection.

1. Ernest Untermann (1865-1956) was a mining geologist and socialist writer and activist who served on the national executive committee of the Socialist party from 1908 to 1910 and was the party's candidate for governor of Idaho in 1910. Untermann's three-volume translation of Marx's *Capital* was published in 1908-9.

2. The November 19, 1910, issue of the *Appeal* printed a letter from Frank M. Merriam, state secretary of the Socialist party in California, stating that it was "imperative that Debs' date in California be cancelled until after the election" and a second letter, dated October 15, urging the *Appeal* to "send Debs into the state for the close of the campaign." By the latter date, the *Appeal* noted, all of Debs' engagements had been filled and "contracts signed."

3. Jackson Stitt Wilson (1868-1942) was a clergyman and socialist writer and lecturer. He was a delegate from California to the party's 1904 and 1912 national conventions and was elected mayor of Berkeley in 1911. Wilson's *How I Became a Socialist* (1912) was an effort to reconcile the Bible with socialist teachings.

4. Arthur Bassett was a laundry proprietor in Fargo and state secretary of the Socialist party in North Dakota. Debs drew large crowds in half a dozen cities in the state during his western tour in October 1910.

EVD to Grace D. Brewer

October 4, 1910

Moline, Illinois

Dear Comrade Brewer:—

Will you kindly send me where it will reach me along the road a copy of the *Appeal* of Sep't 24th. Please be sure to see that it contains the article in the center column of the first page headed "Workers Betrayed." This article went to the *Appeal* by telegraph and the forms were lifted to insert it so that part of the edition was run without it.

That is the niftiest grip George was shackled on to when he hove in sight that I have ever layed optics on. It dazzles me. I thought I was safely beyond all competition in that line, but alas, the best of grips are apt to lose their grip. I should also say that there is a spirited and in fact hostile rivalry between the grips. They have bumped into each other on various occasions but have not spoken. How the thing

will come out is hard to guess for there is great leather in them both and neither of them is lacking in brass. When George walks up street now with that grip in hand his big sombrero is tilted at an angle of 48 degrees and if he had not lost that coat he would be 130 in the shade at least. So it appears again that all losses have some gain. And still I am hoping he will recover that coat for with that and his shirts and other laundering wandering about in space my own personal belongings are in a state of animated suspense. Fortunately thus far the rivalry of the grips and their leathery stare at each other, with now and then a low growl to attest their grip consciousness, has not yet become personal. But it looks a little cloudy today and there is no telling how soon something may break out. If you hear a sullen roar down that way you will know that the worst has come and that we have lost our grips. All is well here and we hope that all is serene and sweet there.

Your comrade as ever,
E. V. D.

TLS (with typed signature), MiDW, Archives of Labor History and Urban Affairs, Brewer Collection.

1. In "The Workers Are Betrayed" (*Appeal*, September 24, 1910), Debs accused the leaders of the railroad unions and management of collusion in seeking railroad workers' support of a proposed passenger and freight rate increase.

Theodore Debs to Walter Hurt

[ca. October 4, 1910]
[Terre Haute, Indiana]

Dear Comrade Hurt:—

Yours of the 4th., with copy of "An Introduction"¹ is received. The copy for Gene and the letter to him have also come to hand and both have forwarded by first mail in the hope that they will intercept him before he starts for the far West.

I have hastily glanced through the pages of the little book and find so many gems, the children of your heart and soul and brain, that I know not what to say in criticism. It is all beautiful, superbly done in every way. If I had not been so closely associated through all the years of my life with the subject of your genius, I would, perhaps be qualified to pass judgment. Frankly, I believe you are too generous in your praise and I feel that Gene will agree with me that you give him far, far too much credit for the little he has done. Everything

that comes from your pen I read with delight and I shall give the little booklet the closest reading at the earliest opportunity.

The picture came through O.K. without trouble or hindrance. I have it securely placed and will hold it in accordance with your wishes.

Fraternally yours
[Theodore Debs]

TLC, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. Hurt's *Eugene V. Debs: An Introduction* was published in 1910.

Katherine Metzel Debs to Grace D. Brewer

October 11, 1910

Terre Haute, Indiana

Dear Mrs. Brewer:

Your letter with enclosure is received. Yes, they are a long way from home and I shall be glad when it is over. It is entirely *too* long a trip¹ for Mr. Debs considering the condition he is in and what he has gone through this summer. I had hope[d] and understood that such *long* trips were things of the past, but it seems not. Mr. Debs never complains or objects to plans made for him, but I know what a let down there is after he gets home and how he suffers and how I have to take care of him to get him in readiness for the next dose—Mr. Debs has all his life lived this strenuous way and now at his age it is beginning to tell on him.—How does Mr. Brewer stand it?

We had a visit from Mother Jones of a few days. She left for the east, Pennsylvania I believe. She is a remarkable woman, Don't see how she stands living as she does at her time in life too.

We are all well and Boydie joins me in love and good wishes to you.

Yours sincerely
Katherine M. Debs.

ALS, EVD Foundation, Debs Home.

1. During October and early November 1910, Debs and Brewer traveled from Illinois to North Dakota, Montana, Oregon, Washington, Idaho, and Wyoming.

EVD to Fred D. Warren

October 12, 1910

Minot, North Dakota

My dear Fred:

Your old friend West is achieving a sort of woodpecker fame. See clipping enclosed.

Comrade Dalziel of the Lynch local was at the meeting here last night and insisted I must tell you that he had just named a new-born at his home Fred D. Warren Dalziel and that he was the smartest youngster that ever kicked. A little later a husky farmer slapped me on the back & said "I've named my colt after you & he's a thoroughbred." That's a kid on you & a hoss on me, It's all very sad for the innocent & helpless victims.

Our meetings are jammed and overflowing at almost every point. Two special trains brot the people into Devil's Lake¹ & a thousand people were turned away. Tickets were selling in the street at \$1. each. Great parades here last night, imported band of 25 pieces and the big auditorium crowded to the doors. It's coming, old man, like a cyclone on the war path. Your meetings² are of the same kind and I rejoice even more in your wonderful performance.

Be sure to give the Stricklands³ and the Fenimores⁴ at Anderson my loving greetings and remembrances. They are of the very salt of the earth. When you write home remember me to Mrs. Warren and the three musketeers.

Hope you're holding out in bodily vigor and that the stars in their courses will help you smite capitalism hip and thigh. Brewer joins in hearty love-greetings.

Yours always
E. V. Debs

ALS, CtU, Fred Warren Papers.

1. Debs spoke at the Grand Opera House in Devils Lake, North Dakota, on October 10, 1910. According to George Brewer's account of the meeting in the *Appeal* (October 29, 1910), 1,500 people attended the meeting and 500 more were turned away.

2. Warren was speaking in the East and in Ohio and Indiana during October 1910.

3. The Rev. Frederick Guy Strickland was a national organizer and lecturer for the Socialist party from 1908 to 1910. He had been one of the founders of the Social Democratic party in 1900 and served for a time as secretary of the Socialist party in Indiana. Strickland was the party's candidate for state senator from Madison County (Anderson) in 1910.

4. Charles Reece Fenimore and his sister, Janet, were active socialists at both the

state and national levels of the party. Charles served on the national committee of the party from Indiana and was managing editor of the *Indiana Socialist*. In 1912, Janet Fenimore married Ralph Korngold, socialist writer and lecturer, and was for many years a popular figure on the socialist and feminist lecture circuit. She was a delegate from Indiana to the party's national convention in 1912.

EVD to Theodore Debs

October 22, 1910

Portland, Oregon

My dear old Pard:

The meeting at Seattle last night defies description. The vast & beautiful auditorium that holds 5000 was jammed to the doors. Every inch of standing room was packed and *not one soul* left the hall till the last word fell from my lips. The admission was 35, 50 & 75c and many hundreds could not get in at all. I spoke 1 hr & 20 minutes without a flaw. The effect was magical. The women were out in full force as it was announced that I would speak in favor of the constitutional amendment now pending granting the franchise to women. And I did, and they were beside themselves with enthusiasm & delight.

The audience would have mobbed me at the finish if the precaution had not been taken to spirit me out at the rear, a foot-ball team & Frank Holl serving to do the rushing.

After I got to the hotel Charles Eugene Banks¹ & Prof. Maynard Daggy,² Professor of Oratory in the University of Washington came to tell me that I had delivered the most finished oration, the most wonderful speech, the grandest plea for humanity they had ever heard in all their lives. This seems like very extravagant praise and it probably is but I really feel that I made a speech worthy of the occasion and if I did I have good reason to feel satisfied.

Had to leave at midnight & ride the rest of the night to get here & here I am. It's raining & after Brewer & I answer up the bushel of letters in our grips I'm going to turn in & sleep till speaking time. I'm registered incog here as I was in Seattle. Can't do that in a small town.

Your letter here & papers etc all recd. Glad everything is in dandy order. All you need is a damned corking whaling & I'll attend to that personally on my return. My love & kisses to you all

Your old pard
Eugene

ALS, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. Charles Eugene Banks (1852-1932) was a journalist and educator. He was literary editor of the *Chicago Sunday American and Examiner* from 1904 to 1907, when he moved to Seattle to become editor and publisher of the *Peace Pipe*, a monthly magazine, and drama editor of the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*.

2. Maynard Lee Daggy (1874-1947) was born in Greencastle, Indiana, and was a longtime admirer of Debs. Daggy's articles praising Debs, whom he compared to Lincoln and Governor John Altgeld, appeared in *Railway Times* (February 15 and August 1, 1895). He became head of the department of public speaking and debate at the University of Washington in 1911 and was for many years both a speaker and manager on the lyceum and Chautauqua circuits before and after World War I.

[Upton Sinclair] to EVD

October 28, 1910
Monrovia, California

My dear Gene:—

You have not forgotten Elliott¹ of California, but even if you have temporarily dropped him out of mind, the enclosed bit of correspondence will serve to remind you that he is yet in the land of the living and as active in the great Cause as circumstances will permit.

This enclosed correspondence is complete except for my first letter written to Judge Merriam² within ten hours after the Times explosion³ and his response thereto, which I have inadvertently mislaid. However this matter enclosed will give you my position in the terrible affair as my letters are but a reiteration of my first position and his is simply a restatement of the position assumed by himself and associates in the party organization, led by the officials of the local labor organizations who appear to have completely hypnotized and dominated our organization in this entire unfortunate affair. In other words our Socialists have deferred to the so called judgement (?) of the labor men with the result which I foresaw at the very beginning, the Otis gang⁴ have us on the hip and are in absolute control of the situation. Immediately following the calamity the labor organizations set at once about establishing the theory of an accidental explosion. I am reliably informed that they succeeded beyond their expectations in the matter of evidence on the point raised in that theory, or assumption, but they proceeded upon the theory also that their opponents really desired to [remainder missing]

TLc (incomplete), Warren Papers, Schenectady, New York.

1. At the time of his death in 1916, writer Francis Marshall Elliott was praised by Debs as "a social rebel" who had "given all the years of his active life to the cause

of the weak and downtrodden." Elliott's articles appeared regularly in socialist publications, and, Debs said, "we were both populists and when we met again we were both socialists" (*Melting Pot*, March 1916). In "The Making of a Socialist" (*Coming Nation*, March 4, 1911), Marshall, a Los Angeles attorney, described his conversion to socialism after reading the *Appeal* and books sent to him by J. A. Wayland.

2. Judge Frank P. Merriam was state secretary of the Socialist party in California.

3. The explosion at the *Los Angeles Times* on October 1, 1910, which claimed twenty lives, was called "the crime of the century" by the *Times*'s rabidly anti-union publisher, Harrison Gray Otis. The charge that the explosion was caused by a bomb planted by union men who were involved in a bitter struggle for recognition by Otis, the search for the guilty, and the trial and imprisonment of the McNamara brothers and other union men eventually became an international cause célèbre. Debs and the *Appeal*, like many other journalists and papers, insisted on the innocence of the McNamaras and were, like the others, shocked and embarrassed by the brothers' confession of guilt near the end of their trial in November 1911.

4. In "The Los Angeles Times—Who Committed That Crime" (*Appeal*, October 15, 1910), Debs declared that "the finger of guilt points steadily in the direction of General Harrison Gray Otis."

EVD to Theodore Debs

November 1, [1910]

Nampa, Idaho

Kude:

Here are a few stamps you may have use for.

Tuesday Nov 1

Grandest meeting ever held in Nampa last night Opera House crowded—Stewart's band (one of the finest I've ever heard—played Marseillaise & they went wild.

It is rumored that I am threatened with violence at Boise tonight. Steunenberg's sons live near there & it is said they will call me to account for what I said about their father.¹ Well, what I said was the truth & I will stand by it. I have no fear—but 15 sturdy farmers are going over from here to see that I am not troubled. They have not only volunteered but insisted—and they're a sturdy looking bunch & if any thing is started they'll be on the job. While I'm doing God's work I know that I need not fear anybody or anything & I don't

Kisses to you all!

Gene

ALS, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. In defending Haywood, Moyer, and Pettibone in their trial for the murder of

former Idaho Governor Frank Steunenberg, Debs often had, in the *Appeal* and elsewhere, bitterly attacked Steunenberg as a traitor to workers and a corrupt tool of the mining interests of his state.

EVD to Fred D. Warren

November 8, 1910

En route, near Devils Lake, North Dakota

My dear Fred:

Your court crusade has my heartiest approval. The inspiration that prompted you to take up the cause of that crippled lad¹ is the holiest conceivable, and your plans of procedure have the illumination of the highest wisdom and the consecration of the deepest sympathy. Count me with you in any way I can serve to wage this fight against judicial degeneracy and capitalistic slaughter of the innocents.

Brewer will hand you some papers on the Los Angeles affair—please take time enough from your busy hours to *read these carefully*. *Elliott is right*—he sees with the clear eye of Truth & analyzes with the keen penetration of Philosophy. That is the Appeals opening to make the fight for & win Organized Labor away from the fakirs of the Gompers stripe and for the Revolutionary Movement.

I have the biggest thing in the way of a sensation the Appeal has ever sprung—it's a conspiracy that staggers the imagination. Brewer will tell you about it. I have the letters that passed between the R.R. Officials & the traitor grand chiefs—*the goods*. Will put it in shape in letters of flame and fire & send it to you soon as I can get to it. Give me the Appeal for *just one* issue—*just one*—and I'll be answerable for the results & will stake my reputation on the outcome.

In the 2 preceding issues you can announce that the Appeal is going to spring & expose the greatest conspiracy ever hatched by the trusts & corporations to enslave the working class—& that's the truth about it. You can say that the Appeal will uncover the conspirators, point them out, & produce the secret documentary evidence of their contemplated crime. If that issue don't raise more hell than anything the Appeal ever handled I'll miss my guess a thousand miles.²

Will write you from home soon as I get a bit of rest. Let me say that Brewer is a noble fellow—a jewel of the first water. He's been all to me a mortal could be on this trip.

I've been reading with joy of your oratorical performances. Monett

is wiped out & from now on you bid fair to outshine even the immortal Dr. Manson.³

Love to you & Mrs. Warren & Glenn & Carl & Max.

Yours always
E. V. Debs

ALS, CtU, Fred Warren Papers.

1. The entire front page of the November 26, 1910, issue of the *Appeal* was given over to Warren's article "The Appeal's Second Battle with the Federal Courts," which announced the paper's effort to raise funds for a lawsuit seeking \$25,000 in damages for Frank Lane, a miner injured in a mine accident near Girard. Debs's "Strike Here and Now with All Your Power" (*Appeal*, December 3, 1910) dealt with the issue.

2. In "Railway Employees Betrayed" (*Appeal*, April 8, 1911), Debs repeated his charges against the heads of the railroad brotherhoods and certain railroad executives who were alleged to have agreed secretly to cooperate in support of "increasing existing railroad rates."

3. Dr. Henry J. Manson (1835-1911) was a physician in Girard and a friend of Warren and Debs.

EVD to Caro Lloyd

November 16, 1910
Terre Haute, Indiana

Dear Comrade Lloyd:—

Your approving words in reference to what I wrote of Catherine Breshkovsky¹ and your touching tribute to that noble heroine have been read with the greatest appreciation. Thank you with all my heart! You give me far more credit than I deserve for the little I said seems so paltry in comparison with what could be said in appreciation of the noble character and self-sacrificing spirit of this grand old martyr. What an example she sets to us all; and how dare any of us ever complain again! My blood boils in my veins when I think of the fate, the monstrous fate, of this rare and beautiful soul. Your own touching words, warm from your own loyal heart, would do her a world of good and I wish it were possible for her to see them. But she must know that millions of hearts are attuned to her in her exile and beating out their love and devotion to her in all the circling hours of the day and night.

Your loving comrade
Eugene V. Debs

TLS, WHI, Lloyd Papers.

1. Catherine Breshkovsky (1844-1934) was called the Grandmother of the Russian Revolution in recognition of her long career in opposition to the czarist regime. On December 9, 1910, her sentencing to "perpetual exile" for "criminal activity in a revolutionary organization" in Russia triggered a great outpouring of articles, poems, and other writings in the American press similar in tone to that used by Debs in this letter.

EVD to George D. Brewer

November 18, 1910
Terre Haute, Indiana

My dear Brewer:—

I have been trying to write to you but have had no chance. Your tobacco note written enroute reached me. That closing couplet settled it. Your muse is either a tobacco worm or has the tobacco heart. My god, Brewer, what can you mean? It's simply orful. What have I done to be doomed to that also in my helpless old age?

But seriously, I had intended you should have that last can, the big yellow one, and kept it out of the storage pouch and in the original can for that purpose. Just before we parted I looked at the can and said to myself, that will carry the lad to Girard in a triumphant halo of smoke and glory. But alas, I forgot and I did not think of it again until I opened my grip to take my evening smoke and then the yellow can stared me in the eye and shook an accusing finger at me and I felt sad thinking of you limping along over the Frisco, mark you, the Frisco, on a lame foot and half a pipe. But you have heard from me ere this and the rebate consignment has no doubt given you solace and put you in proper repair again.

Please say to Mrs. Brewer that I shall write to her at the first chance. The last few days have brought in a bushel basket full of letters and a whole lot of other things are here awaiting a bit of attention and the touch of a friendly hand. Theo. and I are now at the harvest with our mowing machine and in two or three days more we will begin to breathe again. It seems as if almost everybody had taken a notion to write and ask for something at once. And you know I don't slight anybody, least of all the least of all, if I can help it.

I have read your last report in the Appeal¹ with hearty appreciation. There is life and blood in it and it will stir the life and blood of those who read it. I have thought of writing something to cover the trip but you have done it so completely that I fear there is nothing more to say.

I hope you found Mrs. Brewer as well and happy as she deserves to be and that the boys and girls at the office treated you as leniently as is possible in such a desperate case. The train seemed very still and silent when you left me. Fortunate for me that Mrs. Debs was the reception committee at the other end. How her face glowed and her eyes sparkled! When I saw her that moment I thought of Mrs. Brewer opening her arms and her heart to receive you. What would we poor damned savages do or be without these saviors?

Yours always
Debs

TLS, MiDW, Archives of Labor History and Urban Affairs, Brewer Collection.

1. Brewer's "Great Debs Meetings" appeared in the November 12, 1910, *Appeal*.

EVD to Fred D. Warren

November 21, 1910

Terre Haute, Indiana

My dear Fred:—

Yours just received. Enclosed is the article. Hope it will do. Want to get it off by first mail so it will be sure to reach you on time. Count me with you in this fight in any way you can use me. I will watch it and chip in when I see a chance.¹ This ought to touch the heart and quicken the conscience. If {it} doesn't both are dead. But they're not. {It requires just this} to set them in operation. It was providential that Frank Lane was put in your way. You have been traveling toward him all your life. Fortunately you {are} strong as he is weak and as ready to fight for him as if {he} was your own brother. This is *magnificent*. The very thought of it sanctifies and exalts like a baptism.

Sorry I could not get to St. Louis. Your letter got in among a hundred others and I did not know you were in St. Louis until after you left there, or I would have at least wired you, if I could not have gone there to have had an hour with you which I should have {tried to do} had I only known it in time.

The Los Angeles affair could be made a very great thing if we could only handle it. It would have to be played big and bold or not at all. Perhaps we may yet have a chance to give Otis² and his gang what is coming to them.

Glad you saw Roe.³ I will get that railroad story in shape soon and send it. Say, that is going to raise more hell than anything you ever

sprung. Mark what I now tell you. I have the documents and I am going to make my part of it hot enough to scorch the liver out of every traitor and conspirator in it.

In the enclosed article change the heading and form in any way to suit. Will write you soon again.

Yours always
Debs

TLS, CtU, Fred Warren Papers.

1. Debs's "Strike Here and Now with All Your Power" (*Appeal*, December 3, 1910) declared that Frank Lane, the injured miner, "epitomizes in a bulk of bloody pulp . . . the entire tragedy of toil under the capitalist system."

2. Harrison Gray Otis (1873-1917), publisher of the *Los Angeles Times*, kept the search for the *Times* bombers on the front page of his paper throughout the fall and winter of 1910-11. Union labor was for Otis clearly responsible for the crime of the century. In a speech in Los Angeles in April 1895, Debs described Otis as "a monumental liar and cowardly sneak." (*Columbus Evening Post*, April 9, 1895).

3. A. A. Roe of Wichita, Kansas, was the legislative agent for the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen in Washington. In "Railroad Employes Betrayed" (*Appeal*, April 8, 1911), Debs portrayed Roe as a victim of the collusion between the BRT officers and railroad management in the rate increase campaign.

EVD to George D. Brewer

November 22, 1910
Terre Haute, Indiana

My dear Brewer:—

Yours received. I had already decided if it was at all possible to take Mrs. Debs down to Girard for a little visit. She wants very much to go and I wish to have her meet the good comrades at Girard and know they will mutually enjoy each other's company. But Boydie is at school and she has a mother's love for him and he can't very well be withdrawn from school, and she don't feel as if she ought to go without him. To take him out of school now for even a week might cost him his promotion. But we will see. If it can be arranged we will surely come and in the meantime be assured that your invitation is fully appreciated.

Don't order any tobacco for it is already ordered. You will receive yours in the next few days. A thousand thanks just the same!

The check you need not have sent at all. I would never have thought about it. If I suspected that a single penny of it came out of your pocket it would go back in spite of hell. Don't ever do me the injustice

of charging yourself up personally with any of my expenses. I know you are apt to do that very thing and then lie about it to screen your guilt. Seriously you are so damned recklessly liberal and unselfish that I have a fear of imposition which distresses me. What ever I get from you when we are on the road together must go into my expense account and not trench on your personal funds to the extent of a cent. And if the expense is too big I can cut it down, I guess, so it will not be. It is a hard thing for me to keep track of expenses. The fact is I can't do it and when I try I feel so mean about it that I give it up. When a fellow is on the road the money gets away from him somehow and that's all I know about it, and I guess that's enough. It don't make any difference what kind of an expense account you put in you are still out of pocket on the road and I guess that is as it should be for when one stops to think about it a man {is} a damned heartless hyena who can walk around with money in his pocket, with men, women and children hungry all around him.

Wish you would read and keep enclosed letter for future reference. I feel deeply impressed by this poor fellow's appeal. I can see him in fancy tinkering away in some little shop¹ and his soul beating its wings against the bars of its cage. There is something peculiarly touching to me in this case. Too bad all such who hunger to serve can't be encouraged. This comrade surely loves the cause and yearns eagerly to serve it.

I am full of the Warren case, my blood burning and bubbling and sputtering like a cauldron. I have just sent a red-hot dispatch of some length to the New York Call² and if they publish it as I sent it it will be the warmest thing they ever handled. I have also sent a dispatch to the court at St. Paul that constitutes contempt in the 33rd degree, feeling that if Warren goes to jail I have no business out of jail. Am now writing a Warren article for the Appeal and must get it out on the noon mail.³ The whole of us send love to you and Mrs. Brewer. That calabash pipe is a dimpled daisy. I smoke that first of all in the evening, just once, and try to look as calabashful as possible, feet way up, head back, room blue so that I can only see the dimmest outlines of grandma,⁴ Kate and Boydie—my eyes pretty nearly closed and I cutting 'er loose, touching only the mountain peaks, and headed straight for Olympus, where the gods have arranged a banquet for me.

Yours
Debs

1. See the letter of James A. Strachan to EVD, November 21, 1910.
2. On November 21, 1910, the United States Court of Appeals in St. Paul upheld Fred Warren's sentence to six months' imprisonment and \$1,500 fine. In "Gene Debs Tells What the Sentence Means" (*New York Call*, November 22, 1910), Debs accused the court of "waiting until after the election before handing down its decision," which would "hasten the overthrow of the capitalist system."
3. Debs's "Warren Has Triumphed" appeared in the *Appeal* on December 10, 1910.
4. Katherine Debs's mother, Katherine Stuber Baur, lived in the Debs home.

EVD to Grace D. Brewer

November 25, 1910
Terre Haute, Indiana

My dear Comrade Brewer:—

For some days I have been wanting to answer your letter of the 7th. but I have not until now found the chance. I am glad you did not close up any of the engagements in December. Fred and I had an understanding which perhaps you did not know of, or clearly remember. He was kind enough and considerate enough, as he always is, to have me arrange the speaking matter as it would best suit me. I then proposed that the average trip should be two weeks and that I was then to be at home two weeks, but that if circumstances necessitated a longer trip I should then have an extended period to correspond to it at home, thus if I am two weeks gone I am to have two weeks off, four weeks on, four weeks off, etc. To this plan Fred readily assented. The recent trip covered six weeks within a day, and six weeks at home would have brought us up to about Dec. 22nd. But it is no use to attempt any bookings just before or just after the holidays. You can begin booking me on the 10th. or 15th. of January as you prefer and book me two weeks, or three weeks if necessary to cover the section you are booking in. If you could arrange to book the first two weeks of the month and have the last two off it would suit me very well, but I know that in booking you have all kinds of things to reckon with and all kinds of petty difficulties to overcome, and I do not wish to add in the least to your work and worry, but do all I can to help you along and to accommodate myself to the necessities of the situation. If it were not that I had reached a point in my physical life when I must conserve my physical vitality, and for my family, I should be willing to be booked every day of the year, and I am often sorry that I cannot reach more people and cover more territory in the interest of our cause.

It is possible that I may be out to Girard next month, and bring Mrs. Debs with me, and then we can go over the ground and have a thorough understanding and work together to the best possible advantage of all. I received your telegram about Warren and thank you warmly for your thoughtfulness. I have sent the article as requested and hope it will reach there in time and be hot enough to scorch the hides from the devils who are putting Fred in jail.¹

Last evening we had a lovely little Thanksgiving celebration, and as I was smoking the big Girard pipe, we thought of you and George and wished you could be with us to share in our sweet content. Grandma was dressed in her best, her dear old face lighted up with a most benignant smile, Kate in her best bib and tucker, Boydie playing Gounod's "Faust," "Silver Threads Among the Gold," and "Home Sweet Home" on the phonograph, while I was—just smoking. Smoking the beautiful dream of a pipe in carved meerschaum, with George's tobacco in it, and looking calmly, serenely toward the sunset.

Always your comrade
E. V. Debs

TLS, MiDW, Archives of Labor History and Urban Affairs, Brewer Collection.

1. Warren was scheduled to begin his six-month term on January 21, 1911.

EVD to Carl D. Thompson

November 26, 1910

[Terre Haute, Indiana]

My dear Carl Thompson:—

I have been trying ever since I acknowledged the receipt of your letter of the 5th. inst. to answer it but I have been pressed so hard that I have found it impossible to do so, and even now I am compelled to hurry through it without doing it more than half justice. There has been a perfect flood of letters in here since my return, and matters of all kinds have been awaiting attention, and to cap it all I have had to let go of everything to take hold of the Warren case which will probably make it necessary for me to entirely change my plans and go to Girard,¹ leaving affairs here to take care of themselves until I can get back again.

I am in hearty accord with every word your letter contains excepting alone on the subjects of trade unions and immigration. If the performance of Berger at St. Louis at the convention of the fakirs,² where

he makes himself the annual laughing stock, is not sufficient to disgust socialists I do not know what else would be required, or what further were possible. But we will not now discuss trade unionism and immigration.³ We will put these off for some other time.

You are absolutely right when you say that at heart Berger is an aristocrat and {not} a socialist. He holds the common run in as much contempt as did Alexander Hamilton or as does Theodore Roosevelt or any other rank individualist. Berger really feels that he is made of superior clay and that the tremendous responsibility of making the socialist movement rests upon his shoulders, and his egotism increases and his vanity inflates as he progresses in power. But I have not the least fear that he is going to foist himself upon the national movement as a dictator. Not the least in the world. In that I disagree with you, and that constitutes the only difference between us except as to the two subjects above named.

Like yourself I appreciate all there is of ability and energy there is [*sic*] in Berger, all that merits good report in a true socialist—and Berger has his full share of all these qualities, and he is especially gifted with mental powers—but I am unalterably opposed to the toleration of his autocracy in the socialist movement, and I am strongly inclined to find fault with you and others at Milwaukee for allowing him so long to have unbridled sway and to really function as a boss in the Socialist party.

To me there is something shockingly abhorrent about the boss in the socialist movement. He belongs to capitalism and its exploiting mechanism and rotten parties. There is no earthly place for him in the democratic party of the working class.

It is urged by some of the friends of Berger that he is clean and free from corruption. That makes him all the more repugnant and indefensible. There is consistency in a corrupt boss; there is no excuse for a clean one. Corruption is the only possible excuse for a boss. In the socialist movement men are supposed to be enlightened enough to boss themselves and if they are not they are out of place and an element of weakness and to the extent that the party depends upon them it will crumble and collapse and have to build all over again.

Let me make this point clear: To the extent that the Socialist party of Milwaukee and Wisconsin depends upon Victor Berger as a boss, instead of a mere comrade counting one, all of one but no more, it is not a socialist party at all. All of it that hangs upon the influence of a boss will collapse and should in truth be battered down to a substantial basis, the sooner the better.

I discovered [his] true nature long ago, but I was indulgent with him to the verge of cowardice. I have heard him talk to Fred Heath⁴ in a room full of people as I would not talk to the mangiest cur, and Heath took it all meekly and without protest, and Berger took it for granted that it was his right to exact such servile and debasing obeisance from comrades. He tried it on me but there he struck a snag. I yielded and submitted until self-respect moved me to call a halt, and I did. Berger was determined that I had no right to differ with him and insultingly commanded me to act the part of a lackey to him, and then our relations came to a very sudden end. I told him that I was a man and a socialist, that I had opinions of my own and the right to express them and that I would permit neither man nor god to boss or dictate to me in the vulgar spirit that moved him to turn purple as he tried to bulldoze me into docile subjection to him as he had done to so many other comrades.

Now the thing for you to do is, in my opinion, to summon those comrades who are agreed with you and formulate a program of resistance to Berger's boss rule. Do if you have to resign your office⁵ and leave Milwaukee. The issue has got to be faced and it is the part not only of cowardice but of treason to evade it. If the socialist movement tolerates a boss, be it Berger or Jehova, it is false to its professed principles and the lightening should strike and will strike it just as certain as we invite it. I will back you up when the time comes for me to take my part. I want some time to face Berger upon that very issue before the delegates of a convention, or better still, the rank and file, and he may then have full opportunity to exploit his power as a boss, but if I don't strip him nakeder than he ever was before as a boss it will not be my fault.

And all this is written without a shadow of ill feeling toward Berger. As for envy I know not the meaning of the term. I rejoice with all my heart when I hear of a comrade who can do more than I can for the socialist movement. But for the boss, if he appear in the form of my best friends or my dearest comrade I can have only scorn and contempt.

This is not a confidential letter. You can treat it as you may think proper. What it contains I am ready to stand by. I am only sorry that I have had to express myself in such haste and risk making myself misunderstood. Perhaps at a later time I may have a chance to talk over the matter with you. I hope so. The fine spirit and the manly tone of your letter appeal to me very strongly. I want to get closer to you and work with you in every way I possibly can to build up a

truly democratic movement without a boss and without a sycophant.
With love and good wishes I am

Yours always
[Eugene V. Debs]

P.S. You have seen {what} happened to Roosevelt, haven't you? Well, Berger will ride to just as hard a fall if the swelling continues.

TLc, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. The *Girard Press* noted Debs's arrival there on December 22, 1910, "to do more active work" at the *Appeal*.

2. Berger attended AFL conventions for twenty years as a delegate from the International Typographical Union. His attendance at the 1910 convention in St. Louis was his last.

3. In a letter from Debs to George D. Brewer, printed in the *International Socialist Review* (July 1910), Debs bitterly attacked the immigration restriction policy adopted at the party's 1910 congress.

4. Frederic Faries Heath (1864-1954) was one of the founders of the Social Democratic party and presided at its convention in 1900. His book *Socialism in America* was published by the E. V. Debs Publishing Company in 1900 and he was secretary of the party's national convention in 1908. An ally of Berger and a member of the Wisconsin Social Democratic party's executive committee, Heath was at this time editor of the *Social Democratic Herald* in Milwaukee.

5. Thompson was city clerk in Milwaukee.

EVD to Carl D. Thompson

November 29, 1910
Terre Haute, Indiana

My dear Thompson:—

I think I ought to add a word or two to my letter to you of Saturday. I think I should say that the sooner Berger is given to understand right at Milwaukee that he is a comrade and not a boss the more trouble will be saved, and the better it will be for the party, for Berger and all concerned. And the action ought to be taken above board after it has been determined upon. Berger should be summoned and told that henceforth the boss is dead in Milwaukee; if he acquiesces all the better; if not then he must be fought to a finish. If the party has to be disrupted upon the issue of making the socialist party a democratic party in fact as well as in name, then the sooner it comes the better and the sooner the party will be rebuilt on a democratic foundation. Berger needs just that and he needs it badly. It may do him good and I earnestly hope it will. But if he can't be made a

democrat then he must be smashed as a boss. The papers had a long article on Sunday holding him up and glorifying him as the "czar of Milwaukee," and what hurts about [it] is that it is true. As if this was not sufficient the same papers quoted Gompers and Morrissey¹ as saying that they were glad of Berger's election,² that "Victor" was their personal friend, and that there was nothing to fear from him. When Gompers and his fakir lieutenants call a revolutionist their friend and rejoice in his election there is something wrong with that friend that will bear looking into.

That Berger at heart is a towering egotist and that he has a mania for personal power purely for the sake of power is too flagrantly apparent to admit of doubt, and they who cannot see it are totally blind. Berger is not loved by the comrades nearest to him but feared and that is a sad commentary on his democracy and their socialism.

When Edwards³ was still editing the S.D. Herald at Milwaukee and Hagerty⁴ was to speak there on Labor Day and the forms were made up with a portrait of Hagerty, the principal speaker of the day, on the first page, Berger rushed in purple and trembling with vulgar rage and had the forms torn apart and his own portrait substituted for that of Hagerty's, and the portrait of the latter put in a back page. This incident is a perfect index of Berger's egotism which is in violent and vulgar contradiction to the fundamental principles of democratic socialism. To tolerate that spirit is to invite disaster. The power of the boss is the weakness of the movement. This power vanishes with the strength of the movement. The true leader uses all his power, not to rule others, but to impart the power and intelligence to them to rule themselves.

Yours always
[Eugene V. Debs]

TLc, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. P. H. Morrissey, a former grand master of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainman, was serving as president of the American Railway Employees and Investors Association.

2. Berger was elected to Congress in the November 1910 election.

3. Alfred Shenstone Edwards, a native of England, had served as editor of the *Social Democratic Herald* from 1898 to 1902 and of the IWW's *Industrial Worker* from 1906 to 1908.

4. Thomas J. Hagerty.

EVD to Fred D. Warren

December 2, 1910
Terre Haute, Indiana

My dear Fred:—

Your[s] received this morning, also current Appeal. Have been eager for a word. You are proceeding as I guessed you would. The habeus corpus move¹ is, I think, the right one to make. The case is now before the people and it doesn't really matter which way you move, they are with you.

The courts, in sentencing you, have convicted themselves. Pollock is vindicated and what a hell of a spectacle he presents. Looks like the parrot that monkeyed with the bulldog and not a tail feather left. One vindication of that kind is about all even a federal judge can stand. Pollock and Bone are entitled to all the comfort they can extract from your going to jail over their game of poker. They are sufficiently damned in their degeneracy.

Attached hereto find a clipping of value. It exposes the dirtiest political and papal deal in the history of American politics. Take good care of it and put it where you can find it when you want it. It consists of documentary evidence that utterly damns Roosevelt, the republican party, Archbishop Ireland and roman hierarchy. The infamy of this intrigue, the dirtiness of the deal, and the utter nastiness of the whole affair pass all understanding. I think the time will come when the Appeal will feel called upon to make an expose of this rotten affair to open the eyes of its readers This clipping is from the Springfield, Mass., Republican of Sept. 22nd., in which {the article} originally appeared as the contribution of Mrs. Storer.²

Note what {you say} about coming to Girard and will try to do so. Want very much to see you and put my hands on you. Have been crowded every minute since my return. Correspondence enough for the national office. Love to you all.

Yours to the end
E. V. Debs

TLS, CtU, Fred Warren Papers.

1. Warren announced in the *Appeal* (December 3, 1910) that he would not appeal the U.S. Court of Appeals decision to the Supreme Court, "that medieval body," but would instead report to jail at Fort Scott, Kansas, and "immediately make application for a writ of habeus corpus." If the writ were granted, Warren then planned "to go to Washington and appear personally before the supreme court," a strategy that would, he said, make for "interesting doings within the next few months."

2. See EVD to Fred D. Warren, January 3, 1910.

EVD to Carl D. Thompson

December 5, 1910

Terre Haute, Indiana

My dear Carl Thompson:—

I have just carefully read your fine letter and it gives me genuine joy. It is the superb utterance of an absolutely loyal comrade and there is not a word in it which has not my heartiest concurrence. There is so much in it that appeals to me that I would like to write you at length if it were not forbidden me. The call has just come that I must go to Girard. Warren must prepare to go to jail and now is the time to show my loyalty to him and for the present other things will have to be secondary. I've several articles about half finished, a pile of letters unanswered and more pouring in constantly, and a score of other matters more or less important awaiting attention, and yet I must close up as hurriedly as possible so as to get to Girard without an hour of unnecessary delay. In this situation I know your generosity will make allowance and that you will excuse this mere acknowledgment of your splendid letter.

I am more than glad to have had this full and frank expression from you. It reveals you to me more clearly than I ever saw you before. I have always felt an attachment for you based upon a high personal regard but I have never had the chance to share situations with you in which comrades learn to know each other as they are.

Personally I feel exactly as you do in reference to our movement. The movement is democratic or nothing. I would sooner see it wiped out completely than survive as a political hermaphrodite. But it will not be necessary to go to this extreme if, as you say, we make proper use of our common sense and our uncommon experience. But democratic the movement must be at any cost and the swelling taken out of any would-be-boss at any cost. In this we only ask what we freely grant. We want no vassals and will tolerate no bosses. So far as I am concerned if the party or the movement needs a boot-black I will serve in that capacity as readily as I would as its candidate for president. It is all the same so we have the chance to serve on equal terms and see every comrade a comrade with equal voice and equal consideration, no more and no less, with all the rest.

Berger thrives only when he is the boss, with {the} spotlight {full} upon him. I have heard him admit, when twitted by Seymour Stedman about being a boss, that he was a boss, admitting it with warmth, and then emphasizing it by saying that the Socialist party like every other party had to have {its} bosses. That is what he actually believes and

in that there is no question as to his honesty. It is that mischievous notion which must be gotten out of him. We need and want all of his ability but not one particle of his bossing. He will have far greater power for good when he ceases to {be a} boss and is loved as a comrade instead of feared as a boss. I think you and some others should summon him to your home or some other private place and quietly and firmly tell him what you think, so he will understand. Keep the party intact if you possibly can and go to any length you may to keep up the progressive march of the Milwaukee movement, but in the last extremity, if there is no other help, smash the party and rebuild it on a democratic basis rather than disgrace and ruin it by allowing a czar to rule it and a vulgar egotist to exploit it for his own glory.

Your loving comrade
[Eugene V. Debs]

TLC, InTI, Debs Collection.

EVD to Fred D. Warren

December 5, 1910
Terre Haute, Indiana

My dear Fred:—

I have just received a letter from Mrs. Brewer and she casually told me your wish. I understand and shall be at Girard as soon as I can get things in shape to leave here. I am glad Mrs. Brewer wrote me as she did. I appreciate her hesitancy and read in what she said and between the lines what you wished and yet were too modest and considerate to ask me to do.

Ever since the moment of the court's decision I have been cudgeling my brain over what to do to help you and the Appeal in this emergency. Plans without number suggested themselves but in each of them it seemed to me as if I was pushing myself forward at a time when above all others I should have a back seat. This and this alone restrained me from doing the things, or at least proposing to do the things I felt should be done, in this crisis. The thought that I might appear as rushing in where only you belonged and at a time that belonged to you and to no one else annulled my plans and sealed my lips. I want to do a comrade's full duty by you and the Appeal, and if I can only do it without seeming to court attention and win applause for

the doing, I will gladly serve in any way and to the last drop of my blood.

Mrs. Brewer says you would like to have me take editorial charge of the *Appeal* until you go to jail. I am at your command in this or any other capacity. Whether it is to take charge or to serve in what is regarded as the most menial capacity, it is all the same to me, so that I can do the best there is in me to help in this critical hour. I am too old to have any false pride or vanity and I shall get along with the boys in the finest spirit and we shall all measure up full size in meeting the demands of the day.

Let me suggest that you announce in the next issue of the *Appeal*¹ that I am to come to Girard at once to take editorial charge while you prepare for jail. I could write this announcement but you may have your own ideas about it. Write it according to your own ideas and put me in any position to suit the purpose. The opportunity is that of a life time. Can we make the most of it? I think so. If we have brains to shed we must prepare to shed them now. And we may need nerve too, and plenty of it, before we get through. When you are behind the bars I will feel sadly out of place out of jail. But before I go I want to deserve it.

I have some plans and announcements which contemplate very prompt action all over the country. We must make hell howl when you go to jail and heaven smile when you emerge from it. In that kind of fight all I have will be in and all I am will be in action. Every fibre is impatient, every brain cell alert, every drop of blood boiling.

We will make the six months capitalism has you in jail cost six years of its life. Every hour you spend there will save thousands of others from spending weary months and years there. When you realize this, that your sentence is their salvation, you will thank the gods for making you their instrument of deliverance.

Just one word about your statement in current *Appeal*. It is fine except where you speak of the pall hanging over your family² and home. Now is the time to be a warrior to the core, to bleed inwardly, spurn regret, defy humiliation, and accept a hero's fate without a murmur.

Yours in heart and soul
E. V. Debs

TLS, CtU, Fred Warren Papers.

1. Warren announced in the December 17, 1910, issue of the *Appeal* that Debs would be "at the helm" and would "take active command" of the paper during his absence.

2. In "To Jail for Six Months" (*Appeal*, December 3, 1910), Warren stated that

the "pall" had hung over him and his family for four years, i.e., since his indictment in 1906.

EVD to Fred D. Warren

December 7, 1910
Terre Haute, Indiana

My dear Fred:—

Read enclosed and reflect. This is Tom the purist and Hoke another.¹ Great defenders of the American home. This is one of the damdest rottenest scandals that ever disgraced a decent community. The one governor and the other the leading editor of the great bourbon state of Georgia. Mighty defenders of the purity of the American home. The governor is even charged with raping a negro wench. If the one is innocent the other is guilty. The truth is that both are revealed as they are. If the charge is true it is monstrous; if it is false it is worse. Suppose you comment on this or pass it over to J. A.² for one of his characteristic short articles. I suggest that you save it. You may need it for reference.

Yours always
Debs

TLS, CtU, Fred Warren Papers.

1. In his unsuccessful effort to prevent the reelection of Georgia Governor Hoke Smith (1855-1931) in 1910, Tom Watson filled the columns of *Watson's Jeffersonian Weekly* with charges of sexual promiscuity based, it was later revealed, on charges made by "an inmate of a house of prostitution" in Columbus, Georgia.

2. J. A. Wayland, publisher of the *Appeal*. Neither Warren nor Wayland wrote a comment on the Watson-Smith story for the *Appeal*.

EVD to Fred D. Warren

December 8, 1910
Terre Haute, Indiana

My dear Fred:—

Have your letter. I understand fully. Rely on me in everything. Will not attempt to answer as I shall see you. Shall leave here for Girard about Tuesday and be there Wednesday. ~~If this will delay your trip wire me and I will come at once.~~

~~Make any announcement in the Appeal you wish.~~ My faith in you is absolute. Whether it is to black boots, curry the bull pup, write heavy editorials, or pose as the office oracle, anything, so I can do the thing that ought to be done. I have some ideas and I believe one or two with gold in them. I have a story or two also that will {dig} a deep hole when it busts.

By the way, I am wondering if you got the little {5 subs a week etc.} article¹ I sent you by immediate delivery. It is not in the current Appeal which is just at hand. You wrote in a hurry and I answered in a hurry and maybe what I said didn't fit, or maybe it got there too late, or maybe it got lost on the road, and did not get to you at all. It is not important. I only wish you to know that I sent it and that it went by immediate delivery leaving here Friday morning last, the 2nd.

You have a little signed article from me on Warren and Gompers. Perhaps your modesty prevents you from printing it. Or perhaps you have some other objection to it. If so, please return to me by first mail and I will have it printed where it will not embarrass you.² I think the contrast should be made by all means. It is striking and an eye-opener. If you intend to use it then keep it of course. I only want it to do the thing I think it ought to do and that is to show the workers, who do not see very clearly, by a striking object lesson, the difference between a real leader and a counterfeit.

That is a corking telegram you sent Taft³ about Pollock. That endorsement will hit Taft squarely between the eyes, carom on Roosevelt, rebound upon Oscar Lawler and then land on Pollock's jaw.

Glad you are to have a little visit with your mother. Go with a light heart, we'll not do a thing while you're gone.

If the office is not wrecked, the big press bottom side up and old Chap under it, Van making a desperate shotgun charge on everything in sight, Push in tow by Pete Wilson, Brewer chasing himself into a torrent of eloquence, and the whole bunch of us in jail, we'll give you the damdest reception on your return a jail-sparrow ever got since this old earth was pie.

Yours always
E. V. Debs

TLS, CtU, Fred Warren Papers.

1. In "The Appeal Calendar" (*Appeal*, December 24, 1910), the paper offered a free Appeal Army calendar to any group sending in five subscriptions.

2. Debs's "Warren and Gompers" appeared in the *Miners' Magazine*, December 22, 1910.

3. In "No Pardon Wanted" (*Appeal*, December 17, 1910), Warren stated his refusal

to "accept a pardon at the hands of President Taft" and asked his friends "not to put me in the attitude of asking for any favors at the hands of Taft."

EVD to Fred D. Warren

December 10, 1910
Terre Haute, Indiana

My dear Fred:—

Read both these clippings if you have not done so. Note particularly that McHugh¹ is on the list for the supreme bench and then note his pedigree judicial. He's a pippin. A gold brick democrat. A Pierpont peach. Would fill the cavity in the supreme bench and fit in as snugly as a skunk does [in] his lower berth. Let us pray that Taft may draw on McHugh, Pollock or Hook² for a knave to fill in his poker hand.³

Yours always
Debs

TLS, CtU, Fred Warren Papers.

1. William Douglas McHugh (1859-1923) was a federal district judge in Nebraska.

2. William Cather Hook (1857-1923) was a federal judge on the Eighth U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals, which had sustained Warren's six-month, \$1,500-fine sentence in St. Paul.

3. Taft appointed Willis Van Devanter (1849-1920) to the Supreme Court. Like Hook, Van Devanter had served on the Eighth Circuit Court, which upheld Warren's sentence.

EVD to W. G. Mattern¹

December 10, 1910
Terre Haute, Indiana

My dear Comrade:—

Yours received, I'm leaving for Girard with a hundred letters unanswered and my work not half finished. I'm crowded almost out of my wits and have not a minute to spare for local quarrels. All I have to say is that I have the greatest confidence in the members of Local Dayton and anyone who asserts the contrary is misrepresenting me. Not only this, I am against anybody, be he who he may, who is seeking to disrupt and destroy the Dayton Local. This is all I have to say, or have the time to say at this moment.

I don't believe that Local Dayton consists of grafters and that thieves are in control of its finances. I think that a slander from what I know of the members and I should have to see the positive proof to be convinced, and any one who circulates such a report without proof is either ignorant or dishonest, and in either case an enemy of the Socialist Party.

Hoping that your members will staunchly stand together and fight it out and win for a united party with a clean record and true to Socialist principles, I remain,

Yours as ever in the past,
E. V. Debs.

TLc, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. Mattern was secretary of the Socialist party in Dayton.

EVD to Fred D. Warren

December 10, 1910
Terre Haute, Indiana

My dear Fred:—

Yours received. All O.K. Will be on the lookout for Adams. Will be with you about Thursday, perhaps Wednesday. We have a red hot fight here. Our penitentiary has been discovered to be an inquisition of torture. It ought to make a picture that would stir the world. Wish you could put Shoaf on it. Here is the story in a few words: The A.F. of L. state organization of Indiana had a committee that investigated prison labor. Until this year this committee consisted of dummies. But this year a member of it was Phil Reinbold,¹ a live one, and a particularly warm personal friend of mine. He investigated and his report has created a sensation, stirred up the whole state and been telegraphed all over the country. The governor² and state officials and prison contractors are all denying, explaining and squirming like hell. Every member of the A.F. of L. committee, ward-heeling politicians that they are, have turned on Reinbold under the lash of the capitalist and politician, to whom they belong, but the people are with Reinbold and the fight is going to be a hot one.

This prison is one of fourteen, the labor of which is bought and controlled by a slave-driving, blood-sucking corporation of contractors. The contractors squeeze the life-blood out of these unfortunates. The prison officials get a rake-off from these contractors to speed and

sweat the poor prisoners, and for the slightest offense the latter are put in what {was} known as the "frame" or what amounts to the same thing, in the Spanish inquisition, and tortured as they were in the middle ages. It is the God-damnest barbarism imaginable and this under the very nose of twentieth century civilization.³

Simons has written me about it and I am going to have Oneal here, if possible, write an article and get some pictures for it, for the *Coming Nation*. I have written Simons that the socialist press ought to lash this A.F. of L. committee of ward-heeling politicians for trying to cover up this crime but that it will not dare to do it for fear of offending Berger and losing some A.[F.] of L. votes. One of these days I'm going to cut loose at this A.F. of L'ism and the Socialist party cowardice in pandering to it if I've got to stand alone.

For your confidential information I can say that Reinbold and I are working together on this thing. You will have no trouble in seeing my hand in the report in enclosed clipping, which was prepared in its essential features at my house Saturday night. It has exploded like a bomb and if only the *Appeal* could get hold of it now and get a photograph of the "Hole" and the stories of the sweated and tortured prisoners it would raise hell all over the country. Give it a little thought and I will see you about it.

There are so damned many things breaking out that it is impossible to handle them all, and we can't scatter over a whole lot of these things and do much for any one of them

The rumors about my being cited for contempt have subsided. Evidently they thought better of the matter. There are too many people on my side now and while they don't know much they know enough to know that.

Love to you, old pard, and loyalty without a flicker to the gates of hell, and through them if need be.

E. V. Debs

TLS, CtU, Fred Warren Papers.

1. Phillip K. Reinbold (1870-1941) was a close Terre Haute friend of Debs. Reinbold's bakery was a popular meeting place for local political figures, and Debs was a regular customer when he was in Terre Haute. Reinbold served two terms on the city's common council and was chairman of the homecoming celebration following Debs's release from prison in 1921.

2. Thomas Riley Marshall (1854-1925) was elected governor of Indiana in 1908 on the Democratic ticket. He later served two terms as Woodrow Wilson's vice-president.

3. "Indiana's Black Hole" (*Appeal*, December 31, 1910) summarized Reinbold's description of conditions in the Jeffersonville, Indiana, state prison.

EVD to Fred D. Warren

December 10, 1910
Terre Haute, Indiana

My dear Warren:—

In the enclosed "opinion" in your case the point I have marked ought to have the batteries turned on it.¹ That is exactly what we are howling about, that ten thousand others have sent out what you have sent out and are still sending it out and you {are} the only solitary one to go to jail. If "*the duty is to treat all alike under the same circumstances and conditions*" were performed, all the jails, penitentiaries, court houses and other houses of ill fame would not hold the advance guard.

Yours always
Debs

TLS, CtU, Fred Warren Papers.

1. During December 1910 and January 1911 the *Appeal* printed a special column, "Press Protests," that summarized editorials from other papers commenting on Warren's case in particular and freedom of the press in general. During the same period, Debs's front-page editorials in the *Appeal* treated the Warren case as a fundamental attack on press freedom.

EVD to Theodore Debs

December 24, 1910
Girard, Kansas

My dear Kude:

My heart will be with you Christmas day. Have not a minute to spare sending what I'd like except my thoughts of love to you all. Am keenly disappointed not to be home but it can't be helped. Warren told me yesterday with tears in his eyes that he was sorry he had to call me from home at Christmas time but that I was the only man in the world that could help him at this time. Under such circumstances it is not so hard to be reconciled. As I see him packing his things to go to jail & think of his aged & sorrowing mother who can't understand, his wife & his children, (how well I know what all that means) I think how infinitely better off Kate & I & you are, even if we are separated by miles at Christmas tide.

With my heart full I wish you & Gertrude & Marguerite a Merry

Christmas and boundless joy in your new and beautiful home.¹ In great haste

Your loving old pard
Eugene

Enclosed find draft.

ALS, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. Theodore Debs and his family had recently moved into a newly built home on Ohio Boulevard in Terre Haute.

William J. Mayo to EVD and Katherine Metzel Debs

December 26, 1910
Rochester, Minnesota

Dear Friends:—

I wish to thank you very much for your pretty New Year's card.

Wishing you Health and Happiness during the coming year, I remain,

Yours very truly,
W. J. Mayo

TLS, EVD Foundation, Debs Home.

EVD to William Allen White¹

January 27, 1911
Corpus Christi, Texas

My Dear Mr. White:—

Your kind note has just reached me. I shall be happy to see you at the earliest opportunity. I have been following you as best I could with deep interest and full appreciation. Your recent article on the courts especially attracted my attention. If I can be of any service to you of course I am at your command. But my movements for the next few weeks will be very uncertain. I have now been away from home six weeks and after closing this speaking tour at Austin on the 30th I shall go directly to Terre Haute. On the 12th prox. I speak at Chicago. Beyond that I am not quite certain. All I am really sure

about is that I am having to revise my program on very short notice and with increasing frequency in these days of rapid changes.

If there is no particular hurry about the matter you have in mind I will arrange to see you as soon as I can possibly do so, although I cannot say at this moment when that may be. I am to make a speaking tour of the southern states in March but I shall quite likely be out to Girard before that time. You can always reach me by addressing me either at Terre Haute or Girard. I would like very much to sit heart to heart with you for an hour or two. I see the fine flame from the altar-fires of your soul in your writings.

Our meetings down here are all crowded to the doors and the more radical the speech the greater the enthusiasm and the heartier the approval.

Love to you and all kind wishes!

Yours always,
Eugene V. Debs

TLS, DLC, White Papers.

1. William Allen White (1868-1944) was, through his editorials in the *Emporia Daily and Weekly Gazette*, one of the most influential rural spokesmen for liberalism in the Republican party and throughout the nation. His *Autobiography*, published posthumously in 1946, won the Pulitzer Prize. White's "Socialism and Free Speech" (*Gazette*, September 22, 1910) described Debs as "a perfectly sincere man" with mistaken ideas and called the government's effort "to shut off the *Appeal to Reason* . . . a mistake."

Theodore Debs to Stephen Marion Reynolds

February 7, 1911

Terre Haute, Indiana

My dearest Stevie:—

Your good note is received and I have read with interest the threat it contains. I accept your challenge on one condition and that is that you bring Bicknell and any other heavy weights that may be available for active service. I could not think of just tackling two such as you and Gene, I want enough to know that I have been in a battle, enough to at least work up a decent sweat. Since I live in the country I am a wildcat, friskier than a colt on pasture and hit like a streak of lightning.

Glad you are feeling fine enough to look for trouble. That is an indication that your liver is sound and in good working order.

Yes, Taft certainly did go up.¹ He showed, as usual, the widest and most intellectual part of his anatomy. He lacked the moral courage to treat the case with common decency.

Gertrude is in Denver, called there by the serious illness of her mother. Marguerite and I are running things and getting along fairly well. Come out and smoke the pipe of peace. I am home almost every evening.

My love to you all.

Always your loving comrade
Theodore Debs

TLS, InH, Reynolds Collection.

1. On February 1, 1911, President Taft commuted Fred Warren's sentence of six months' imprisonment and a \$1,500 fine "by striking out the imprisonment and reducing the fine to \$100" (*Appeal*, February 11, 1911). Warren refused to pay the reduced fine except in the form of 400 "subs" to the *Appeal*.

Theodore Debs to Adolph F. Germer

March 15, 1911

Terre Haute, Indiana

Dear Comrade Germer:—

Your kind letter of the 11th. inst. is before me and I have read with much interest and deep appreciation all you say. The situation in Chicago is a peculiar one.¹ Morgan has always been a disturbing factor and I very much doubt whether the removal of Barnes would in the least change his attitude. Morgan is able, has a certain kind of honesty, possesses to a superlative degree the cunning of a fox, revels in the spotlight on occasion, and is the deadly enemy of any man that does not accept his views unequivocally. Of course, he will continue his attacks on Barnes; Morgan never forgets, nor forgives, and he is unrelenting in his hatred—and that, as you say, will result in continuous conflict; in the wasting of time, energy and money; in keeping the movement in turmoil to the great delight of our enemies,—the fakirs in the labor movement, and their masters—the capitalists.

Deplorable as all this is, I do not, however, see my way clear to act upon your suggestion in permitting the use of my name as a candidate for the secretaryship of the party. There are many reasons which force this conclusion upon me. And, besides, the holding of office is distasteful to me. I can only conceive of one condition that might induce me to change my mind and that situation does not and will not again

arise in the party, viz., if the organization was without funds and there was no one else available for the place.

I take much the same view as you do regarding the present situation and believe that a change would be for the good of the cause. It would silence warring factions and do away with a conflict that is very liable to grow more fierce as the days go by and prove injurious to the movement.

Believe me, my dear comrade, I appreciate fully the spirit in which you write and your words of personal kindness touch deep into my heart. I send you and your good wife my greetings and my love and in this Mrs. Debs joins most heartily.

Fraternally yours
Theodore Debs

TLS, WHi, Germer Papers.

1. In his weekly paper, the *Provoker*, Thomas J. Morgan accused the national secretary, J. Mahlon Barnes, of dishonesty, incompetence, drunkenness, and sexual promiscuity with national-office employees. Following an investigation by a committee representing the party's national executive committee, Barnes was found innocent of the charges in February 1911, but the controversy raged for another six months and Barnes finally resigned in August 1911.

Harry Quelch¹ to EVD

March 23, 1911
London

Dear Comrade Debs,

Each year we publish a special May Day number of our paper JUSTICE, and the outstanding feature of that number consists of articles from leading men in the Socialist movement in the various countries of the world.

I am writing this, therefore, to ask if you would be so good as to send us a short article on the movement in America for publication in our May Day number this year.

Trusting that you will be able to so far favour us, and with the best of good wishes,

Believe me, dear Comrade,

Yours sincerely,
H. Quelch

TLS, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. Harry Quelch (1850-1913) was the editor of the socialist publication *Justice* in London. His translation of Marx's *The Poverty of Philosophy* was published by Charles Kerr in Chicago in 1910. Quelch was one of the founders of the Social Democratic Federation in England in 1881 and was often arrested and prosecuted for his leadership in strikes and labor agitation during the years that followed.

EVD to Grace D. Brewer

April 6, 1911

[Terre Haute, Indiana]

My Dear Comrade Brewer:—

Every word of your appreciative little note touches me. It is worth a thousand times the little token you have received. You are so filled with kindness that the slightest evidence of appreciation gives you joy. Would that this fine quality were more common among the children of man.

George simply could not keep from talking about your pancakes. He gave credit to the hotels in varying degree but always with the reservation that yours were the finest that ever melted in the mouth of an agitator. If you ever want him to quit chewing Taylor's best you have only to threaten a pancake lockout. That will settle it. Tell George I have his letter this minute and will answer it tomorrow. I am so glad he is with you and how glad you both are I know from how glad I am myself to be with the one faithful comrade whose love fills all the world with light.¹ The only shadow that hovers near is that cast by the thought that there are so many who have no home and no loved ones to whom they may return when they are weary.

With a thousand loving wishes to you all and to all the good comrades at Girard I remain

Yours faithfully
E. V. Debs

P.S. Please corner George so he can't get away, hold by the collar with a firm hand and read to him the enclosed editorial on whiskers. When you have through ask him what excuse he has to offer— or ninety days.

TLS (with typed signature), MiDW, Archives of Labor History and Urban Affairs, Brewer Collection.

1. Debs and George Brewer had on April 2 completed a two-month "invasion of Dixie," as their tour was called in the *Appeal*.

Algie M. Simons to Theodore Debs

April 17, 1911

Girard, Kansas

Dear Comrade:—

I will see to it that the subscription¹ of Comrade Froeb is attended to promptly, and that he gets the last three issues to fill up his file. I cannot understand how a mistake like this could be repeated, but, of course, I never see the letters of this kind.

I have been intending to write you for several days on another subject. You are of course familiar with the tear up in the national office. It seems to me that, while there is no doubt of the disreputable character of Morgan and Carr,² Barnes has also rendered himself impossible for a further term. In view of this situation, I want to go back to the plan that I insisted on when the Socialist Party was formed, and get you in as National Secretary. You are the only man that would certainly beat Barnes. In fact, I am quite sure that he would not run against you. You are also outside of any factions, and, in spite of your actions on the Red Special, I am inclined to think you are able to run the job, especially if Gene and I are not under your direct supervision.

Now, what I want to know is whether you are willing to stand. If you will, you will settle a whole lot of questions, and when the time comes for nomination, it will be possible to merely pass the word along, and let the Comrades know that you will not refuse it, and there will be no question of your election.

Yours fraternally,
A M Simons

TLS, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. To the *Coming Nation*.

2. The Rev. Edward Ellis Carr was the editor of *Christian Socialist* and, like Thomas Morgan, a critic of Mahlon Barnes's performance as the party's national secretary.

Theodore Debs to Algie M. Simons

[ca. April 19, 1911]

[Terre Haute, Indiana]

Simons:—

I have given very careful attention to what you say about my standing for national secretary. I am deeply sensible of the spirit of

your letter and all that it implies and I would not lightly consider such a serious proposition, but I find myself in a situation that makes it impossible for me to accept such a call, if it were made, at this time. It is not that I would disregard any obligation to the party but for reasons that I feel that I could not under present circumstances abandon the work I have in hand and the personal plans I have under way and do justice to the important work which now attaches to the office of national secretary that I have concluded not to entertain this very flattering proposition. A number of other comrades have approached me on this subject and I have made the same answer. In this my decision is final as the conclusion has only been reached after the most serious consideration of all the interests concerned, especially the interests of the party which are paramount to all others.

It would take a long time to make a personal explanation and I would not burden a busy man like you with unnecessary detail, but I am sure that if you understood my situation you would agree that under the circumstances my conclusion is the right one.

Allow me to thank you most warmly for the great confidence your suggestion implies. I feel quite as responsive to you as if I accepted the nomination and the election were assured me. I have very pleasant recollections of our relations on the Red Special where I learned to know you by that close personal touch which enables men to see and understand each other as they are. I am very glad the "actions" for which you now hold me responsible are of such a character as to prompt you to seek vengeance as you now do in writing me so kind a letter and in tendering me such a flattering service. This is more to me than could be conferred by any kind of official position.

With right good wishes for your success I remain

Yours fraternally
[Theodore Debs]

TLc, InTI, Debs Collection.

Alfred L. Flude¹ to Theodore Debs

May 4, 1911
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Sir:

At the request of Mr. Bicknell and Mr. Reynolds we are writing you in regard to the possibility of booking Mr. Eugene Debs for the Chautauqua season of 1912. It may interest you to know that our

Chautauqua bookings are larger than those of any other two bureaus engaged in that business. We have been able to secure from forty to fifty dates each summer for a number of the best known headliners. I think that there would be no doubt whatever that we could secure a remunerative season² for Mr. Debs if he cares to place the Chautauqua business in our hands. You will understand, of course, that we ask no control whatever of any portion of his time except that covered by the Chautauqua season, and we are willing to enter into any reasonable arrangements whereby you or he might take care of any openings which might be left in his schedule after the Chautauqua bookings were over. We trust that this will make the matter plain so that both you and your brother will appreciate that this arrangement will be satisfactory and profitable.

Hoping that we may have the privilege of booking Mr. Debs for that season, we are

Yours very truly,
Chautauqua Managers Association
A. L. Flude, General Manager³

TLS (with note by Theodore Debs), InTI, Debs Collection.

1. Alfred L. Flude was general manager of Chautauqua Managers Association in Chicago.

2. In a letter to Stephen Marion Reynolds (April 28, 1911), Flude said Debs could earn \$150 per speech on the circuit.

3. Theodore Debs noted at the bottom of this letter that he had sent Flude copies of a number of Debs's pamphlets, including *Children of the Poor* and *Woman*.

Katherine Metzel Debs to Grace D. Brewer

June 1, 1911

Terre Haute, Indiana

My dear Comrade:—

I have just finished reading your kind letter and thank you for all the good words it contains. I am glad the little things I sent you by your husband gave you pleasure. I am quite sure it was a pleasure to me to send them.

Boydie was bitterly disappointed in not seeing Comrade Brewer as he passed through here. It so happened that Boydie had a part in a play at school upon which the whole play depended and it was impossible on this account for him to get away at that particular time. He would gladly have given up the play if it had not been for the

others, for the little visit he would have had with Comrade Brewer would have been more to him than any play. He is very much attached to Comrade Brewer and if he was deprived of the pleasure of being at the depot you may be sure his heart was there.

You are quite right in saying that the days when our husbands are at home go by on wings of the wind, while those when they are away have leaden feet. Still, I have gotten fairly well used to it and now that Mother and Boydie are with me I feel as well satisfied as is possible under the circumstances, especially as I realize that {it} is all for the good of the cause.

I am glad you are to have your sisters with you. Gene has told me what lovely sisters you have and they will fill your days with gladness while they are with you. We all send you and Comrade Brewer our sincerest greetings and good wishes.

Yours faithfully
Katherine M. Debs.

ALS, MiDW, Archives of Labor History and Urban Affairs, Brewer Collection.

J. Mahlon Barnes to EVD

June 5, 1911
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Comrade:—

Perhaps Comrade Warren had already informed you of our agreement, otherwise my telegram of last Thursday must have been puzzling to you.

It was agreed between Comrades Warren, Katterfeld¹ and myself that, if possible, we would meet you in Terre Haute last Friday. The subject to be discussed was that of the "National Socialist Lyceum Bureau," the general lines of which are set forth in a communication sent to the State Secretaries, dated June 1st, copy of which is enclosed.

Since writing the above I have received a letter from Comrade Warren in which he states that he had written you fully about the project and that you and Comrade Brewer had discussed the subject; furthermore, that you did not approve of the plan for the reason that our proposal provided for a greater expenditure for salary to you than to other lecturers.

I can understand your feelings on that subject, but assure you that we were justified under the constitution in submitting the proposal we did. Note Section 2, Article VIII, of the constitution enclosed. I

sincerely wish that you had not considered the terms made necessary for you as a barrier.

However, on the other hand, I am greatly pleased with the fact that The Appeal and The Coming Nation both come into the combination, and with more liberal terms, so far as subscriptions are concerned, than were expected.

I hope you are enjoying good health. With best wishes, I am

Fraternally yours,
[J. Mahlon Barnes]
National Secretary.

TLc, KPT, Haldeman-Julius Collection.

1. Ludwig E. Katterfeld was a national organizer and lecturer for the Socialist party and a leader of the left wing on the party's national executive committee.

EVD to Fred D. Warren

June 6, 1911

Terre Haute, Indiana

My Dear Fred:—

Have you seen this from the National Office?¹ It virtually settles the matter and bodily transfers the Appeal bureau to the national party for the Appeal cannot very well stand out alone against the national office and all the socialist papers and justify itself in that attitude. I think this is taking a decidedly unfair advantage of you and the Appeal unless you specifically authorized Barnes to make this statement which I cannot believe. It seems to me this statement is issued at this time to knock the props from under you and compel you to surrender. The impression is clearly given that the thing is practically fixed and that the state secretaries have but to ratify it to put it into operation.² If there is not sharp practice here to accomplish by indirection what might be doubtful through straight methods then there is something about it I do not understand.

The thing in a nutshell is this: The Appeal originated, developed, applied and made a tangible success of this idea. The Appeal's bureau is the Appeal's own property as much as the Appeal's printing plant and it would be just as fair to take its printing plant away from it by smooth methods as its circulation sustaining lecture bureau. When the Appeal originated this idea and started in to give it practical application, Berger and the S.D.H.³ and others ridiculed it and denounced it as they have always ridiculed and denounced the Appeal and everybody connected with it, even though the Appeal's policy

has been to almost lick their boots and slop over them and appeal for funds for them to start a daily with which they may show their contempt for the Appeal seven times a week.

Well, after the Appeal made a success of the thing in spite of them they began to imitate it and tried to snow the Appeal under with a more elaborate affair, of which they made a complete failure. Now, after denouncing the Appeal and then imitating it and then failing, they propose to pool their failures with the Appeal's success and turn their failure over to the Appeal and the Appeal's success over to themselves. All I have to say for myself is that you can count me out when that arrangement is perfected.⁴ If I could have been induced to go in before I could not be induced to do so now after I see by what methods they propose to carry out their plans. In my opinion they have no right to spring this report at this time, virtually announcing that the thing is settled and has the Appeal's sanction and simply requires to be ratified by the state[s]. It does not say so in so many words but that is its plain purport and it very smoothly puts the Appeal in the attitude of standing out solitary and alone against the whole press and the whole party. Of course the other papers⁵ have nothing at stake but their failure and they are eager enough to pool that with the Appeal's success.

There are several very decided objections I have to this Barnes-Katterfeld plan but it is not necessary to discuss them at this time. On the basis they propose they will make a flat failure of it and the jealousy among the various papers when it comes to getting their share will do the rest. The same spirit will crop out that prompted Berger and his crowd to take the precaution that not a copy of the Appeal and no representative of the Appeal or any literature of the Appeal should be allowed on the Red Special.

If Barnes has issued this statement unauthorized by you then there is in my opinion but one thing to do and that is to insert a notice in the Appeal to the effect that there has been no agreement reached with the Appeal to Reason in reference to its circulation subscription department, the circular from Barnes to the contrary notwithstanding, that the Appeal's lecture bureau department is an increasing success and that it will be continued as a part of the Appeal as heretofore until further notice and that if it is ever abandoned the readers of the Appeal will receive due notice thereof through its own columns.⁶

It might also be added that the Appeal originated this idea and put it into effect amidst the sneers of others who when they saw that it was going to succeed in spite of them were driven to imitate it and now that they have also failed at that they are attempting by indirection to appropriate it to themselves.

There may come a time, and probably will, when the national party will control a lecture bureau department and I should be glad to see it and do my share to help it along but it will not be done on any basis such as is here proposed nor by any such methods as are here employed. I can see failure from the very start⁷ and I certainly do not want to be a party to having such success as has been achieved by the Appeal go to pieces in other hands.

If the thing has gone through as here seems evident then there is nothing left for me to do but to tender my resignation from the Appeal and here it is to take effect at once or at your earliest convenience. You understand of course that in this there is not the slightest personal feeling. The Appeal has always treated me fairly and squarely and I have no complaint and if I now quit the Appeal it will be with the best of good will toward you all and whatever I can do to serve the Appeal will be done with pleasure as always in the past.

Yours always
E. V. Debs

TLS, KPT, Haldeman-Julius Collection.

1. On June 1, 1911, a letter from the national office to state secretaries and others announced the launching of the National Socialist Lyceum Bureau under the direction of Ludwig Katterfeld.

2. In his report to the party convention in 1912, Katterfeld reported that "only one state secretary refused permission to the operation of the bureau."

3. *Social Democratic Herald*.

4. In Katterfeld's report to the 1912 convention, Debs is not listed among the lyceum bureau speakers, but the list did include George D. Brewer.

5. Katterfeld had been in charge of the *Chicago Daily Socialist* lecture bureau before joining the national party staff.

6. On June 17, 1911, the *Appeal* noted that "the announcement made by Comrade Barnes that the *Appeal* and the *Coming Nation* had joined the National Lecture Bureau in no wise affects Comrade Debs' meetings, which will continue under the direction of the *Appeal*."

7. Katterfeld's report to the 1912 convention acknowledged that the lyceum bureau had "fallen short of its possibilities, financially as well as in other ways," blaming "lack of experience, . . . short funds, . . . short help, . . . and high costs."

EVD to Fred D. Warren

June 7, 1911

Terre Haute, Indiana

My Dear Fred:—

Yours of the 5th has been received. Glad you liked the little Pennsylvania article¹ and if I had thought it worth putting in the general

edition I could perhaps have made it more suitable for that general purpose.

From what you wrote me in reference to the conference with Barnes about the lecture business I inferred that it was purely informal and that nothing definite was agreed to. From the enclosed letter from Barnes it seems perfectly clear that the whole thing is settled and that only details remain to be arranged. It all seems very strange to me. There is evidently a very decided misunderstanding as to the outcome of the conference between you and Barnes. In your letter to me you stated that nothing had been agreed to, that you were opposed to the change and that you hoped I would be and that nothing would be done until you heard from me. Now comes Barnes on the heels of this and announces that the Appeal and the Coming Nation are in his combination and that even the terms have been fixed and agreed upon. If this is true then with my present views and convictions upon the subject my course is clear and I need not hesitate a second. But before I move in the matter I will of course first wait to hear from you. I know that what you have done you have considered for the best and whether I agree with it or not makes not the least personal difference between us so far as I am concerned, but I confess that it is impossible for me to understand the outcome of the conference when you advise me that nothing definite was done or agreed upon and that you were opposed to the proposition of Barnes while at the same time Barnes officially notifies the party that a tentative agreement has been reached implying that only the details remain to be arranged, and advising me personally that the deal is practically closed and that both "the Appeal and the Coming Nation both come into the combination, and with more liberal terms, so far as subscriptions are concerned, than were expected."

Enclosed find a significant page from Judge² that will interest you. Am clearing up the mail this morning so that I can send you some copy for the next issue.

Yours always
E. V. Debs

TLS (with transcript), KPT, Haldeman-Julius Collection.

1. Debs's "Solid Progress in Pennsylvania" (*Appeal*, June 17, 1911) described Pennsylvania as "the best organized in the union," noting James Maurer's election to the state legislature "as the first representative of the Socialist Party" in that body.

2. *Judge* was a journal of satire, humor, and political cartoons that focused much of its attention on the Democratic party in general and William Jennings Bryan in particular.

EVD to Josephine Conger Kaneko¹

June 8, 1911

Terre Haute, Indiana

Dear Comrade Kaneko:—

You were kind and thoughtful as you always are to allow me to see this lovely letter from our dear Joe Cohen.² I don't know of any one I would rather have think this of me than this fine boy. What he says I do not deserve. His own appreciative and generous nature is revealed in his words. At the same time I feel good to think that in the little I have done there has been found enough to win for me such a priceless comradeship. And this of itself is enough—it makes me rich indeed. What more could I ask—or any one?

It is true, as Joe says, that we have hardly had a glimpse of each other. And yet I get him in all his completeness instantaneously. What a marvellous process, this perfect mutual understanding of comrades at a glance. Only socialism could have made this magic possible.

Joe Cohen is full to the brim with the spirit of socialism and its genius guides his pen and directs his work. He is richly gifted and future holds much in store for him.

I was very sorry to see you move away from Girard. It was all wrong and my heart told me so at the time. I do not see how they could allow you to go. The Appeal so much needed you, as it seems to me, and you and the Appeal and the C.N.³ could be mutually of so much service to each other. But perhaps the change may be for the better after all. Most earnestly do I hope so. I have always felt a peculiar interest in you and your work due perhaps mainly to the fact that the cause of woman has always appealed to me above most everything else and the further fact that I could sense the bitter and trying struggle you and your noble husband⁴ had to obtain a foothold in your very praiseworthy desire to serve especially the long neglected and discouraged and discouraging woman's side in the struggle for emancipation.

I wish you and your paper⁵ and all your undertakings success with all my heart. Remember me with affectionate greetings and all kind wishes to your mother, in all of which Mrs. Debs most earnestly joins me.

Faithfully your comrade
Eugene V. Debs

TLS, EVD Foundation, Debs Home.

1. Josephine Conger Kaneko was on the editorial staff of the *Appeal* from 1909

to 1911, a contributor to many other socialist and nonsocialist publications, and an activist in the woman-suffrage movement.

2. Joseph E. Cohen (1882-1950) was a leader in the International Typographical Union and the Socialist party in Philadelphia and a delegate to the party's national conventions from 1908 to 1920.

3. *Coming Nation*.

4. Josephine Conger married Kuchi Kaneko in 1904.

5. Josephine Kaneko was editor of *Progressive Woman*.

Caroline A. Lowe to EVD

August 18, 1911

Chicago, Illinois

Dear Comrade Debs:—

With your usual thoughtfulness you remembered the first meeting of the Woman's National Committee,¹ and you are the only person who did remember us; at least you are the only one who was so kind as to send us a telegram of good cheer. I cannot tell you how much we appreciated it and the shout of delight that went up from our Committee when it was read. I was instructed to write you a letter filled with love and appreciation from each member.

I want to thank you also for your promptness in sending your splendid article on "Why We Have Outgrown the United States Constitution."² I did not remind you of it because I felt that you had already too much upon your hands. I must admit that I was somewhat surprised to find that you had not forgotten your promise to us. Not because you ever have forgotten, but because nearly everyone else does unless a reminder is sent insisting that the article be forthcoming.

We feel much encouraged after the result of our meeting and are confident of better work during the coming year. When our report is completed, I shall send you a copy. Remember me kindly to Comrade Theodore.

With love and best wishes to you and your wife, I am

Sincerely your comrade,

Caroline A. Lowe

General Correspondent,

Woman's National Committee.

TLS, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. The women's national committee of the Socialist party met in Chicago on December 12, 1910. The committee had been created at the 1908 convention of the party and charged with, among other things, the responsibility for recruiting women

into the party, agitating for woman suffrage, and increasing attendance at the party's Sunday schools.

2. Debs's article appeared in *Progressive Woman* on September 1, 1911.

EVD to Grace D. Brewer

August 21, 1911

Terre Haute, Indiana

Dear Comrade Brewer:—

Your letter has come and I much appreciate your kind and considerate arrangement for the coming speaking tours.¹ I think you would better fill in the dates for the October trip until election day, which is the 7th. of November, I believe. This will be better than to cut the trip off at four weeks and cut out those places that want pre-election dates. This will accommodate those places that want an election date while it will save the necessity of a succeeding trip to cover the same territory.

It will then hardly be worth while to book another tour before the holidays. The time will be too short and those dates are not desirable anyway as the people are absorbed in the holiday festivities, making their purchases, etc. etc. and my experience is that the two weeks preceding the holidays are not desirable for speaking dates. I think I will put in that time doing some writing for the Appeal that I have in mind, and possibly take a trip out to Girard to get in touch again. There are some things about the Appeal that I think could be changed for the better and I would like to be at Girard long enough to lend my help in making each issue strong and clear and well balanced as it should be. The dropping back of the circulation² and the enormous falling off of subs with no renewals to take their places is evidence to my mind that the paper is not up to its best or it would hold more of the ground it gains and lose less of the subs. Some of the current issues that are vital are not handled as they should be and some matter goes into the paper that ought not to have a place in its columns. The matter for each issue ought to be scanned by an experienced eye so that each issue is up to the high standard the people have the right to expect from the leading socialist paper in the world. There is a good deal of quiet complaint on this score from some of the Appeal's most loyal supporters and it undoubtedly has a tendency to dampen their ardor and weaken their energy. The Appeal is the most important of all and whatever changes may take place among individuals the supreme object of every one connected with the Appeal

should be to keep the Appeal up in every respect to the very highest possible standard. The feeling that I might perhaps help to some extent along this line prompts me to suggest a few weeks at Girard, either in December or January or both.

For the present you can fill in all the lecture dates, as already suggested, until election day and hold applications for dates from other sections in abeyance for a little while until we can decide definitely.

It seems to me that after the first of the year we ought to arrange to cover all the middle states, including Illinois, Missouri, Iowa, Minnesota and Kansas. We can quite likely get dates enough in this territory by sending out special matter to the local secretaries to cover a couple of trips of three or four weeks each. Will advise you more definitely at a later time. I appreciate your position fully and the difficulties, uncertainties, and anxieties attending it and if I can possibly lessen your cares or relieve your burdens or help you in any possible way I always wish you to call on me freely and without reserve and never to hesitate to suggest anything that occurs to your mind. With best love to you and George I am

Yours always
E. V. Debs

TLS (with typed signature), MiDW, Archives of Labor History and Urban Affairs, Brewer Collection.

1. During September and October 1911, Debs spoke at meetings in some seventy cities in Indiana, Ohio, West Virginia, and New York. His tour was described in the *Appeal* (November 4, 1911) as his most successful ever, and a week later the paper noted that many of the state and local socialist victories could be attributed to Debs's influence.

2. The claimed circulation of the *Appeal* dropped from 518,000 in June to 470,000 in September 1911.

EVD to [George D. or Grace D. Brewer?]

August 21, 1911
Terre Haute, Indiana

We are all shocked and mystified over the Shoaf affair.¹ If the reports are true there are some very strange features connected with the affair. If he has been really assaulted by detectives or other hirelings of the other side and made [a]way with it is indeed a shocking and startling affair. But I cannot get that out of it. He evidently had told several persons that he had startling testimony that would convict

Otis, that he had it in his room and that it was not safe there and that he was going to remove it etc. and then disappeared. If he had testimony that would startle the continent it seems strange that he should advertise it and lay himself wide-open and take all those chances of getting himself slugged and losing the evidence besides. We are hoping he is unharmed and that he will turn up all right, and I am inclined to think he will. It would be horrible indeed if he has been murdered by the plute gang and in that case every one of us would be under the deepest obligation to avenge his foul taking off and make those responsible atone for it.

If you can send Theodore 500 or 1000 more of the enclosed slips he will continue to send them out with his correspondence.

[Eugene V. Debs]

TL, MiDW, Archives of Labor History and Urban Affairs, Brewer Collection.

1. On August 13, 1911, George H. Shoaf, who was covering the McNamara case for the *Appeal* in Los Angeles, disappeared, and during the following two months the paper filled its pages with charges that Shoaf had been murdered or kidnapped to suppress information he had collected that would prove the innocence of the McNamaras. Debs wrote several stories and editorials dealing with the subject during September and October 1911, and the paper offered a \$500 reward for information leading to Shoaf's "rescue," but in the issue of October 14, 1911, the *Appeal* withdrew the reward, reported that Shoaf's disappearance was "merely a personal matter with himself," and suggested that "Shoaf deliberately planned his disappearance for the purpose of creating a sensation."

William Parker¹ to Theodore Debs

August 22, 1911

Dubois, Pennsylvania

My Dear Comrade

I am writing this letter on a very serious business to you and me, and the movement that we both love so well. The Socialist Movement. Of course Comrade I only met you once that was when you was on the "Red Special" with "Our Gene" but Gene knows me well, and he will tell you who I am. I have been in the Party since 1901 and my whole soul is wrapped up in the movement, and as things in our National office has been going at such a pace, that only last week (before I new that Comrade Barnes had resigned) I wrote Comrade Ringler² our State Secy asking our State Committee to start a recall, to recall the whole N.E.C. and the National Secy.

I have just finished a six week [tour?] through the state and all the

best Comrades have talked this National affairs over and we in Penn. have come to the conclusion that the whole National office must be cleaned out

I knew for months that John Work³ was slated for Barnes' place, and I fear it is gang rule and as I said before the best Comrades of Pennsylvania has come to the conclusion that the cleaning must come, and the Comrade we have selected to help us to do the Cleaning is *yourself*

Comrade Debs we will work for you Night and Day if you will just let your name stand for National Secy, it may be you will have to make a sacrifice of some things, but just think of our movement. Now Comrade your are going to be nominated for National Secy. when the proper time comes, and all we comrades of Pennsylvania asks of you is that you will accept the Nomination and run for the office and if you do you can rest assured that old Penna will give you a vote that {you} will be proud of

Comrade John R. McKeown our State Organizer Comrade C E. Martin of Venango Co Comrade Sturgis⁴ of Mercer Co Comrade Jack Britt Gaerity⁵ of Lawrence Co Comrade Eldridge of Wash Co and all the organizers of ten or twelve other counties are with me on this

Hoping you will honor us by being our next National Secy.

I remain

Yours for the Revolution
William Parker

ALS, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. William Parker was a state organizer for the Socialist party in Pennsylvania and a delegate from that state to the 1908 and 1912 national conventions.

2. Robert B. Ringler of Reading, Pennsylvania, was a delegate to the 1912 national convention.

3. Following J. Mahlon Barnes's resignation in August 1911, John M. Work was selected by the national executive committee to become national secretary.

4. John A. Martin was the publisher of the *Mercer County (Pennsylvania) Uplift*.

5. Jack Britt Gaerity's articles on socialist issues appeared regularly in the *Appeal*, the *New York Call*, and the *International Socialist Review*. At the time of Debs's death, Gaerity wrote to Theodore Debs (October 21, 1926) to describe his last meeting with Debs in 1914, at which time Debs tried to lend Gaerity \$300 "to recover my health." InTI, Debs Collection.

EVD to Grace D. Brewer

August 26, 1911

Terre Haute, Indiana

Dear Comrade Brewer:—

Yours of the 23rd. with the route sheets has come this morning. I am glad you have succeeded so well in covering Ohio and we shall now, I hope, be able to do some good work in that state. I know about the places where there is only one hall or other limited facilities and of the difficulties of booking and of the necessity of zigzagging and going back and forth to cover the territory. The main thing is that you have succeeded in getting the dates and I am sure that you have done the best you could to have them as convenient as possible and without unnecessary travel.

Am glad to hear that Comrade Warren was with you briefly and I am also glad to hear that he is going to stay away from the office for the next few months. It is just what he needs and when he gets back again his blood will have all the weariness out of it and he will be his old self again, as he needs to be for unless I am mistaken there are stirring times ahead. I note that Comrade Warren wishes me to come to Girard, or that he will try to come here. Good! If he can come here all the better but if not I can run out there. I feel very hopeful about the future, there is at least going to be plenty of chance to fight for the cause and the thing that is nearest to me just now is to see the Appeal expand in every way to the limits of its magnificent opportunities.

I have been trying to write about the Shoaf case but I am so mystified about it that I don't know how to handle the matter. I can only handle it at all with all the forcefulness I could command and if I plunged into it on a wrong theory I would put the Appeal as well as myself in the hole without doing any one any possible good. I feel with all my heart for Mrs Shoaf and the children. The father¹ must also feel terrible over the affair. I cannot bring myself to believe that he has been murdered or kidnaped by the Otis crowd. There is something else at the bottom of this. Possibly it may be a ruse of his own for a purpose he alone understands. But anyway there is something tells me that he is alive and that he will show up in due time and I earnestly hope I am right and that there has been no such horrible tragedy as would seem from surface indications.

No, Boydie has not yet returned. His school does not begin until October and he will probably not be back here for two or three weeks

yet. At least we do not look for him until about the middle of next month unless something unexpected should bring him home sooner.

The dog, the Honorable Patsy Brewer, must look quite aristocratic with his trimmed ears. George called my attention to the fact, or the imagined fact, that a peculiarly fascinating smile lingered about his upturned Bostonian features. I will have to make further investigation and probably employ an expert dogologist to assist before venturing a positive verdict. It strikes me that the Irish predominates in his strain and I think you have given him the fit and proper name.

I hope you are all quite chipper and that the skies are blue and all things surrounding you are bright and joyous.

Yours faithfully

E. V. Debs

P.S. Tell George to keep his eye on the Chicago Daily.

TLS, Archives of Labor History and Urban Affairs, Brewer Collection.

1. Shoaf's father, George C. Shoaf, was a former chief of police in San Antonio, Texas, and the head of a private detective agency there. The *Appeal* hired him to investigate his son's disappearance.

EVD to Editor, *Chicago Daily Socialist*

September 6, 1911

[Terre Haute, Indiana]

Dear Comrade:—

Please return the MS. of my article mailed to you nearly two weeks ago. I do not now wish it published in the Daily Socialist.¹ So far as I am personally concerned I would prefer not to have it appear at all but there are some matters of party interest involved which make it necessary for me to have the article published elsewhere, and this I shall do with an explanatory note attached to it. For this you are responsible and not I. You had a perfect right to refuse my article and return my MS. and if you had done this I would have not the slightest fault to find. But you did not do this. You have simply suppressed the article. You held up my previous article² for a considerable time and when you finally allowed it to appear you were particular to see to it that your wordy attempt to answer it appeared in the very same issue. A great many comrades have expected a reply from me and have so informed me, and they expected it at a time when the issue was fresh in the minds of the readers, and if you had

frankly told me at the time you received my article that you could not or would not publish it I would have been entirely satisfied. You have not treated me fairly. You are welcome to whatever you can make out of it. I have no personal feeling about the matter at all save that of regret on your account.

Yours fraternally
Eugene V. Debs

TLc, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. The article in question, "The Chicago Movement," appeared in the *Chicago Daily Socialist* on September 8, 1911. In it Debs criticized the paper for, among other things, not "exposing crooks" in organized labor, including Samuel Gompers, and for "ignoring" William Haywood during a recent visit by Haywood to Chicago.

2. Debs's "What's Wrong with Chicago," which appeared in the *Daily Socialist* on August 22, 1911, blamed the Socialist party's election failures in Chicago on the party's effort to win trade unionists instead of declaring for industrial unionism and on "its press, the *Daily Socialist* in particular."

Frank Bohn to Theodore Debs

September 25, 1911
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Comrade Debs:

It is with very great pleasure that we learn that you have consented to run for the position of National Secretary of the Socialist Party. Of course you realized that you could count upon the whole-hearted support of those of us who are most intimately connected with the *International Socialist Review*.¹ I think that your election is beyond doubt.

Of course you have discussed with comrades the vital matter of members for the coming N.E.C. We revolutionists are not very excellent in the matter of slate-making, as we seldom engage in it, but it seems to us here, and I speak for Comrade Kerr and the Marcys² as well as myself, that if we simply allow matters to drift on as they are, never caring much for the organization of the Party, that we shall be guilty of disregard for the best interests of the Movement. During the past few weeks we have heard from a number of the best known revolutionists and the following names have been mentioned as possibilities. Haywood, of course, can be elected. He has not yet consented to run, but he will be here next Saturday and we shall do our utmost to persuade him. Mayor Duncan³ of Butte, a "Red" who is making good in every way, would also ably represent the West on this list.

Comrades Maurer⁴ of Pennsylvania and Slobodin of New York seem to be naturally selected by reason of their being well-known in their own states as well as by reason of their adherence to revolutionary principles.

Are we correct in thinking that these comrades are the proper ones to be placed in nomination?⁵ What does 'Gene think of the situation and would you be willing to let us know his opinions so that in order whatever we may do we may co-operate with both of you. In your opinion, taking for granted that you at least partially agree with us, what names might be added to strengthen our {list of} candidates?

Hoping to hear from you on this matter and with fraternal greetings from all on the Review staff, I remain,

Yours in the Cause,
Frank Bohn

TLS, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. The *International Socialist Review* was published monthly by Charles Kerr in Chicago from 1900 to 1918. Bohn was on the editorial staff.

2. Mary Marcy and her husband, Leslie, edited the *Review*.

3. Lewis J. Duncan (1857-1936) was a Unitarian minister in Butte, Montana from 1902 to 1911 when he was elected on the Socialist party ticket as mayor of the city. The first Butte mayor to succeed himself, Duncan was reelected in 1913 but removed from office in 1914 following the rioting and civil disorder connected with the internal fight that raged in the Western Federation of Miners Butte local and attracted national attention following the bombing of the local's meeting hall. Duncan later resumed his ministry in South Dakota, where he became a leading figure in the Non-Partisan League in that state.

4. James Hudson Maurer (1864-1944) was a Socialist member of the Pennsylvania House of Representatives from 1911 to 1918 and president of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor from 1912 to 1928. Maurer later ran as the party's vice-presidential candidate (1928 and 1932) and as a candidate for the United States Senate (1934).

5. In the party election in November 1911, only Haywood, among those mentioned by Bohn, was elected to the national executive committee.

Theodore Debs to Frank Bohn

October 5, 1911

[Terre Haute, Indiana]

Dear Comrade Bohn:—

On my return from the country this morning I find your kindly persistent letter of the 3rd. inst. I had hoped that my previous decision

would be accepted as final. The acceptance of the nomination for national secretary involves so much, not the least of which is my own physical condition. My strength has been failing. I am fighting with what remains to regain what has been lost by living an out-of-door life and expect to continue this until the rigors of winter make it positively prohibitive.

But your letter is with me. Coming from such a source it merits the most careful and conscientious consideration. I shall take it home with me tonight, read it again, think it over, then write you, though at the present moment I do not feel that I can give you any encouragement.

With a full appreciation of your personal kindness and the best of wishes I am

Fraternally yours
[Theodore Debs]

TLC, InTI, Debs Collection.

EVD to Grace D. Brewer

November 13, 1911
Terre Haute, Indiana

Dear Comrade Brewer:—

Thanks for yours with check just received. Sorry George has neuralgia. That is torment that destroys all the joys of life. Hold him down to your rigorous treatment and if necessary use handcuffs, ball and chain and sic the Boston bull on to insure the proper obedience of the patient. There will be one good result and that will be the extraction of all the swears from the blood, insuring a period of purification that will fit George to join the Rev. Bond's¹ pectorium.

I am going to try and get out in the country for some days and see if I cannot get rested. I am simply tired to the marrow, run down physically, and I don't know at present what plans to make, but as soon as I get in the proper frame of mind I will let you know and we can then plan for future work. I do not think I can get to Girard before the holidays. I will put in the time writing for the Appeal and I think I can furnish a line of matter that will help to make the Appeal strong as it should be. The Appeal has been playing second fiddle to Milwaukee, . . . taking a back seat in fact, yielding the palm and the prestige to Berger and Milwaukee, so that to a large extent it has

become simply an echo to Milwaukee to the discouragement and disgust of many of its true revolutionary supporters.

Please do not do any booking for the present. I will let you hear from me just as soon as I feel clear enough to outline plans. I feel as if I ought to go to Girard for a time and that I can be of some service there, but first of all I want to get myself rested and recuperated and I can only do that at home. I am pretty close to nervous exhaustion and the trouble is that I can't sleep, but I am sure this can be overcome by roughing it outdoors close to home for two or three weeks and this is what I intend doing for I feel as never before the necessity of being strong in mind and body for the work there is before us.

Please say to Comrade Warren that I will let him hear from me as soon as I can formulate plans for future work and in the meantime I shall be glad of any suggestions. I want my plans to fit in with Comrade Warren's and the Appeal's and when we get hooked up together about the first of the year we will start out to make it the biggest year in the history of the Appeal and I have full faith that it can be done.

The election returns were glorious² {indeed}. If our work had anything to do with the results you are entitled to at least seventy-five percent of the credit and I wish you to know that it is freely and gratefully accorded to you from this end of the line.

With sincere affection to you and George for the loyalty that never wavers and the kindness that never fails and with loving greetings to all the comrades in and around the Appeal I remain

Faithfully your comrade

E. V. Debs

As I understand it I am not booked at all at present.

TLS (with handwritten note), Eugene V. Debs Foundation, Debs Home.

1. Thomas R. Bond, a Girard clergyman.

2. Socialists were elected to hundreds of state and local offices in the November 1911 election. The election of the Rev. George R. Lunn as mayor of Schenectady, New York, and the choice of J. Stitt Wilson in Berkeley, California, were two of the more important victories claimed by the *Appeal* (November 17, 1911) to prove that "the cooperative commonwealth is at hand."

Ernest Untermann to EVD

November 18, 1911

Lewiston, Idaho

My dear 'Genel

Thanks for your sympathy and your promise to assist me in this matter. I don't know what rumors you have heard, but it is evident that those who knew, made no attempt to protect Elsa¹ in any way, and not only did not notify me at all of what was going on, but declined to acquaint me with the facts and refused to deliver to me letters written by Shoaf to Elsa, which cleared up much of the affair and would have enabled me to place Shoaf behind the bars.

Piet Vlag,² the editor of "The Masses," New York, knew by the beginning of September what was up, because he had worked upon Elsa until she told him her secret. Instead of notifying me immediately and enabling me to protect Elsa, he scared her so much that she left the country. Vlag wanted her to leave, in order to be able to intercept her mail and search it for news of Shoaf. As soon as he had gotten Elsa out of the way, paying her passage to Holland, but expecting to reimburse himself by learning Shoaf's whereabouts from her letters and securing the reward offered by the "Appeal." He intercepted a letter written {to Elsa} by Shoaf in Los Angeles one month after he was supposed to have been slugged. This letter he offered to Fred Warren for money, saying he wanted cash only for his outlay of fare for Elsa, and would take out the rest in a business arrangement between "The Masses" and "The Appeal." Ben Warren³ went to New York, secured the letter and copies of extracts of other letters to Elsa which Vlag had intercepted, but Fred Warren, having secured the evidence of Shoaf's existence, withdrew the reward⁴ and told Vlag that he would not be blackmailed by him. The correspondence which has passed between Vlag and the Warrens is as pretty a bit of rogues' quarelling as has ever come under my notice.

Only after Warren had turned Vlag's blackmailing attempt down did Vlag write to me, hoping to get his revenge thru me. But when I tried to get the facts from him, he refused to tell me the truth and to give up the letters of Elsa which he had intercepted and stolen. Warren, when asked by me what he knew about the matter, ignored my letter altogether, and when I sent him a registered letter demanding the letter of Shoaf to Elsa which Vlag had stolen and which Warren held in his possession, I received a letter from Ricker,⁵ full of hypocritical preachments and irrelevant musings of this faker, but refusing to give up any letters of Elsa which they held.

I have never met with such a barefaced and scoundrelly treachery on the part of alleged comrades in the Socialist movement. They play with my daughter's fate in order to betray her confidence, steal her letters, bargain about those stolen letters, spirit the girl out of her father's reach, try to deceive the father about the actual facts, refuse to assist the father when he finally learns the facts, and insult him when he demands satisfaction and an accounting from them. Do you wonder that I am angry?

When I warned you against Shoaf a few years ago, you censured me for being, as you thought, unfairly biased against him. Now you doubt me again when I tell you that Fred Warren has acted like a scoundrel. I am not in the habit of spreading gossip and slander, as the Warrens have done about my daughter, after they had helped Vlag to betray her and her father. I say again, Fred Warren is a scoundrel, unworthy of the position which he holds and unworthy of the name of a comrade. I don't know whether you will take steps to insure justice to my girl and to myself in this matter, but in your own interest you will have to define your position toward Warren and Vlag. You have been too prominently connected with the "Appeal" to ignore this matter. I am surprised at the cool insolence of Warren in keeping even you, his most prominent associate, in ignorance of the actual facts.

Shoaf has not only seduced my girl, among others under age, but worked for years in the party to compromise prominent labor unionists and socialists in dynamite plots and other acts of violence. Elsa's own confession to friends of mine in Germany leaves no doubt on that score.

The Associated Press here has refused to touch the matter. The Pinkertons try to keep it dark. And the socialist editors are afraid of it! Warren is directly implicated, for he knew for years, as Ricker's letter to me admits, that Shoaf was dangerous. Among other warnings, Warren knew my own warning against Shoaf. Nevertheless he continued to employ him. Where did Shoaf get the money to support his family, travel with girls all over this country, live with them in fine style and act as *agent provocateur*?

It is too late now for any one to try to tell me that Warren knew nothing of the affair "until it was too late for him to be of any service." If he knew that Shoaf was dangerous, as he did; if he knew that Shoaf was a seducer of girls under age, as he did, for that Boise affair ought to have been enough to make him cautious; if he knew that Shoaf was always talking violence and laying plots, as he did, why did he pay him wages, big expenses, and keep him employed on the "Appeal"? The inference is irresistible: It paid Warren to employ Shoaf

in that way. He is simply lying to you, now, just as he has been lying to everybody else. Well, he'll never get another opportunity to lie to me and pose as a great and unselfish socialist. I know now that Warren worked first, last and all the time for Warren, and that all his grand-standing in the postal and Supreme Court cases was done first and foremost with an eye to boosting the circulation of the "Appeal" and himself. The Socialist Party has gained very little by these stunts.

If he is honest, why didn't he advise me of what was going on? Why didn't he tell me that Vlag had stolen my daughter's letters? Why didn't he answer my letters and give {up} the stolen letter that didn't belong to him? Why did he hold back the truth from you and thus compromise you together with himself?

I tell you, 'Gene, that I am not going to hush this matter up. Berger and others, from petty vote-getting considerations, are trying to prevent me from getting this news to the party membership. I am going to spread the facts broadcast, no matter if it requires a special letter to every member of the party.

The fact that the Pinkertons themselves are hushing this up, that the Associated Press is trying to kill the news, that the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association⁶ is ordering it suppressed, ought to be sufficient proof that Shoaf knew something and did something which helped them more than it did the Socialist Party. I am going to get at the full facts, and am going to find out just how much Warren himself had to do with Shoaf's underground operations. That he knew something about them, I glean from my daughters letters to Shoaf and to Vlag, also to some German comrades.

In your own interest, you should demand the truth from Warren and insist upon an investigation of the whole affair. I believe you to be one of my best friends, 'Gene, but the time has now come where you will have to choose between being a friend of Warren's or being a friend of mine. You cannot be both at the same time, and it is no fault of mine that it is so.

Faternally
Ernest Untermann

TLS, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. Untermann's daughter.

2. With Max Eastman, Vlag founded *The Masses* in New York in January 1911.

3. Ben Warren (1876-1967), Fred Warren's brother, was press foreman and business manager of the *Appeal*.

4. In its story withdrawing the \$500 reward the *Appeal* (October 14, 1911) reported only that "a man" sent by the paper to New York had secured "a letter written by Shoaf to a young woman in New York City . . . just one month after his disappearance." The letter "removed all doubts as to Shoaf's being alive."

5. Allen W. Ricker was on the *Appeal* editorial staff. He was the author of numerous socialist pamphlets—*Free Love and Socialism*, *Socialism in Action*, and others—and became editor of *Pearson's Magazine* in 1915.

6. In Los Angeles, the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association, controlled by Harrison Gray Otis, was the leading open-shop organization in Southern California, at the time deeply involved in the pursuit of the *Times* bombers.

EVD to John M. O'Neill

November 24, 1911

[Terre Haute, Indiana]

Dear Comrade O'Neill:—

The current issue of your Magazine¹ is received and I have just finished reading your crushing rejoinder to that degenerate priest at Morgantown.² You have left nothing to be added and you have that tool of mammon cornered at every point. He has no honor and no sense of shame, but like a bar-room loafer glories in his depravity and in the exhibition of it and as you are apt to hear from him again I want to give you a few pointers that you may use to your advantage.

First of all, Gorky's wife³ is as pure a woman as ever lived and the beast who would denounce her as a strumpet is himself rotten with moral leprosy. Next, Gorky and his wife were lawfully married and are man and wife as legally as any man and woman can be made so. The only thing the church howls about is that Gorky and his wife refused to be held up by that rotten institution, the bloody sepulchre filled with dead mens bones, called the Greek Church of Russia. That is the state church of Russia, that is to say, the church of the Czar and in alliance with the Czar in the execution of his brutal designs and his bloody butcheries. Gorky and his wife refused to have their marriage sanctioned or solemnized by this infernal institution and that is the pretext upon which the rotten plutocracy of New York drove him out of the country. Gorky like Christ espoused the cause of the downtrodden, the suffering poor and like Christ was crucified for that crime by the ruling class. Kluser is simply a small, contemptibly small Caiaphas, the high priest who engaged himself to the emperor of Rome to hound Christ to his death.

Any man, especially a priest, who will attack the reputation of any woman and hold her up as Kluser has done in this case is an infamous monster who if justice were done him would have his infernal head shot off by the outraged brother, husband or father of the victim. Call on Kluser, if he comes back at you, not on hearsay from the

rotten plutocracy of New York, but of *his own personal knowledge* and if he knows nothing, as I am sure he does not, then you ought to figuratively rip the guts out of the brute for slandering a woman, a cowardly crime of which the ordinary redlight blackguard would scorn to be guilty.

From what the comrades of Morgantown told me I am sure that Kluser is being well paid for his dirty work and that is why he persists in keeping it up and why you will very likely hear from him again. They are disgusted with him at Morgantown and this is the only way he can continue to draw his pay, by serving as the clerical champion of the plutocracy, a follower of the meek and lowly Christ in name but in fact a dirty and hypocritical priest of mammon.

Now comes the important point which involves the priest and about which there is a good deal of quiet local scandal. Ordinarily I would not repeat this or deal with it at all for I am not given to mixing in unsavory things and I have no ear and no heart for scandal, but when, as in this case, a beast wraps himself in the livery of the church to attack those who are seeking freedom from slavery and spews his filth upon the fair name of a woman he does not know and who is as immeasurably his superior as a star is above a rat-hole then justice demands that he shall be stripped to the hide and his leprosy exposed that his unholy traffic may be ended. When Brewer and I were at Morgantown the local comrades reported that Kluser had seduced and ruined a young woman there and the author of the charge is the editor of the paper there. I do not recall his name. This editor, according to his own statement, made to our comrades, was engaged to be married to a Catholic girl when he made the discovery that Kluser was regularly having carnal intercourse with the girl and he thereupon refused to marry her and the engagement was broken off. That charge was openly made by the responsible editor of a responsible paper in Kluser's own town and up to the time we left there Kluser had attempted no denial of the monstrous crime charged against him. Now since Kluser wants to know why I didn't sue him for libel for calling me an unmitigated liar you might ask him why he don't sue the editor of his local paper for making the charge of criminal seduction against him. The local comrades can furnish all the details. They told the full story to Comrade Brewer while we were there and said the charge against Kluser was common talk and that there was no attempt on his part to deny it. I used this charge in my speech at Watertown, N.Y.⁴ in a packed Opera House where the local priest, on the recommendation of Kluser, had warned the people against me. I took the hide off them both and you may be sure that it created a sensation and that was the very last point where these

Catholic bloodhounds attacked me. Kluser, the dirty cur did not say a word about facing me until I had left town and then he got brave and commenced to blow about not meeting him. It would have taken me just about fifteen minutes to have gutted him like a skunk and well did he know it. He is one of the dirtiest and most contemptible of the degenerates in the garb of priests who serve as the curs of the ruling lords to snarl and snap at the men and women who stand for righteousness and would spurn the bribe for which these degenerates become the scavengers of the robbers and oppressors of the poor.⁵

For what you have said in my defense and in defense of the party and the movement⁶ I thank you with all the warmth of my heart and I know you will believe me when I say that I am deeply sensible of every word in your eloquent and burning rejoinder which has, in every line of it the stamp of sincerity and the ring of true manhood. I am always

Your friend and comrade
E. V. Debs

TLc, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. *Miners' Magazine*.

2. Father C. Joseph Kluser was a Catholic priest in Morgantown, West Virginia, and a strong critic of socialism and its influence among West Virginia miners. After the 1912 presidential election, Kluser published in *Our Sunday Visitor*, a leading Catholic paper, attacks on Debs for his "mansion" in Terre Haute and for allegedly accepting excessive pay for his work in the campaign.

3. Maxim Gorky (1868-1936), the founder of socialist realism in literature, came to the United States from Russia in April 1906 hoping to raise funds for the Russian revolutionary movement, but charges that he was not legally married to his traveling companion, a Russian actress, Mme. Andreieva, created a storm of protest that forced the cancellation of Gorky's lectures and his departure for Italy in October 1906.

4. Debs spoke in Watertown on October 24, 1911.

5. In "Socialism and Catholicism" (*Appeal*, December 23, 1911), Debs repeated many of these charges, arguing that "the capitalist system would find its most powerful ally in the catholic church."

6. O'Neill's "The Poster of a Catholic Priest—Beware of Debs" (*Miners' Magazine*, November 23, 1911) listed and answered in detail Father Kluser's charges against Debs and against socialism.

EVD to Ernest Untermann

November 24, 1911

[Terre Haute, Indiana?]

Dear Comrade Untermann:—

Your communication of the 18th. inst. has been received and read. If you were in a normal state of mind and responsible for what was

written down in that communication then I want to say to you that you can go to hell with your professed friendship, where that kind of friendship belongs—I want none of it. There are times when only the bluntest speech will answer. You command me to choose between you and Warren and without an instant's hesitation I choose Warren. With all your abuse of Warren he would never have dreamed of attempting to force such a debasing alternative upon me which, were I to yield to it, would prove me a craven, unworthy the respect, to say nothing of the friendship, of any decent man.

But I prefer to believe that you must have been laboring under some great excitement at the time you wrote this communication to me and I am going to overlook what seem to be deliberate and wanton insults in order to prove to you that I am your friend unless you persist in having it otherwise.

You have no right to denounce Fred Warren in the violent terms you do. You could scarcely have been more severe if he had been guilty of wronging your daughter when you must know that everything was over so far as that wrong was concerned before Warren knew anything about it, and no matter what he might have said or done in reference to you it would not have changed the fate of your daughter in the slightest degree. If Warren did not answer your letter I can understand the feeling that restrained him, knowing him as I do, and I would stake almost anything that it was not from any sense of adding insult to your outraged feelings, and if he insisted {upon} holding certain correspondence to protect himself, upon whom fell the brunt of the Shoaf affair, so far as the Appeal was concerned, he did what any other man, yourself not excepted, would have done under the same circumstances.

You call upon me as if I were a professional scandal-monger to at once get busy in this affair and help you to proclaim your daughter's ruin and shame from the housetops. I absolutely refuse to do it. If there is any way on earth in which I, as your friend and comrade, can help you in your trouble or do anything to help your daughter, I will go to any length to do that, and I will do it as a matter of duty, but I will not follow you an inch in the course you have taken, for you have taken the course of a madman, and if you persist in it, you, her father, will prove yourself your own child's worst enemy.

First of all, I do not put my nose in other people's domestic affairs and I have no stomach for domestic scandals. I have all I can do to attend to my own personal and domestic affairs and I have made it a life-long rule to let other people attend to theirs. If I had a daughter who went astray I would blame myself above all others and I would

certainly not denounce my friends and seek to hold them responsible in the tragic event of her downfall.

In the next place I think you have committed a blunder bordering on a crime against your daughter to make the affair a party affair and have the details exploited in the public prints¹ to inspire ten thousand scandalous tongues to set the everlasting seal of condemnation upon her. What can you hope to gain for your daughter or for yourself by making a national scandal of this unfortunate affair? Are you afraid there is someone who will not hear of it?

If, as you say, your daughter has been ruined—I know absolutely nothing about it other than the vague rumors and indefinite reports which have reached me—then there is but one man responsible for it, so far as I can see, and yet instead of dealing with him and proceeding to hold him accountable, you begin an indiscriminate denunciation of comrades who are guiltless as it is possible for men to be and who have never by word or deed done you the slightest harm.

The vehemence with which you abuse others without just cause or provocation impels me to bluntly put the question to you, Is your own conscience clear? And why did not your daughter confide in you, her own father, instead of strangers? Have you put that question to yourself and if you have, has it not made you wince? Where was your child-daughter that she could be taken advantage of and spirited out of the country? Why was she not at home under the care of her parents?

You have to answer these questions and they do not involve the guilt of Warren or others you have denounced.

Now let me say to you—and I only say it because I want to be your friend if I can, otherwise I would remain silent for it goes against my grain to mix up in unsavory personal and domestic matters—that if you persist in forcing a public trial in this matter you yourself will be put upon the rack in a way that perhaps you do not dream of. You will be charged with the grossest neglect of your daughter, your children in fact, if what I hear is true. The statement has been made that you practically deserted your children out in the far West and that one whole winter they were left to the care of others. I do not of course know whether these things are true or not, they are no concern of mine, but I think it my duty to apprise you of them in anticipation of what may happen if you press your charges to a public trial. I have now to tell you of some other matters that will be brought against you, or at least so I am informed, and lest you suspect Warren as the source of my information I want to say that I have had no word from him, directly or indirectly, in reference to this affair, since first you wrote to me. It will be held that your daughter was influenced

by parental teachings, if not example, the statement being made that her mother,² in defiance of all the conventions relating to marriage and in conformity with her own ideas, is living with a man whose wife she displaced and to whom she is not wedded. It will be shown that the child, as a child, was practically turned out into the world and that what has come to her is due to that fact, other causes being merely contributory.

There will be some other matters brought out that would far better have remained in the secrecy of the private affairs of those to whom they properly belong and the public airing of which can do no possible good but only incalculable harm.

I am not going to advise you in the matter of such grave concern to yourself personally but simply place such facts before you as I have that you may consider them in deciding finally upon your course. Had I been near you when you proposed publishing the matter to the world by making a party affair of it I should have restrained you had it been in my power to do so. But it is now too late for that and if that is to be your course you, far more than those you have indicted, will have to bear the consequences.

Blunt and brutal as my words may appear in the reading I have written you from the heart of a friend and comrade. I pity you in your anguish and sympathize with you in your suffering as keenly as if you were my brother, but I cannot join you in publicly exploiting your daughter's misfortune and condemning an innocent man.

Yours sincerely
[Eugene V. Debs]

TLC, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. Untermann's article, "More About Shoaf," which appeared in *Miners' Magazine* on November 23, 1911, was a detailed attack on George Shoaf, Fred Warren, and the *Appeal*.

2. Helen Untermann was a feminist writer whose articles appeared in *Progressive Woman*. Her ideas concerning the relationship between men and women, the role of women in the socialist movement, and marital relationships were set forth in "The Man and the Woman" (*Progressive Woman*, January 1910).

EVD to Edwin Markham

November 28, 1911
Terre Haute, Indiana

My Dear Comrade Markham:—

I received your marked page of the "American" and your Swedenborgian leaflet, in your own good right hand, and I am thanking

you warmly for your kind remembrance and for the treat I shall enjoy this evening in reading what you have sent me. I thoroughly enjoyed Flower's¹ fine appreciation of you and your wonderful work in the *Twentieth Century*.² I have read the Lincoln poem³ and the others from your inspired soul many times and they grow greater and move me more deeply and impress me more profoundly with each reading.

With all affectionate greetings to you and Mrs. Markham I am

Always yours
Eugene V. Debs

TLS, NNWML.

1. Benjamin Orange Flower (1858-1918) was a founder and for many years editor of the *Arena* and from 1909 to 1911 editor of *Twentieth Century*.

2. Flower's "Poet-Prophet of Democracy," a tribute to Markham, appeared in the September 1911 issue of *Twentieth Century*.

3. Markham's "The Coming of Lincoln" was published in the July 1909 *Arena*.

EVD to Fred D. Warren

[1912?]

Terre Haute, Indiana

Fred:—

Send two dollars to Dr. Charles Sanford Porter,¹ Burnett P.O., City of Long Beach, California, and order a volume of his "Milk Diet." That is the book I told you about. Don't fail to get it for Mrs. Warren. If she is not well here is the undoubted cure for her. The sanitarium is located as above where all such cases are successfully treated. The treatment is a marvel of simplicity. But you will be interested in the book on its own account. After the campaign—if I live through it—I am going to take that treatment. Now don't lay this aside, old man, until you have ordered that book. If you don't order it I will have it sent to you. Mrs. Warren can be and must be thoroughly cured and this doctor's milk treatment is the cure without a doubt. It would also be a good thing for you as it is for all who are run down and tired out, especially from mental work. Love to you all, not forgetting Max and the goat.

Always yours
Gene

TLS, CtU, Fred Warren Papers.

1. The first edition of Porter's (1862-1932) *Milk Diet* was published in Long Beach in 1911, and the book went through thirteen editions during the next twenty years.

Theodore Debs to Thomas A. Hickey¹

January 2, 1912

Terre Haute, Indiana

Dear Comrade Hickey:—

Your letter came in a big bunch of mail this morning. As I sorted out the letters and came upon yours I at once brought it to Gene's attention and he said, "We've got to get this article to Tom." So here it is.² You know it is against the rules of this shop to turn down any request from you. We are devilish busy and considerably behind with articles promised to other publications but this does not prevent us from gladly serving you in any way we can. I had Gene write the article promptly as I noticed that the time is short and I did not want it to be behind in reaching you.

Gene asked me to be sure to write to you and tell you that he feels deeply grateful for the great amount of space you gave up to him and the Appeal in the first page of your recent issue³ and the characteristically big way and generous and loyal spirit in which you did it. May the New Year bring you many joys and to The Rebel subscribers enough to snow him {under} up to his whiskers.

Yours always
Theodore Debs

P.S. I am sending you the one and only copy I have of The Culturist⁴ published in 1906, which has an article in it by Gene that would be new at this time. Some of his friends thought at the time it was written that it was his best effort. It would be brand new now. If you reproduce this let me suggest that you do so in its entirety in one and the same issue. Otherwise it will not read right. It is the kind of an article that cannot stand cutting in two. I myself think this is one of the best things Gene has ever written.

TLS, TxLT, Southwestern Collection.

1. Thomas A. Hickey (1869-1925) was born in Dublin, Ireland, emigrated to the United States in the early 1890s, and for the next thirty years was a leader of the radical agrarian movements in the Southwest. Hickey published the *Rebel* in Hallettsville, Texas, from 1911 to 1917, when the paper was suppressed by the federal government. Hickey was the socialist candidate for lieutenant governor of Texas in 1912 and for the United States Senate in 1916 and was elected to the national committee of the party in 1912.

2. Debs's "Where Do You Stand?" appeared in the January 6, 1912, issue of the *Rebel*.

3. "Debs to the *Rebel*," December 6, 1911.

4. The *Culturist* was published for a short time in Cincinnati by Walter Hurt, but surviving issues, if any, have not been found.

EVD to Adolph F. Germer

January 20, 1912

Terre Haute, Indiana

Dear Comrade Germer:—

I hope the socialist delegates will not allow Mitchell and Wilson to bluff or bulldoze them next week.¹ They come as the defenders, not only, but as the incarnation of the Civic Federation. Both are rank reactionists in the labor movement and ought to be treated accordingly. What Mitchell or Wilson may have been or done in the past is not now the question. Where do they now stand is the only question. Mitchell is no longer with the miners, but a gentleman who lives in New York and whose heart is still in the Civic Federation. Wilson is entitled to no more consideration than any other capitalist congressman² or democratic politician.

Hold them down to the straight issue of the Civic Federation and don't allow them to straddle or dodge it. Ask Mitchell³ who paid his salary. The fact that it was paid by the plutocrats settles the question of itself and conclusively as to whose service he was in as a Civic Federationist. Plutocrats do not pay labor leaders fancy salaries for the health of the working class. When they hire a man and pay him they get his service and that's all there is to it. It is to be hoped that the delegates will not have the wool pulled over their eyes by the smooth bunc these two gentlemen will give them about the wonderful things the Civic Federation has done for the wage-slaves.

Don't fail to make Mitchell produce his *proof* that the last convention was packed against him. That is the gravest charge that could be brought against the delegates. If it is true the convention stands disgraced as a body of grafters and corruptionists. If it is not true Mitchell is a gross libeller and should be compelled to make a public apology. The charge has been spread broadcast and the odium is now upon the organization and either Mitchell must now prove his charge and the convention confess the infamy of the previous session, or Mitchell must admit that he lied and blackened the reputation of the organization and of the man who made him all he is or ever will be.

It is a straight issue and a vital one. There should be no personal malice, neither should personal consideration restrain delegates from towing the mark squarely and using plain, blunt words to make clear

their meaning and to arrive at a conclusion based upon truth and honesty.

Where will Walker⁴ stand? Will he again become the apologist for Mitchell and his Civic Federation and disavow his socialism utterly as he did when he took that stand before?

I am not a delegate and I am not writing in any spirit of dictation but I am as deeply concerned in this convention taking the right stand, vindicating its honor and integrity, and facing forward in the true spirit of a real militant organization of the working class as any delegate in the whole body.

The outcome is of the greatest concern to the whole labor movement. It means much for the future and whether the tendency during the next year or two shall be forward toward victory and freedom or backward toward defeat and slavery. Strong-souled, clear-headed, resolute and uncompromising men is the demand of the hour. You have them and I shall have full faith that they will do their whole duty.

This is a personal letter but you are at liberty to use it in any way you may think best for the cause.

Yours fraternally
Eugene V. Debs

TLS, WHi, Germer Papers.

1. At the United Mine Workers convention in Indianapolis.

2. William Bauchop Wilson was international secretary-treasurer of the UMW from 1900 to 1908 and congressman from Pennsylvania from 1907 to 1913, when he became the first secretary of labor in the Wilson administration.

3. John Mitchell, president of the UMW from 1899 to 1908, was chairman of the trades agreement department of the National Civic Federation from 1908 to 1911. At its 1911 convention the UMW amended its constitution to bar from membership those who belonged to the Civic Federation.

4. John H. Walker, president of District 12 (Illinois) of the UMW from 1905 to 1913.

Theodore Debs to Adolph F. Germer

January 22, 1912

Terre Haute, Indiana

Dear Comrade Germer:—

Several of the Indianapolis comrades tried yesterday to get Gene on the long distance for a meeting at Indianapolis. I am sorry to say that this will be impossible as Gene has to leave for Girard where he

is already over-due on account of a bad cold and the grip. He wrote you before leaving for Chicago and you probably have the letter by this time. It was directed to you same as this and was of some importance and if you did not receive it please drop me a line. Hope you will win out in the convention for a straight-out revolutionary program.¹ With the best of wishes

Yours for the revolution
Theodore Debs

TLS, WHi, Germer Papers.

1. Germer and the other socialist delegates to the 1912 UMW convention were able to amend the union's constitutional prohibition against political action but their resolution calling for the endorsement of the Socialist party as "the party of the working class" was defeated.

Theodore Debs to Adolph F. Germer

January 23, 1912
Terre Haute, Indiana

Dear Comrade Germer:—

Yours to Gene came this morning. I am having to answer for him in his absence so as to get this back to you without delay. I know that Gene will be gratified by the contents of your letter. And just here let me tender you hearty congratulations. This morning's press dispatches do you full justice. I am enclosing the reports that appear in this morning's Star. But the convention as a whole did itself no credit in refusing to censure Mitchell after he has treated its orders and instructions with contempt. He may have carried out the letter of his instructions but he violated the spirit and this he himself admits, and yet the convention refuses to censure him, and for this I think socialists are solely to blame. At least so it seems by the reports. A socialist who will allow his feeling of personal friendship for another to stand between him and his socialist principles is no socialist at all, and so far as I am concerned I can only look upon him as a plain fakir, no matter who it may be. If it were Gene himself that is what he would be in my eyes if he did as Walker and Hayes¹ did at yesterday's convention according to the reports. I would not do them an injustice but it seems perfectly plain to me that they both in attempting to screen Mitchell, defended the Civic Federation and defended Mitchell and Wilson, and in this they took their ground wholly on the side of reactionism and were false to the principles of socialism which they

profess when it suits their interests. If a socialist is not a socialist all the time, and everywhere, he is not a socialist at anytime, or anywhere. If it suits your desire you can show this letter to Walker and Hayes for what I have to say about men I have to say straight out and not behind their backs. It is disgusting to a socialist to see socialists, so-called, go to the A.F. of L. convention and vote to reelect Gompers by acclamation and vote to increase his salary. It is this same brand of socialists who are all the time defending Mitchell because they played marbles together and defending the Civic federation and in fact selling out the working class while they are floating socialist and radical colors to enlist confidence and gain support that they may serve reactionary ends. Those are the very worst enemies of the working class. The straight-out reactionists are not nearly so dangerous for we know where they stand and how to deal with them. But the deceit and treachery of so-called socialists is what defeats real progress and while I have thought that a man like Phil Veal,² who came to see me not long ago, is too severe, I cannot blame him for taking the hide off such fakirs as are now sailing as socialists by defending Mitchell and Wilson and the Civic Federation.

It makes a man's blood boil to think that about the time the deluded, hornswoggled miners are about to get their eyes opened to the Mitchells and the Wilsons, men who masquerade as socialists, who ought to be at the very head and front of the fight against fakirism jump into the breach, put their arms about the fakirs and plead tearfully that they be shielded against what is justly coming to them.

I am glad you told Mitchell that he had worked that Buck range business³ to a frazzle. The miners in Colorado who were thrown into jail and the miners at a dozen of places who have had their guts shot out fighting for labor are a thousand times better than Mitchell ever was but they got no patting on the back by the plutes and they did not expect it when they offered up their lives in defense of their class. They made more sacrifice for labor in a minute than Mitchell has in all his life, but Mitchell got all the honors and glory and applause and fat salary⁴ and fine clothes, while the poor devils who gave up their lives went down to their graves with hardly clothes on their backs or food for their children. They were not decorated with diamond badges by the mine owners and no convention ever spent as much time for them as it has in contemptible hero worship for such well-groomed fakirs as Mitchell and Wilson.

If there is further debate let me suggest that you ask Mitchell if he did not get handsomely paid, dollar for dollar, for every bit of service he ever rendered the miners. The poor devils of miners made him every thing he is. They have loaded him with honors. They have

carried him on their shoulders and worshipped him almost as a god, and what has he ever done for them except to absorb for his personal glorification everything that came his way. If he ever won a victory for the miners or ever did anything for them that any ordinary miner could not do I don't know what it is, and why any socialist should stand by him and against the rank and file, for they can only defend him by betraying the rank and file, I cannot understand.

By the way, when that debate comes up about the Civic Federation don't fail to charge directly that the Civic Federation was conceived by Mark Hanna, that it is now financed by Morgan, Carnegie, Frick and others of the steel trust who have crushed out the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel and Tin Plate Workers, the Lake Seamen's Union, the Structural Iron Workers. That is the gang that is in fact responsible for the McNamara business.⁵ These labor crushers paid Mitchell's salary and that should be put up to him with brutal bluntness by some delegate who has got the nerve to put the necessary fire into it which would make Mitchell cringe like the fakir he is.

I am sure it will not be possible for Gene to get to Indianapolis. He is up to his ears in work with which he is far behind on account of the spell of grip he had and is eagerly awaited at Girard where he will have to go without delay, being already long overdue.

With very best wishes for the success of your labors I remain
Yours for socialism
Theodore Debs

TLS, WHI, Germer Papers.

1. Frank J. Hayes (1882-1948) was, with Germer, one of the leaders of the socialist faction in the UMW, of which he was an international vice-president from 1910 to 1917 and president from 1917 to 1920. Hayes ran unsuccessfully for governor of Illinois on the Socialist party ticket in 1912 and directed the bitter and bloody miners' strikes in West Virginia in 1912-13 and in Colorado in 1913-14. Later, in 1937-38, Hayes served as a Democratic lieutenant governor of Colorado.

2. Philip Veal was an organizer for the Socialist Labor party in the zinc region of Missouri and in the Colorado coal fields.

3. Mitchell, along with Gompers and Frank Morrison, had been held in contempt of a federal court injunction in the Buck's Stove and Range Company case in 1908 and had been sentenced to nine months in prison. The sentence was appealed and the case was finally dismissed by the Supreme Court in 1914.

4. Mitchell's salary for his work for the Civic Federation was \$8,000 a year.

5. Organized labor and the socialists had joined in insisting upon the innocence of the McNamara brothers in the *Los Angeles Times* bombing case. Their guilty pleas and sentencing (John McNamara to fifteen years, James McNamara to life imprisonment) in December 1911 triggered a nationwide attack on unions by employer groups and compelled labor leaders, such as Gompers, and socialists, such as Debs, to justify their stands in the case. In "The McNamara Case Reviewed" (*Appeal*, December 16, 1911), Debs argued that the appalling working conditions under cap-

italism drove men to violence and declared that he "would a thousand times rather be a McNamara and have to answer for him than to be Otis and have to answer for his crimes."

Theodore Debs to Adolph F. Germer

January 23, 1912

Terre Haute, Indiana

Dear Comrade Germer:—

Since writing you this morning I have seen several other papers containing report of the convention in reference to Mitchell. One thing is noticeable in them all. They all put Mitchell in the head-lines and speak of him flatteringly. There is not an exception. This simply means that the capitalist papers are for Mitchell as against the convention. This is perfectly plain and self-evident. They recognize their own in Mitchell. They also see that he is on trial and they are pleading his cause as against the men he has betrayed and is now trying to hoodwink that he may continue to betray them. That is all there is in the case, but that is a-plenty. The capitalist papers realize that they can't afford to lose the invaluable services of Mitchell. He must keep up his connection with the organized movement so that he can continue to be of service to capital. This point ought to be brought out fully and made clear.

The Chicago Tribune has a good report of yesterday's debate but you are carefully cut out of it. What Walker and Hayes and Wilson said in favor of Mitchell is all in, but what Germer said against him is not mentioned. This is another straw. Mitchell has the solid backing of the capitalist press in this controversy with the convention and if this does not show where he stands it could not be pounded into the skull of a delegate with a sledge-hammer. If the delegates know where he stands and stick to him on that account then when they starve and are evicted and shot full of holes they are getting what they want and will continue to get it as long as they want Mitchell bad enough to stand up for him and his capitalist backers as against their own half-starved class.

There is a good opening in this convention for some heroic delegate to stand up and shoot the whole truth at Mitchell and do it in words that will burn like fire. Just such a delegate is required and I believe that one would be enough to turn the tide and settle the Mitchell issue forever. I believe you are the man to do the job. You need not answer my letters. I'm only sending you these few hurried pointers

in the hope that they may be of some little help to you in this extremely important hour. The convention now has the chance to throw off Mitchellism and Wilsonism once and forever and blaze a new era in the struggle of labor for emancipation.

Yours
Theodore Debs

TLS, WHi, Germer Papers.

EVD to Stephen Marion Reynolds

January 26, 1912
Terre Haute, Indiana

My dear "Stevie":—

I must write you these hasty lines before packing my grip. Can't you and "Jimmie"¹ introduce a resolution in the convention² demanding the impeachment of Judge Anderson³ who has turned Burns⁴ loose, wiping out his indictment and trampling the state law under his heels? See my open letter in this week's Appeal and also my article in last week's Appeal on Anderson.⁵ It was Anderson whom Roosevelt called "a damned jackass and crook." There is not the least doubt that he had not a shadow of legal justification for stopping the prosecution of Burns in the state courts and turning that indicted kidnaper loose.

The Central Labor Union of Indianapolis has now under consideration resolutions demanding a congressional investigation and the impeachment of Anderson. I think the convention should by all means adopt a resolution demanding congressional investigation and the impeachment of this venal judge.⁶ It is a great opportunity for propaganda. The Associated Press will handle it for its news value. The Appeal will back you up for all it is worth. Don't let this chance pass by. The people are up in arms against the federal courts anyway and here is a chance to strike at a vulnerable point. See Connelly's article in Everybody's for February.⁷ He rips the bowels out of the capitalist hirelings on the bench and takes the hides off the courts. I have not time to write you fully. Introduce this resolution, make a rousing speech in support of it and if the delegates will unanimously adopt it it will be carried to every part of the country and others will follow suit until we have the people thoroughly stirred and receptive for our

propaganda. Love to you, greeting to the comrades and success to the convention!

Yours always
Gene.

Am writing to Germer asking him to start the fight in the miners' convention.⁸

TLS (typed signature, with handwritten note), InH, Reynolds Collection.

1. James ONeal.

2. The Indiana Socialist party state convention in Indianapolis was held January 26-28, 1911.

3. Albert Barnes Anderson (1857-1938) was United States district judge for Indiana from 1902 to 1925 and sat on the Seventh U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals from 1925 to 1929.

4. William J. Burns (1861-1932) was perhaps the most famous detective of the period. He was president of William J. Burns International Detective Agency and from 1919 to 1924 was director of the Bureau of Investigation in the Justice Department. Burns's agents apprehended, returned to Los Angeles, and built the case against the McNamara brothers in the *Times* bombing case, and Burns himself was indicted in June 1911 by the Marion County (Indianapolis) grand jury for kidnapping John McNamara and spiriting him to Los Angeles for the trial. In January 1912, on the grounds that the case raised questions of interstate communications, Judge Anderson took the case out of the Marion County state court to the federal district court and then quashed the indictment against Burns.

5. "Judge Anderson: A 'Jackass and Crook,'" appeared in the *Appeal* on January 20, 1912, "Judge Anderson Should Be Impeached" on February 3, 1912.

6. On January 29, 1912, the *Indianapolis News* reported that the Socialist party convention had passed resolutions calling for both the impeachment and the congressional investigation.

7. In its issues for February through May 1912, *Everybody's* ran a series of articles by Christopher Powell Connolly (1863-1933) on "Big Business and the Courts," which traced the corporate backgrounds of most of the judges in the federal court system.

8. The UMW convention passed resolutions demanding a congressional investigation and criticizing Judge Anderson for "setting at naught the laws of the state" (*Indianapolis News*, January 30, 1912).

EVD to Adolph F. Germer

January 26, 1912
Terre Haute, Indiana

My dear Adolph:—

Must write you these hasty lines before leaving for the West. Have just written Reynolds asking him to introduce a resolution in the socialist convention demanding congressional investigation of Judge

Anderson and his impeachment for striking down the state laws and turning Burns the indicted kidnaper loose without a trial. See my open letter to Anderson which I enclose. Wish you would see Reynolds and ask him to let you see the letter I wrote him and the article I enclosed with his letter, and then please let him read this to you and the article herein enclosed.

The Central Labor Union of Indianapolis¹ is now considering a series of red-hot resolutions demanding the impeachment of Anderson. Here is a great chance for you to strike a blow for the working class. Let me urge you to introduce at once a resolution demanding congressional investigation and impeachment of the venal judge who has in fact suspended the constitution of Indiana and wiped out its criminal code to turn loose an indicted kidnaper. Burns, like Anderson the judge, is a tool of the steel trust and Wall Street. You can make your plea in the name of *the law*. Point out the fact in your *Whereases* that the law has been struck down, that the course of justice has been violently arrested by a judicial anarchist sitting upon a high bench of the United States court. If you introduce this resolution and make a red-hot speech for it, the Associated Press will carry it to every part of the country. The people are already up in arms against the rotten federal courts and upon no other issue will they respond with the same widespread spontaneity and fire as upon this. Let me suggest that you introduce your resolution the very first thing after the roll call of a morning session when the delegates are fresh and eager and in fighting fibre. Call the attention of the delegates to the fact that Anderson's act is an insult to organized labor, the assassination of law and the rape of justice. If Burns the kidnaper had been a *union miner* all hell could not have saved him from the penitentiary. Burn that fact into them and it will set them afire. It was only because Burns was in the service of the steel trust,² the bloodhound in the chase to hunt down the unions and destroy them, that Anderson, another tool of the same power, reached into the state courts, took him away from the authorities by force, and turned him loose without a trial. Make the hottest speech in denunciation of this criminal act, this lawless judicial despotism, you ever made in your life.

If the miners and the socialists will pass a red-hot resolution and the organized workers of Indianapolis get busy as they doubtless will there will be something doing within a month. Don't fail to see Connelly's article on the rotten courts and judges in *Everybody's* for February. I will have an article in the next issue of the *Appeal* that will burn the hides from their rotten carcasses. This is your chance to strike fire and start a conflagration of popular indignation against the rotten courts and the rotten system they serve.

By the way, Mitchell has a beautiful idea of individual integrity. It is characteristically bourgeois and he must have gotten it in the Civic Federation. When he betrays the trust of his constituents and does the thing they explicitly ordered him not to do, he excuses himself on the ground of his "individual integrity." It is a fatal confession. It is the admission by Mitchell himself that he is heart and soul and conscience on the other side, the capitalist side, and that is why his "individual integrity" requires him to betray his constituents, the coal-digging slaves of the pits.

Yours always
E. V. Debs

Sorry I can't be with you.

TLS (with handwritten note), WHi, Germer Papers.

1. The Indianapolis Central Labor Union's resolutions denounced Anderson's role in the Burns case as "encouraging a reign of anarchy instead of a rule of law" and asked that "Congress inquire into Judge Anderson's action with a view to removing him" (*Indianapolis News*, January 23, 1912).

2. John McNamara was secretary, James a member, of the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, which had for years encountered the bitter and ruthless opposition of the United States Steel Corporation.

EVD to Fred D. Warren

January 28, 1912

En route to Jackson, [Michigan]

My Dear Fred:—

Enclosed I hand you some clippings. Suggest you pass them around {among} ed. staff for clip and comment. Call your particular attention to one headed "Canada has Postal Surplus" taken from Chicago Tribune. It is a remarkable showing and in contrast with our deficit becomes astounding, startling. Print this in parallel with ours and you will shock the people.¹ It's worth a mile of logic and a ship load of argument. The figures speak for themselves. Under Canadian laws letters are carried the same rate as ours, except drop letters in a city, which are carried at one cent, fifty percent less than our rate. The second class rate is one quarter cent per pound, just one quarter of our rate, or three hundred percent less than the rate in the U.S. Not only this but second class matter is distributed absolutely free within a radius of forty miles—& this under a monarchy.

[in margin:] Put these Canadian postal rates in big black type in a box with *surplus* & *our deficit* headed "Under a Monarchy."

The Canadian authorities herein quoted declared unequivocally that the enormous deficit in this country is caused by the railroad charges and they prove it. It is pure railroad robbery and has got to be put before the people in the most startling terms devisable. Canada with these astonishingly low rates has an immense surplus at the end of the fiscal year while we, notwithstanding our robber rates, have an enormous deficit of millions and steadily increasing. And yet Taft and Hitchcock have the gall to propose throwing the papers out of the mails, in other words, gouging the eyes out of the people and keep them in total mental blindness, to reduce this deficit due to the railroad robberies of the people.

Let me suggest that you at once write to Senator Gore as Mg. Ed. of the Appeal, call his attention to these Canadian figures, ask him to incorporate them in his next speech on the subject so they may be spread upon the congressional record, and tell him that a million and a half readers of the Appeal want to know what the senate has to say in answer. Tell Gore that if Canada, {sparsely} populated, can maintain such low rates of postage in the interest of popular education and the intelligence of the masses upon which {a} republic and its free institutions are supposed to rest, the United States, with fourteen times the population and its infinitely greater transportation facilities, should be able and is able to maintain far lower rates, instead of suffering {the nation} to be robbed by extortions of the railroads which are sufficient to stagger the people, and were they not meek as sheep would incite them to revolt. The letter can be put in about a page of letter paper and {in} closing I suggest that you say to Gore that you will print his reply to your letter in the Appeal for his benefit and the benefit of its readers.

Suggest that you publish your letter to Gore in the next issue. It will put the question up to the U.S. Senate in the name of the Appeal to Reason. If Shoaf were there he could now put the matter up to a number of senators and congressmen and demand an answer {as to} where they stand in the name of the Appeal and its readers, as the Chicago {Tribune} has just done in the case of the primary election law. Perhaps you can get some competent comrade in or near Washington to serve in that capacity. I tell you that the senator or representative to whom the Appeal to Reason card was handed would prick his ears and give a respectful interview, and if not the Appeal could make an example of him that others would profit by. Anyway, it would put the Appeal on the center of the stage at Washington, in the thick of the actual fight, where it properly belongs, and that would be worth a great deal in many ways. Planting your guns at a distance and bombarding the works of the enemy is allright enough, but there

come times when you have got to charge the works and get right into their strongholds and make the guts and hide fly. This is such a time and such an opening, I believe.

Enclosed find a couple of short editorials. Feel more and more as if a good man at Washington, as the representative of the Appeal, getting in touch with the correspondents of the capitalist press, and getting the {run} of secret stuff, graft, scandal and inside information generally that they don't dare to touch, {could furnish the Appeal with a stream} of matter it could handle in a way to give it tremendous prestige it now lacks and enormously increase its circulation. But it would want to be the right man, with a keen nose for the {scent,} gall in abundance, nerve without limit, and {withal a} supreme tact and judgment, and associated with a personality at once winning and commanding.

Hope all is well with you and the gang.

Yours always,
DEBS.

TLS (with handwritten notes), CtU, Warren Papers.

1. In "Taft Would Raise Postage Rates on the Appeal" (*Appeal*, March 2, 1912), Warren claimed that the proposal to raise postal rates from one to two cents a pound would cost the paper an additional \$20,000 a year and that it was intended to cripple the *Appeal*.

EVD to Claude G. Bowers

January 29, 1912
Terre Haute, Indiana

My dear Friend:—

I have just received and read with much pleasure your kind letter. I knew you would be interested in the Judge Anderson episode and I felt confident that you would condemn his usurpation to set free without a trial the indicted hireling of predatory power. Anderson like other federal judges who feel themselves beyond the reach of the people go to astounding lengths of usurpation to punish workmen upon the one hand, even though they be innocent, and upon the other hand to shield corporationists even though they be guilty. The limit has almost been reached and the people are pretty nearly ready to rise in their power and call a halt. You are doubtless seeing the court articles in Pearson's by Benson¹ (a socialist) and in Everybody's by Connelly. The wonder is that the people have submitted

so long and in such meek submission to such revolting outrages perpetrated in the name of law and justice.

Let me thank you warmly for your more than kind personal words. How much I appreciate each of these I will not attempt to say. I thank you also for the article from the Times which is both interesting and significant. William's reign in Germany is pretty close to its finish. The socialists now have 115 members in the Reichstag and are by far the most powerful party in the German Empire. The first demand in their program is the absolute abolition of the monarchy.

I shall be happy to accept your invitation when I get to Washington. Be good enough to present my compliments to Mrs. Bowers and the dear mother and also remember me kindly to Senator Kern² and believe me as ever

Sincerely your friend
E. V. Debs

Your Washington Sunday letter in the Star³ is always interesting to me.

TLS (with handwritten note), InU, Lilly Library, Bowers MSS.

1. Allan Louis Benson (1871-1940) first attracted attention as a socialist writer with the publication of *Socialism Made Plain* in 1904. *The Usurped Power of the Courts*, a booklet based on the articles that had appeared in *Pearson's* in 1911, sold 1,000,000 copies. Benson was the party's candidate for president in 1916.

2. John Worth Kern (1849-1917) was United States senator from Indiana from 1910 to 1916. Bowers was his staff aide in Washington and in 1918 published *The Life of John Worth Kern*.

3. Bowers had worked on the *Terre Haute Star* from 1903 to 1911, when he joined Kern's staff in Washington. For several years thereafter the paper regularly printed his "Sunday Letter."

EVD to Claude G. Bowers

January 29, 1912
Terre Haute, Indiana

My dear Friend:—

In the haste of answering this morning I forgot to enclose this letter to Congressmen Berger which I do now with pleasure. I have noted with much interest what you have said about Frank Baker¹ and about your mutual friendship of so many years standing. I certainly admire him for the courageous stand he took in seeking to discharge his official duties even in spite of the brutal treatment to which he

was subjected by the federal court. That kind of a man is entitled to all respect and I can fully appreciate the warm friendship you express for him. Baker is quite fit to be a socialist and I wish he were. I could pay him no higher compliment.

Yours always
E. V. Debs

TLS, InU, Lilly Library, Bowers MSS.

1. Frank B. Baker was the Marion County (Indianapolis) prosecuting attorney who had secured the indictment against William Burns for the kidnapping of John McNamara. His protests against the transfer of the case to the federal court in Indiana and Judge Anderson's subsequent quashing of the Burns indictment made him a popular figure among Indiana socialists and labor unionists.

Theodore Debs to Adolph F. Germer

February 1, 1912
Terre Haute, Indiana

Dear Comrade Germer:—

Yours just received. Had just finished reading the report of convention action condemning Anderson and demanding investigation. It is published here on the first page in great head-lines and has no doubt been sent out over the country. I am very glad of this action for various reasons. It will enliven the propaganda, help to arouse the people against the despotic courts and do much good in other ways. I appreciate fully your splendid work in this and other matters.

I think this convention the most progressive, all things considered, ever held. What you say about Mitchell is true and as significant as true. He saw his finish as an apostle of the pure and simple and he will now likely go over to the other side where he belongs. The only question is whether the plutes have any use for him now that his stock in trade is gone.

About the time the next national election takes place in the miners the organization will be thoroughly permeated with socialism and elect out and out socialists to represent it and I am thinking that you are the man above all others to be the national president and I hope and expect to see you where you can do full justice to yourself and to the organization.

With sincere well-wishes I am always

Yours in the struggle
Theodore Debs

TLS, WHi, Germer Papers.

EVD to Arthur H. Gleason¹

February 3, 1912

Terre Haute, Indiana

Dear Brother:—

Allow me to thank you with all my heart for the very sweet and touching tribute contained in the fine, poetic lines you have just sent to me and which I have read with the deepest appreciation. You have been far too good and generous in what you have said of me. I am deeply sensible of the fine spirit which prompted you to send this loving message and I hope that some day I may see you to give you my thanks in person. I can see your own fine soul aglow in what you have written and I am sure you are doing your full share to bring on the better and brighter day. The speech in Carnegie Hall² was given under circumstances peculiarly adverse to me personally and I felt keenly that I had not done justice to the occasion. There are times, occasions, when a speech fails because it cannot be spoken, put into words, and I think this was one of them.

Believe me with loving appreciation and my heart's best wishes.

Yours faithfully
Eugene V. Debs

TLS, DLC, Gleason Papers.

1. Arthur Huntington Gleason (1878-1923) was a socialist writer and associate editor of *Collier's Weekly* from 1908 to 1913 and later, during World War I, war correspondent for the *New York Tribune* and *Century Magazine*.

2. The *New York Call* (October 23, 1911) claimed that Debs's speech at Carnegie Hall the preceding day, dealing with the McNamara case, had filled the auditorium and that thousands had been turned away.

Fred H. Merrick¹ to EVD

February 5, 1912

Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

My dear Gene:

Your kind and generous letter revealing the nobility of your great heart has been received with deep appreciation. As I am not well yet this answer has been delayed but I trust you will not misunderstand.

It is deeply significant of the kindness of your heart that you should have taken the trouble to have brought something for me to eat.²

There is no other human being living that I would have considered a greater honor to have called upon me in jail than you. In many respects I was abominably treated while there and while I did not make unnecessary trouble I refused to play the lackey, to scab by working for nothing and to attend their abominable chapel service which was conducted in a contemptible manner. As a result I was imprisoned in the dungeon on November 12th as punishment and for this I have instituted a suit through John Marron³ for \$10,000 damages. I have taken this personal {method} as the most effective method of fighting them and giving publicity to the manner of treatment of the poor devils there who cannot make a fight rather than with any idea of personal profit or aggrandizement. Marron thinks it is the first case of its kind in the United States and as the state constitution guarantees me religious liberty it will undoubtedly mean considerably in a propaganda way.

I am very much interested to know that you are writing something for the Coming Nation regarding the brutal treatment administered to the victims of the system at the whipping post in Wilmington, Delaware.⁴

Now, Gene, I must say something that I trust you will take with great seriousness: We are facing the most critical moment in the history of the party undoubtedly. The hour of political victory has possibilities of temporary defeat along with its advantages. To my mind the whole thing turns on the policy of the party at the national convention and the spokesmen who shall represent it throughout the campaign. I know it is an imposition to ask you to be willing to be nominated again but you know in our movement we cannot consider personal convenience. From the looks of things it is quite possible that no other man in the organization will be capable of meeting the situation as you can. Under those circumstances you owe it to the party to accept. All that I ask as a member of the organization is that you commit yourself by no public or private utterances to a refusal to run in case the party finds it needs you. Do this by all means and you will leave the door open for us to save the party from a reactionary step if later developments prove our suspicions to be true.

With a heart full of gratitude for your kindness to me and the privilege of possessing your friendship, I am,

Yours fraternally,
Fred H. Merrick

TLS, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. Frederick H. Merrick was the editor of *Justice*, published in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, and a delegate to the Socialist party national convention in 1912.

2. Debs visited, but was not permitted to see, Merrick in jail in Pittsburgh on his return from New York in October 1911. He described Merrick's case in "Socialist Editors in Jail" (*Appeal*, October 7, 1911) and "Fighting Fred Merrick" (*Appeal*, December 9, 1911). Merrick was given a four-month sentence in October 1911 for "libelling an Allegheny county judge" in a series of *Justice* articles dealing with prison conditions in Pennsylvania.

3. John Marron was a Pittsburgh attorney who frequently handled cases involving western Pennsylvania radicals.

4. Debs's "Civilization of the Whipping Post" (*Coming Nation*, February 10, 1912) described and denounced the public whipping of two prisoners in Wilmington, Delaware, on January 13, 1912.

EVD to Clarence S. Darrow

February 19, 1912

Girard, Kansas

My dear Darrow:—

I have your note of the 12th just received here, forwarded from Terre Haute by my brother. I feel exceedingly touched and pained by your words and have just had a long personal talk with Warren. I shall not attempt to tell you what was said except that Warren assured me and I know he meant it that he had not one bit of personal resentment or bitterness now against you. He explained why from his point of view the *Appeal* could not say the things he would personally say for you and in defense of you in your present situation. At the same time he felt keenly what is expressed in your note in reference to being deserted by your old friends and supporters in this crisis of your life.¹

It is not for me to utter a word now to add to your pain in this bitter trial you are now undergoing, but there is undoubtedly a strong feeling against you among Socialists which it is doubtful if even the *Appeal* and all other papers could succeed in overcoming at this time to any considerable extent. I would make no mention of this except that I would have you understand my own personal position. From my own point of view it is not now the time to point out what you did or did not do, or might have done or should have done, but it is the time to stand solidly behind you and back you up in your fight for vindication against the wolves and hyenas into whose clutches you have unfortunately fallen. I know something about how it feels to be in your situation and to be deserted by the very ones who ought to be most loyal, and the only reason I know it is because I have had the same bitter experience.

You may think it very cruel on the part of your former staunch friends and admirers that they are now lacking in sympathy when you most need it, but perhaps you are not entirely blameless and they are not wholly at fault. I know you will allow me to be as candid with you as I would be with a brother. It appears that there was some investigation at Chicago recently as to certain facts in your record, conducted with a view to getting at the truth, and that the report was anything but flattering to you. Among other things it is charged that in consideration of a fee you went over to the Harvester Trust in some case in which a school fund was involved and that you succeeded in beating the school fund out of a large sum due it for the fee you obtained for such service from the rich owners of the trust. I do not know anything at all about the case and do not now care to know about it, but I only give it to you that you may not be in ignorance of why so many of your former friends have lost confidence in you. It is claimed that this is only one instance of your having gone over to the other side purely for money, and probably your espousal of the cause of Merriam the republican² in the recent municipal campaign had about as much as anything else to do with the Socialists and others having concluded that you loved money too well to be trusted by the people.

But for myself I can't understand why you should care for money for I know you to be anything but extravagant in the use of it. It is true that I have noticed some things in you that I have wished might have been otherwise but the same is no doubt equally true in some things you have seen in me. The thing that surprised and in fact shocked me was that you should employ such a notorious corporation corruptionist and all around capitalist retainer as Earl Rogers.³ I have never met the gentleman personally but I am familiar with his record and know where he stands. When I read that you had retained him I first concluded that it surely was a mistake but upon second thought I saw in this report what seemed to me the seriousness of your situation and the extent to which you were driven to engage the lead-wolf to escape the pack.

I am more than glad that you also have Judge McNutt⁴ to defend and stand by you. The Judge is a lawyer and judge among ten thousand. You know I have no respect for the legal profession but if lawyers and judges were of the type of Judge McNutt I would uncover in the presence of the bar and the bench. I know Judge McNutt thoroughly and you can count on him to the extent of his ability to serve you against all the influences that could possibly be brought to bear upon him to desert you. You may be sure that all my heart is with you and

that I am going to see what can be done to set the tide moving in your direction.⁵ Let me entreat you not to take this matter too seriously. The good there is to your credit no amount of ingratitude or indifference can wipe out. You have fought on the right side and I am sure with your heart in the right place even if you have made mistakes and in the end the summing up will be to your everlasting credit. I know how keenly one feels neglect and indifference in such an hour and I know too what superhuman power is required to rise above such demoralizing influences and triumph over such a crucial situation. If it were the penitentiary or even the gallows for serving the cause of right it would be easy enough but to be deserted and neglected by the very ones for whose sake these bitter penalties are imposed, that is the supreme test. To that test you are now being subjected and you are going to prove equal to that as you have been to all others in the past.

The thing of most vital concern to you now is that Darrow, above all others, shall stand by himself and {be} strong enough, even in his present situation, in which he is being tried by fire, to stand alone and to face the world unafraid.

Hoping from the very depths of my heart that you will triumph over your enemies and emerge from this ordeal completely vindicated, and with all loving regards and good wishes to both yourself and Mrs. Darrow, I remain,

Yours faithfully,
[Eugene V. Debs]

TLC, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. On January 28, 1912, a grand jury in Los Angeles indicted Darrow for attempted bribery in the McNamara trial, in which Darrow served as chief defense counsel. Darrow was acquitted following a sensational trial in August 1912, but his strategy in the McNamara case—guilty pleas in return for reduced sentences—was bitterly attacked in segments of the labor and socialist press as a sellout.

2. Charles Edward Merriam (1874-1953) was a professor of political science at the University of Chicago and in 1911 the Republican party's unsuccessful candidate for mayor of Chicago.

3. Earl Rogers was recognized as the best criminal lawyer on the West Coast and had served the Los Angeles Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association in building the case against the McNamara brothers.

4. Cyrus F. McNutt (1837-1912) was a professor of law at Indiana University from 1874 to 1877 before moving to Terre Haute, where he practiced law and served as city judge.

5. In "Notes on Various Topics" (*Appeal*, April 20, 1912), Debs argued that "in the McNamara case Darrow fought as ever on the side of the working class" and that "he ought to have the sympathy and support of the unions."

EVD to Herr Glessner Creel

February 24, 1912

Girard, Kansas

Dear Comrade Creel:—

Last night after the day's work was done I went carefully through your New York story.¹ It is a terrible story. And all the more terrible because it is true. You have gotten into it all it will hold and you have told it in a way to almost quicken the dead. I have made the same rounds myself: the police office, the morgue, and I have been in the bread line in midwinter and at midnight. It is almost unbelievable that such horrors should continue under the very eyes of the community in the very heart of what is called civilization.

The heart almost stands still when your story is told of the poor little girls who go over the brink of destruction and of the cold blooded brutality of the men who profit by their undoing and of the smug preachers and professional reformers whose indifference or affected {and} patronizing interest is if possible still more shocking and disgusting. You have certainly done all that could be done in the way of placing these gruesome facts before the readers of your paper. You have dipped your pen into your own heart and if your readers are not aroused to the pitch of revolt against capitalism it is certainly not your fault.

If congratulations are in order upon such a terrible subject you certainly have mine for this moving piece of work.

Yours fraternally,
E. V. Debs

TLS, Collection of Annelle Creel Rouse, Concord, California.

1. Herr Glessner Creel left the *Appeal* in 1911 and joined the staff of the *National Rip-Saw*, which was published in St. Louis and for which Debs worked as chief editorial writer from 1914 to 1917. Creel's "Prostitution for Profit: A Police Reporter's View of the White Slave Traffic" appeared in the March 1912 *Rip-Saw*.

EVD to Kendrick P. Shedd¹

February 29, 1912

Girard, Kansas

Dear Comrade Shedd:—

Your note has been received. The pamphlet of songs² has not yet come but it will doubtless follow by a later mail. Accept for this new

kindness my warmest thanks. I am sure I shall enjoy the songs and I feel flattered to think that through your kindness my name has found its [way] into several of them.

I am not surprised that you have received your diploma from the university. It could not well have been otherwise. I have wondered that it did not come sooner. It is hard in one way but but it is easy to bear when the circumstances are understood as you so well understand them. The good work you are doing will only be done all the better on account of this fresh qualification which you now possess.

I am always

Your loving Comrade,
[Eugene V. Debs]

TL (signature missing), NRU.

1. Kendrick Philander Shedd (1866-1953) graduated from the University of Rochester in 1889 and taught modern languages at that school from 1891 to 1912, when he was asked to leave the university because of his socialist activities. After his dismissal from the faculty at Rochester, Shedd went to Milwaukee, where he headed the party's Sunday school program until he broke with the party during World War I.

2. Possibly *The Rochester Song Book*, which was edited and published by Shedd in 1910.

EVD to James Oneal

March 7, 1912

Girard, Kansas

My dear 'Jimmy':—

Have just received your note and will look for the book¹ which will no doubt come by a later mail. Appreciate your kindness and shall be glad to have the book, to go through it carefully, and to treasure it as coming from your hands. I shall be glad to note the improvements to which you call my attention. I have a copy, the one I brought with me from home, on my table in my room at the hotel and I keep it there to look into and refresh myself upon the things there to be found that interest me greatly and that are not to be found in our so-called standard histories. You have produced a wonderfully meritorious history for so small a work. It is packed with facts that have been suppressed and the knowledge of which will be invaluable to the awakening workers and to the students of the real history of their country.

I am gratified beyond words to hear of the splendid report from

the old Hoosier state. What you say is fully confirmed in my personal correspondence. The comrades are down at last to real work and they are fighting capitalism instead of each other—the sure and in fact the only way to build up the movement. Best love to you and to all of you. Kindest remembrances to the Reynoldses.

Yours always,
E. V. Debs

Remember me warmly to “Jud.”

TLS (with handwritten note), NNU Tam, Debs Collection.

1. A revised edition (1911) of Oneal's *Workers in American History*.

Frederick Forrest Berry¹ to EVD

March 8, 1912

Latonia, Kentucky

My dear Debs:—

By God! Gene, how could *you* say that? And you are on the APPEAL! And it is my book. And I am a Socialist—I guess, and you are my Comrade, and Fred is the managing editor, and we are all Socialists! And the APPEAL is the one great paper of the Socialist movement. And I love you, and I love Fred, and I love Brewer, and I love the APPEAL. And we are all working for Socialism. We are all trying to help. And you tell me that the APPEAL has made “an iron clad rule which shuts out all book reviews,” my book included!

By God, Comrade Debs! And after all I have suffered. After the way I have worked for that dear old sheet. Why Gene, I have fought for that paper, and I once laid all night in JAIL for licking a boss, because he attacked me for spreading that paper through the damned slave pen where I was one of the slaves. I could have been gotten out in an hour, but I preferred to remain, and did, until morning, and got lousy and covered with dirt and the dung of some other victims who had been in that same cell and probably had the dung beaten out of them there, for it was everywhere. And blood was there. Also there was a plank, and on this I sat all night without sleep.

In Maine I fought for the APPEAL with Charles L. Fox² and Curt Perry; and because I stood up for J. A. Wayland and the APPEAL, I must be crucified and pulled down. And I was pulled down. And all my work was pulled down, together with my name, and my heart was broken. I said, “Dear old Wayland.” Fox answered, “Damn old

Wayland. Damn the APPEAL." Then the fight was on. Since that day "Berry has a bad 'rep.' "

Well, it is all right. I have not forgotten the time when Comrade Wayland called for help to get the press. I had just one dollar. My little boy was out in the street playing without shoes to his feet. There was only some potatoes in the house. We were struggling for life to get my taxidermist shop on its feet. I read that appeal for help, and the dollar went to Girard in the next mail.

Then it was Fred and Rich. The dear little Coming Nation. Rich Hil.³ I wonder if ever those boys think of me in that connection. I guess not now. Full stomachs develop new cells in the dome of reason, and a fat bank book can wipe out most any disagreeable odor of poverty and want.

But I shall never be rich, Gene, and some how I cannot feel other wise than that I am a part of that same old APPEAL. My very blood is there. Into its fabric I can see the warp and woof of my own soul. And now it has broken my heart.

Jack London once broke my heart with these simple words: "Comrade Berry, a little girl came to us, (he and his dear wife), but she passed on."

I believe the child lived a week. I never had anything make me so sad. I love Jack. He is a man.

And so I have gone on, loving my fellows, and my fellows have forsaken me to a man whenever I needed their help to make me a better man and a better fighter in the great cause of humanity.

And now, Gene, you have gone back on me, and Fred has gone back on me, and Brewer, Wayland, the APPEAL and the RIP-SAW, Wagner,⁴ Kate⁵ and the whole world. This is my reward for having dared to try to lift myself up out of the sewer to a higher plane of intellectual endeavor for the cause we all pretend to love. O I have dared to say a few things that are true. I have pointed out some of our own blackest faults and follies. I have corrected some of the errors of the "MACHINE." I have pointed to a hope beyond. I have upset some of the pet parrotings. I HAVE ATTACKED THE ENEMY.

And so you have all gone back on me. Don't tell me it is an iron rule. Since when became the APPEAL a tyrant? Who can make iron rules when one single comrade in want cries out for a justly deserved lift? This makes me think. The APPEAL to REASON on record as refusing to honor a Socialist book that has made the best reputation—

Comrade Debs, listen: You tell Fred, that, some day I shall have a means of using my voice, and when that time comes, if he should ever need the use of my paper, or if he should need a friend, or if you should ever need a friend, or if Wayland should ever need a

friend, or if Brewer needs a friend, or Kate, or Wagner, or any other poor devil or rich devil ever needs a friend, he, you or they will have only to call on me, when I will break all the Goddamned laws—iron, lead or gold, to come to the rescue.

And now just a few more words, then I shall be done. I want to tell you something, and I want you to remember it, and I want you to tell it to Fred and the rest, and then I guess you all can afford to ignore me and my little wife, who is my one last friend:

I have written a book⁶ that will make a Socialist of every one who reads it, providing that person possesses enough brains to know the difference between right and wrong.

I left the RIP-SAW because that publication was dealing crooked with the Socialist movement, and with me.

Now that gang would ruin me in any way they possibly can. My job was SCABBED long before I left of my own volition. Now the scabs are trying to help out in the slaughter. I am owing Wagner \$700.00. I borrowed the money here to get the book out. I am now owing \$3,000. There was sold in advance something like 800 copies of the book. Before the book came out, all this money had to be spent, so that when it DID come out, I had to borrow \$200.00 more with which to mail and express out those advance orders. In this I fell short about \$100.00, owing to the fact that Ray and I have not learned the gentle art of living without food and shelter. I tried to borrow the balance, but could not do so. We are in a terrible plight. We have two little rooms here, with a very poor family of five. We pay ten dollars per month, all furnished. We are without ONE DOLLAR IN THE WORLD, the rent is due this very day, and these poor folks have no work, no coal, no food either. Besides, those to whom the books have been shipped, have not had the time to read them and to hustle up a few orders for us. The APPEAL has a tremendous power. The book is a GOOD book. Some day it will be a world beater for a seller. The APPEAL can do its duty or it may shirk it. I do not feel that I am begging when I say that I think the APPEAL owes that book a THOROUGH REVIEW. If it will do its duty, 5,000 copies of that book will be sold through the review. This will pay off the debt, enable us to get out a second and corrected edition, and start the ball rolling.

And now I want to wind this letter up by saying that, the APPEAL to REASON is supposed to be a Socialist paper, and that it has been boasting for 12 years or more that it is the champion of the working class. That it is "your" paper. That it is devoted to the interests of the workers. Then the APPEAL to REASON has no right to make "iron rules" that will justify it in ignoring one single comrade or his

work that has earned the reputation that THE TORCH OF REASON has earned and deserves. Now the APPEAL is on record, what will it do? I shall watch its pages for the answer, and for your answer, and for Fred's, Brewer's and Wayland's answer. What will your answer be?

Your friend "ALL THE WAY THROUGH,"
F. Forrest Berry

TLS, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. Frederick Forrest Berry was publisher and editor of *The Torch of Reason*, a monthly socialist magazine published in St. Louis.

2. Charles Lewis Fox (1854-1927) was an artist who lived in Maine and gained considerable recognition as a painter of Indians and Indian culture. In 1902, Fox was the Socialist party candidate for governor of Maine.

3. Fred Warren had worked on a paper in Rich Hill, Missouri, before he joined the staff of the *Appeal to Reason*.

4. Phil Wagner was editor of the *National Rip-Saw* in St. Louis. Berry's articles and poems appeared in the *Rip-Saw*.

5. Kate Richards O'Hare (1877-1948) was a popular socialist lecturer and organizer who often accompanied Debs on the party encampment circuit in the Southwest. She claimed that her honeymoon, following her marriage to Francis Patrick O'Hare in 1902, was spent on a party organizing and lecture tour. She was the party's candidate for Congress in Kansas in 1910, served several terms on the national executive committee, and was a delegate to the meeting of the Second International in London in 1913. A speech given by O'Hare in Bowman, North Dakota, in July 1917 led to her indictment and conviction for violation of the wartime Espionage Act and she served thirteen months in the Missouri State Penitentiary at Jefferson City. Following her release she worked actively for the release of other prisoners, including Debs, and played a leading role in organizing the Children's Crusade in 1922, a march on Washington to demand the release of the opponents of the war who were still in prison. In 1911, Kate and Frank O'Hare joined the editorial staff of the *National Rip-Saw*.

6. Berry's book, also called *The Torch of Reason*, was published in Cincinnati in 1912 and described on his letterhead as a "fiction socialist classic."

EVD to Frederick Forrest Berry

March 21, 1912

Girard, Kansas

Dear Comrade Berry:—

You must have taken leave of your senses when you wrote me such a letter as came this morning. If I had committed some crime against you it could scarcely be worse. If you have become mentally irresponsible I pity you but if you are in a sane state of mind this ends

our correspondence. You blame me as if I were responsible for people not wanting your book. You speak as if one word from me would put it in circulation. I have not even read your book. I know little about your book. I have other affairs besides your book to engage me. If you have staked everything you can raise and borrow on this book it is you and no one else who must take the consequences. I did not advise you and I absolutely disclaim any responsibility. According to your letter everybody has gone back on you and everybody is a crook. When a man talks that way all I have to say is that he would better spend a little time in self-examination. I can now understand why the people around St. Louis¹ said that anybody that had anything to do with you would sooner or later regret it.

If it is true that you sent your last dollar to the Appeal to Reason when your little child was suffering for a pair of shoes then you were guilty of a crime against that child. You had no right to do it and you have no excuse for having done it and the Appeal does not thank you for anything of that kind. The Appeal may have needed money badly in the past but never badly enough to have stolen the shoes of a baby.

If you have anything to write to Wayland or Warren in the way of condemnation please direct it to them and not to me. I am not running the Appeal. I'm only working for it, and I am responsible only for myself and my own acts.

I have told you what the Appeal's rule is in regard to books and this seems to have caused all the trouble. According to you every comrade who writes a book or pamphlet is entitled to the Appeal's columns. It so happens that there are hundreds of such writers and that in the past year a perfect flood of such books, pamphlets, leaflets and tracts has poured in a steady stream into this office, the writer in almost each case claiming that he had produced the best thing of its kind, or that it was the one thing needed to convert the world to Socialism and expecting an elaborate review of it in the Appeal as well as free advertising. Whatever the Appeal did was generally unsatisfactory and finally the Appeal had to take the action it did in excluding book reviews and if this has set you in a rage you will have to make the most of it and that is all there is about it.

If the Appeal attempted to review all the books and manuscripts that come in here there would be room for nothing else. On a par with this strange notion of yours is the notion that if the Appeal noticed your book you would at once sell five thousand copies. If that statement were not in your own letter I would think it had been made by some child or by some person mentally deranged. There is not a socialist book yet published in this country, put upon the market by

the writer himself, so far as I know, that has paid for the expense of producing it.

I tried it years ago when I was loaded with ten times the debt you are and hardly raised money enough to pay the printer's bill. You did not consult me in advance and you must not undertake to load the blame on me. I have been as kind to you as I know how to be to any one and if you think I have gone back on you you may simply keep on thinking so and cut my name from your list. To read your letter one would think that you had spent your whole life serving me in particular, that I was under a world of personal obligation to you and that all at once I had committed a crime against you, worse than robbery, and proved myself a monster of ingratitude. That is the way your letter reads and while I have as much patience as most any other comrade one such letter is enough for me. I know of nothing I have done or left undone to warrant you going into such a state. I subscribed for your book and also for your proposed paper and paid for both and my brother did the same and if others had done as much your book would have secured a hearing. But you must think that I have nothing else to do but to serve as your book agent, from the way you charge in your letter. I am up to my very eyes in work and more demands are made upon me every day than I can meet and as for troubles I think I have my full share but I have yet to be caught attempting to unload them upon others and condemning others for not bearing them for me.

I have forgotten to say that since the Appeal sold out its book department to Kerr & Co.,² it has handled no books and under a written agreement with that company it can handle no books and this has had something to do with its present attitude in book matters. This is all I have to say.

Yours fraternally,
[Eugene V. Debs]

TLc, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. Probably those at the *National Rip-Saw*, Frank and Kate O'Hare, Phil Wagner, and Herr Glessner Creel.

2. Charles H. Kerr in Chicago, the major publisher of socialist literature.

W. P. Borland to EVD

April 6, 1912
Washington, D.C.

Dear Gene:—

Upon my arrival home from the office this evening I found your letter of the third awaiting me. I immediately wired you as follows:

“Your letter third. Bone matter; mailing special delivery letter tonight.”

I very much doubt that you would be able to make a criminal action against Bone¹ stick, even though you should be able to furnish absolute proof that he is riding on passes. It is common knowledge that United States attorneys all over the country use railroad passes; they do not use them as public officials, but as EMPLOYEES of the railroad companies. It is not against the law for an attorney to be employed by the United States and by a railroad company at the same time; in other words, an attorney is not bound to give up his private practice when he accepts an appointment as United States attorney, and while the layman can readily understand that it is manifestly improper for an attorney to represent the United States in court proceedings and at the same time be an employee of a railroad company which it may become his duty to prosecute, and, to their credit be it said, the great bulk of U.S. attorneys take the layman's view; nevertheless it is true that many of the attorneys do not, and there is no statutory prohibition against that practice.

I am enclosing the pass provisions of the Act to Regulate Commerce, and have marked certain passages which are pertinent to the Bone case. You say you have absolute proof that he is using free transportation. If that is true you have part of the evidence upon which to hinge a prosecution. But it is not the most essential part, as it would be necessary also for you to prove that he is not an employee of some railroad company in order to bring him within the prohibitions of the Act and make him subject to its penalties. It does not take much to make an attorney at law an “employee” within the meaning of the Act. A nominal retainer of ten or twenty dollars a year is all that would be necessary, and by means of the liberal interchange feature of the law a nominal retainer from some little jerkwater road is all that would be necessary to entitle an attorney to passes on every railroad in the United States without in any manner subjecting himself or the railroad companies to the penalty of the law.

Of course, no United States attorney would care to have it generally

known that he was using free railroad transportation, and I have no doubt the Appeal can make a point of this against Bone,² and probably make it decidedly uncomfortable for him; but unless it can be clearly established that he is in no sense an employee of some railroad company a criminal action will not lie against him.

I have not yet succeeded in running down the other matter mentioned in your letter of the 2nd, but hope to get a line on it Monday; you may be sure that I will give you the dope on it if it is possible to obtain it here. The report on the Lawrence strike³ will be mailed you on Monday.

Love to Warren and Wayland and lots to yourself,

Yours always,
Borland

TLS, KPT, Haldeman-Julius Collection.

1. Federal District Attorney Harry J. Bone led the prosecution of Fred Warren, which had ended with Taft's pardon of Warren on February 1, 1911. More recently, in November 1911, Bone had secured an indictment of Warren, Wayland, and Lincoln Phifer for "obscenity," growing out of a series of articles on conditions at the Leavenworth Federal Penitentiary that appeared in the *Appeal* in April and May 1911.

2. In "Mr. Bone's Dual Role" (*Appeal*, May 11, 1912), Debs described Bone as "an employee of the Rock Island Railway company" who "rides on a Rock Island pass" and charged him with being "a violator of the United States law against the issuance of free transportation."

3. The strike in the textile mills at Lawrence, Massachusetts, in January 1912 involved some 20,000 workers, many of them immigrants, who failed to secure the support of the AFL craft unions and turned for aid and leadership to the IWW. Public opinion gradually shifted toward the strikers following disclosures of collusion between police and management in their effort to frame the strike's leaders, William Haywood, Joseph Ettor, and Arturo Giovannitti, and following press accounts of police brutality against the strikers and their families, including their children. On March 14, 1912, the workers accepted a settlement which gave them a 5 percent wage increase, over-time pay guarantees, and guarantees against punishment of those who had joined the strike. Victor Berger pushed for and secured a congressional investigation of the strike, which Debs discussed in "Lawrence and Slavery" (*Appeal*, March 16, 1912).

EVD to Theodore Debs

April 21, 1912
Girard, Kansas

My dear old Pard:

Have just written Kate fully about last 2 weeks. Go to our house when you have time & she'll tell you about it. I haven't time to write. This is first day's work I've done for 2 weeks & I'm tired. Easter 2

a m was seized with spasm of lumbago—fell on floor & was helpless & suffered all the tortures of damnation until 2 or 3 days ago. Thought I was done for. Resigned but Warren would not accept. Did not let you know because I didn't want to worry you. Am on my feet again. A scientific osteopath is making me new again. He has already done wonders. Will be here 3 weeks yet & then go home. In that time he will put me in better fighting shape than I've been for 20 years. I can already feel it. Each treatment lasts 1½ hours and its drastic & from scalp to toe-nails. He has already about cured my catarrh & my throat—my voice already rings like new. He's going to give me new digestion & circulation & he's already done wonders. Before I had this attack my blood was so cold that I couldn't get warm in bed under 6 inches of quilts & blankets. He understands thoroughly. The attack of lumbago that came near being my finish was a collapse due to my run down condition. I'll never again be caught in that condition. It's a clear but never to be forgotten lesson. To-morrow I begin to take systematic exercise & air—no medicine—but every nerve, muscle & tendon in me set to work.

I was on the verge of wiring or writing you but glad I didn't. Would have resigned but Warren wouldn't listen to it. The kindness of these people I never shall forget. But I'm on top again—thank God & all the world's beautiful once more.

Love & kisses to all
Gene

ALS, InTI, Debs Collection.

EVD to Theodore Debs

April 26, 1912
Girard, Kansas

My dear old Pard:

Ten thousand thanks for your sweet & priceless letter. It touched the deep & inner me all over. I'm alright now—feel better than in five years. Taking regular scientific *osteopathic and electric* treatment. It's drastic but it's making *new* every muscle, nerve & tissue & tendon in my body. Im up at 5 & go to bed at 10—walk couple miles before breakfast, eat prudently & work hard & enjoying it. The lumbago is pretty well out of me, just a trace & that will soon be gone. I am stronger & more vigorous than I've been in years. The breakdown was a blessing in one sense. I'm now taking time enough to have

myself made new again & putting my whole heart in it. Will continue the treatment up to the time I leave here. Weather glorious. See next Appeal¹ & you'll find my old fire in every page of it. Will send you a check tomorrow as usual it is *yours* & if I could I'd make it a good deal bigger. It may be a bit shy in amt. for once or twice but that's all. My doctor bills will not be so very big & I'll get 'em paid up alright.

Kisses to you all, Gertrude and Marguerite—

Your old pard
Gene

Hope you get some mushrooms

Pls. paste enclosed clippings in scrap book²

ALS, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. Two Debs editorials, "Our Colors Flying" and "April 22, 1912 in Girard," appeared in the May 4, 1912, issue.

2. The scrapbooks kept by Debs, Theodore Debs, and Katherine Debs are reproduced in *The Papers of Eugene V. Debs 1834-1945* (Microfilm Edition, Microfilming Corporation of America, 1983).

EVD to Theodore Debs

May 18, 1912

Girard, Kansas

My dear old Pard:

The nomination¹ has come despite everything I have done to prevent it. It is well. Destiny regulates these things & we have only to acquiesce & go forward with our duty. I am prepared. Physically I am 500 per cent stronger than I was four years ago. I feel *perfect*—better than I have felt for 20 years. The rest here & the scientific treatment & air & exercise & diet have made me brand new. Will see you next week & the joy will be great. With love to you and Gertrude & Marguerite I am always, old pard,

Yours to the last breath
Gene

ALS, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. Debs was nominated as the Socialist party's presidential candidate at its Indianapolis convention, held May 12-18, 1912. Emil Seidel, socialist mayor of Milwaukee, was his running mate.

EVD to Thomas A. Hickey

May 21, 1912
Girard, Kansas

My dear Tom:—

You are either a prophet or the favorite son of a prophet. You knew. I didn't. I remember your last parting word when you took the train here for the convention.¹ I did not desire and I did not expect the nomination. On the contrary I did everything I felt that I properly could do to avoid it. But this does not mean that I have not the fullest appreciation of the nomination since it has come to me, and of the spirit in which it has come, which permeates every fibre of my being. You know that I care nothing about personal honors and that I have no personal ambition to satisfy. My interest is wholly in the party. All I have and hold dear are in the movement and whatever will help and strengthen and honor the movement that appeals to me and in that way I want to be honored, but I want every member in the party to share equally with me in that honor.

I shall never forget your personal loyalty and devotion. This confidence and affection of you and other devoted comrades is my most sacred possession beyond my immediate family. I would not part with this for all the gold ever mined. I would rather lose my life than this priceless treasure.

I thank you, Tom, from the very depths of my heart. I shall never forget you and Ed Green, and Meitzen, and Noble,² and the rest of the Texas warriors, wheel-horses every one of them. You four alone, above mentioned, represent nearly 25 feet of the revolution. When you see or write these comrades send your love along with mine.

I shall now get myself in shape for the campaign and I shall make the fight of my life. In not the least particular shall my comrades who so loyally and unselfishly and generously pushed me to the front and made me what I am, be disappointed in me when the campaign is closed, if it is in my blood and tissue to make good and I am self-centered enough to believe that it is.

With all loving greetings, and with a right hearty hail to the revolution, I am

Yours always,
Eugene V. Debs

TLS, TxLT, Southwest Collection.

1. Hickey was a delegate from Texas to the party's 1912 national convention.

2. Edward A. Green, Ernest Richard Meitzen, and William S. Noble were all

delegates to and supporters of Debs at the 1912 convention. Green was state secretary of the party; Meitzen was publisher of Hickey's paper, the *Rebel*, and the party's candidate for governor in 1914; and Noble was a party organizer and an organizer for the Farmers' Alliance and Renters Union in Texas.

EVD to J. Mahlon Barnes¹

May 31, 1912

Terre Haute, Indiana

Dear Comrade Barnes:—

The only two appointments I have, as I understand it, are the ones at Chicago and New Castle. Please do not make any more until we meet at Chicago. I do not think that I shall fill any appointments at all during July or August. I have sufficient reason for this which I will make clear to the committee when we meet.

I am receiving many letters from comrades asking me not to make a long campaign. Warren insists that it should not be over six weeks. A long campaign sags and drags. I believe in concentration and in bringing all our forces to bear within the six weeks or two months preceding the election. Of course the local campaigning will go on continuously but I have reference now to the presidential campaign and to its management.

I have always put into every campaign the very best there was in me and I shall do the same this year, but I shall want a voice in determining what the program shall be. Four years ago the campaign was organized for me and I was never invited to attend a meeting of the committee, or to offer a suggestion. The only two requests I made of a very modest nature were declined. It will be different this year. I wish no arrangement made which involves me without being consulted.

I shall not be wanting in physical and mental powers to do my full duty, but I shall object to any arrangement under which I am taxed beyond the powers of any human being, and the many letters I am receiving show conclusively that the comrades who nominated me do not want a load put upon me such as no one can reasonably be expected to bear.

Four years ago I was booked 68 straight days without one single day of intermission and in that time I made about 560 speeches. No man has ever made a campaign like it before or since. Not even Bryan or Roosevelt has ever spoken over six days a week. When I returned from my long Western tour of thousands of miles and hundreds of

speeches not even one day was allowed me before being rushed off to the East in {a} car so foul that {it} was not fit for an animal to be shipped in. From the start to the finish not a single day was allowed me to nurse my voice or to rest my body and at many of the places, Philadelphia among the rest, three and {four} big {evening} meetings were arranged after a hard day's speaking along the road, and that I did not break down utterly, as most men would have done, is simply because of my love for the socialist movement and because I have a constitution of iron.

It is now thirty-six years since I began to speak for organized labor and to fight the battles of the labor movement and I am 56 years of age, but I have never been fitter for a campaign, never better qualified for service than now, and I shall not disappoint my comrades, but I wish my dates arranged and program made with the same consideration for the limitations of human capacity and endurance that every comrade expects for himself. I anticipate no misunderstanding in this matter and am confident that we shall be able to decide upon arrangements that will be entirely satisfactory to all concerned.

You need not take the time to answer this. I understand we are to be in Chicago on Saturday the 15th. We will then have ample time to talk matters over.

I am with all good greetings and kind wishes,

Yours fraternally
[Eugene V. Debs]

TLc, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. As noted earlier, Barnes had served as manager of Debs's Red Special campaign in 1908 and had resigned as party secretary in 1911 following a party investigation of charges of corruption and moral turpitude made against him by Thomas Morgan and others. At the 1912 convention he was once again named campaign manager for the national ticket and his selection by the convention triggered a storm of controversy among members who felt his role as campaign manager exposed the party to charges of laxness on the issue of sexual morality. Debs was obliged during the course of the campaign to devote considerable time and energy to "the Barnes affair."

EVD to Fred D. Warren

May 31, 1912

Terre Haute, Indiana

My dear Fred:—

Had a long interview with Barnes at my home on my return. Meant to write to you in regard to it but have been up to my ears in work.

Barnes had a statement which put an entirely different light on the matter. I stated to him frankly just what my views were as I did to you and to the rest of the comrades with whom I conferred about the matter before leaving. Barnes received it all in good part and said if I advised him to withdraw or refuse to serve he would consider it. But after receiving his statement I did not see how I could consistently do so under the circumstances. The matter will probably come up again at Chicago where I am to speak on June 15th. and where I am to meet with the campaign committee. This date and one other were made by the Executive Committee before Barnes came here. No others will be made until after I meet with the campaign committee.

Now here is Barnes' statement in brief and I believe it to be true: The entire committee on constitution at the convention proposed to him on its own initiative to make him campaign manager. This was a unanimous tender. Barnes refused it and said he did not want the place. Next the tender was made by the entire national executive board, and finally by the combined committee on constitution and national executive board. Barnes still refused to accept.¹ Said he had not dreamt of such a thing and that after it was proposed to him and he declined positively to accept, he proposed the name of Harry Parker of Philadelphia² for the position. There the matter rested until the convention itself by a practically unanimous vote made Barnes campaign manager, virtually forcing the office upon him. He had not asked for it; he did not want it. The question of his vindication had not occurred to him. After he had positively refused to serve himself when the tender was made by the national executive board and the committee on constitution, he gave way to Harry Parker, but still the delegates persisted until finally the convention itself with scarcely a dissenting voice impressed [him] into service, and under such circumstances I would have no more right to advise him to resign than he would have to ask me to resign. The question of his past relations with the party and difficulties in connection with his office were all known to the convention and in face of all this the convention, acting for the party, chose him to manage the campaign under the direction of a campaign committee and whatever objection there may be to this action, and whatever measure of responsibility may attach to it, is with the convention and not with Barnes. Had Barnes sought or schemed for the position, and had he done this mainly, as I was led to believe from certain reports which came to me, {for his "*vindication*" } it would be different, far different. But Barnes, according to his statement to me, which I have no reason to question, sought in every way that he felt that he consistently could, to prevent the action which the convention took in making him campaign manager. In these

circumstances, whatever I may think of the action of the convention, I cannot feel that in my position I could presume to advise Barnes to withdraw unless other facts are brought out to throw a different light upon the matter.

Yours as ever
E. V. Debs

TLS, InU, Lilly Library, Walker MSS.

1. Part of the controversy surrounding Barnes's selection as campaign manager grew out of a charge that Morris Hillquit, a delegate from New York, misled the convention into believing that Barnes's nomination was the recommendation of the party's national executive committee.

2. Like Barnes, Harry Parker was a member of the Cigar Makers' International Union in Philadelphia. He had managed the Red Special train during the 1908 campaign.

EVD to Charles R. Jones¹

June 1, 1912

[Terre Haute, Indiana]

Dear Mr. Jones:—

Your communication² addressed to me at Girard has been forwarded to me here and I have given it careful reading and now beg to thank you for having taken the pains to express yourself so fully and for the kindly spirit in which you have written to me. But I cannot agree with you as to prohibition. I do not in the least question your integrity. On the contrary I have perfect faith in your sincerity and I can read in all your lines how deeply you feel upon this question, but still I am unable to accept your conclusion. I regret not having time to write to you as fully as I would wish, but after three months' absence from here and on the edge of a national campaign I have so many hundreds of letters pouring in and am so besieged that it is utterly impossible for me to do justice to such letters as you have written to me.

As a socialist I am for the suppression of the liquor traffic but I am convinced that it will never be accomplished by prohibition. I have been in Kansas³ too long to be deceived as to what prohibition means in-so-far as the liquor evil is concerned. Not until capitalism is overthrown and the profit is taken out of the whisky business will that business be destroyed. When the workers are economically free and when they get what they produce and can live decently and when

the present parasitic and idle elements have to work for what they get and produce what they consume, intemperance as it now curses society will disappear.

Frances Willard⁴ understood this after years of careful study and investigation and it was this that made her a socialist.

I admit all you say about the liquor evil and we differ only in the way this evil shall be destroyed. Prohibition will never do it. Besides, there is but one way to get at the root of the evil and that is by abolishing the profit system of which intemperance, like prostitution, is the legitimate fruit. The socialists are right in refusing to be led away from the main issue and to give attention to the thousand and more of ills that flow from capitalism, private ownership, profit and exploitation, to the neglect of the main, fundamental issue and the weakening consequent thereupon, if not the destruction, of their revolutionary movement.

For reasons of my own I am constitutionally opposed to the principle of prohibition. Theft and murder are prohibited but it is to be doubted if these crimes are lessened to any appreciable extent on that account. The world pays too much attention to effects while it ignores causes and this is as true of the liquor evil as it is of any of the rest of the evils that afflict society.

Pardon these hasty and inadequate lines. I am under such stress on account of the accumulation consequent upon my long absence and the many other demands upon my time that I cannot send you a more worthy answer to your very sincere and appealing communication.

I thank you from the depths of my heart for your more than kind and generous personal words and beg to assure you of my deepest respect and appreciation.

Yours faithfully
[Eugene V. Debs]

TLc, EVD Foundation, Debs Home.

1. Charles Reading Jones (1863-1944) was chairman of the Prohibition party national committee in Chicago and founder and president of the Associated Prohibition Press.

2. In a letter to Debs dated May 24, 1912, Jones complained that "the plea I made to the [socialist] convention for recognition of Prohibition in its platform was not submitted for consideration of the delegates."

3. The law implementing Kansas's constitutional prohibition amendment went into effect in 1881.

4. Frances Elizabeth Willard (1839-98) was a founder and president of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union from 1879 until her death. During the last decade of her life she sought to broaden the political appeal of the WCTU by espousing a form of Christian Socialism that she called Gospel Socialism.

EVD to Ryan Walker

June 1, 1912

Terre Haute, Indiana

My dearest Ryan:—

Your latest illustrated note is in my hands and its sweet message is in my heart. I am only sorry that “old man lumbago” is taking advantage of my absence. It is a shame that he seized upon you, an innocent bystander, as his victim. Doubtless he has it in for you because you helped with your portable heater and your steaming little kettle to put him down and out. I have fears for Mrs. Walker¹ for she too may be a shining mark for his vengeance for the same reason. May all the good angels protect you and if these fail you will have to fall back on “Push” and his automatic spirit. If I were there I would with joy put my body between you and pain. Glad you are to have the little trip to Kansas City and the hour of rollicking delight with Weber and Fields.² Wish I could have had just a sip—not to exceed a gallon—of that mock turtle soup by Mrs. Walker. Bet it was a steaming symphony. A rapture in every swallow. Gods, but you are a lucky dog in spite of “old man lumbago.”

While I think of it I must warn you against that man “Push.” He has an evil eye. He has an aggravated case of *punitis* and it will inoculate you even through the partition wall. Don’t let him inveigle you into one of his midnight adventures. The “leaners” will get you both if you don’t watch out. Say, old man, I’m trying my best to overlook your putting radishes in my strawberry shortcake—but its hard. I sometimes think you are even more wicked than “Push” in the sinister designs you have upon your unsuspecting comrades.

With all love
Gene.

TLS (typed signature with handwritten note), InH, Lilly Library, Walker MSS.

1. Maud Helena Davis Walker (1870-1925) was a writer who was interested chiefly in feminist and socialist issues. Her articles appeared in the *Appeal* and in *Progressive Woman*.

2. A leading vaudeville team of the period.

EVD to Ryan Walker

June 8, 1912

Terre Haute, Indiana

My dearest Ryan:—

Yours have all been received and thoroughly enjoyed. A word from you is like a greeting from the stars and a sketch from your magic pen¹ like a smile from the gods. My desk is piled so high with letters and my time is so wholly taken up with callers and interviewers that I can only send heart messages to you, the kind that pass so often between you and me and cannot be reduced to words. There is scarcely an hour in the day that I [do] not think of something sweet and beautiful and elevating about you and Mrs. Walker. And so often, even in my busiest hours, I wish I could run up your flight of steps and have the joy of your welcome and greeting.

Your picture of "Push" is of the impressionistic school. The midnight scene in which you snapshot him reveals his aspirations and is in a class by itself. The rest of the pictures, especially Hackett's cock, are most impressive and illuminating. I always knew Hackett was loyal to me and this latest from him, illustrated by you, proves it beyond question. Please express my appreciation to him and also to "Billy" Osborne² and say to him that I most earnestly hope his moving picture show will be a great success.

Give Mrs. Walker and her gifted and beautiful husband my love and the love of Mrs. Debs and of us all.

Always and always your devoted comrade and brother,

E. V. Debs

TLS, InU, Lilly Library, Walker MSS.

1. Walker's cartoons regularly illustrated the articles and editorials written by Debs and others for the *Appeal*, and his letters to Debs were frequently accompanied by humorous drawings.

2. William E. Osborne (1844-1924) was the owner of Girard's only moving picture show.

EVD to Fred D. Warren

June 10, 1912

Terre Haute, Indiana

My dear Fred:—

Enclosed please find three editorials on live topics. Two of them will interest railroad men in particular and the other union men in

general.¹ Wish you would get them in next issue if possible. If not then in the one following. Will send you a signed article of some length tomorrow or next day. You can hardly want this for the next issue as this will be the Father Vaughan edition.²

By the way, speaking of the Father Vaughan edition with my wife yesterday she made the suggestion that would not be bad if it {were} not wasting valuable space to carry it out. Assuming that neither Gibbons nor Vaughan will chirp in answer to your invitation and challenge³ my wife suggested that it would not be a bad idea if in that edition you allowed the first page to appear totally blank except as to the title head of the paper and that in the center of the center of the page you have printed in red the words "THIS IS WHAT CARDINAL GIBBONS AND FATHER VAUGHAN HAVE TO SAY IN ANSWER TO OUR INVITATION AND IN OPPOSITION TO SOCIALISM" or words to that effect, with a red border around it. Such a thing would surely be a pretty effective jolt to their contemptuous silence.⁴

I am thinking that we would better take the offensive as soon as we can on this hierarchy business. The Catholic church is bound to attack us methodically all over the country according to the plutocratic program laid down to it by those who have subsidized it for that purpose, and instead of tamely submitting we ought to issue our challenges to the cardinals, bishops and priests to come out into the open and face us before the people instead of throwing stinkpots at us from their retreats to which we are not allowed access. We will soon have them on the defensive if we dare them to meet us on public platforms before their own people and put this challenge under their noses and rub it into them all over the country. They are too foxy to meet us where we can tear them to tatters and we must get this fact before their followers so they will understand it and it will not take them long, the intelligent ones among them, to draw their own inferences.

I have been so frightfully busy that I have had but little chance to send you copy. I have my Chicago speech⁵ to prepare now and other things too numerous to mention but after the Chicago meeting is over I will be able to send you some signed articles.

Please read carefully enclosed letter from Elliott. If it is true it is certainly startling. I can hardly believe it to be true and yet in these days we must be prepared for everything. Wish you would treat this matter confidential as to Elliott at least and return the letter to me when you are through with it.

We are all hoping that Mrs. Warren is up and around again and chipper as ever and that Max still have a complete monopoly of

transportation in Warrenton. Best love to everybody—Ryan Walker alone barred. He libels me so outrageously with the big feet and big beak and big ears he puts on the envelopes he directs to me that nothing less than his blood will atone for his crime.

Always your old pard
[Eugene V. Debs]

TLS, CtU, Fred Warren Papers.

1. Debs's "Bunco Arbitration" dealt with a threatened railroad engineers' strike in Chicago; "Labor Union Salaries" deplored the "low wages, high prices and precarious conditions for the working class" (*Appeal*, June 29, 1912).

2. The Father Vaughan Issue of the *Appeal* on June 22, 1912, was devoted almost entirely to an attack on the Rev. Bernard John Vaughan (1847-1922), an English priest who wrote and spoke extensively against socialism in England and the United States. Vaughan's *Socialism: Is It Tyranny?* (1909) and *Socialism from the Christian Standpoint* (1912) were widely quoted in the Catholic press and elsewhere, and of his tour of the United States (1910-13) the *Appeal* charged that "Father Vaughan came from England to America as special representative of the pope at Rome to stem the rising tide of Socialism in this country."

3. In "Putting Down the Hydra-Headed Monster" (*Appeal*, June 8, 1912), Warren offered to print in the Father Vaughan Issue the "best arguments for and against socialism that its enemies and its friends can prepare" and hoped that "Father Vaughan will accept our very liberal offer."

4. Father Vaughan did not respond to the *Appeal's* invitation and challenge, nor was Katherine Debs's format adopted.

5. Debs's speech opening the 1912 campaign was given on June 16, 1912, before "the largest body of people ever gathered together in one place in the city of Chicago," according to the *Appeal* on June 29, 1912, which printed the entire speech.

EVD to Fred D. Warren

June 18, 1912

[Terre Haute, Indiana]

My Dear Fred:—

The enclosed correspondence will interest you a bit. The N.E.C. at Chicago decided that they had no jurisdiction over the Barnes case. I made my protest with the individual members and before the board and some parts of it were very heated and personal. Hillquit is the man mainly responsible. Scores of letters are pouring in here and something will surely have to be done. I shall probably issue a statement¹ and if I do it will be plain and to the point and I will name names and state facts. Barnes is not to blame. He refused the offer and said he would not accept it unless the convention made the demand unanimous or practically so. Hillquit in nominating Barnes stated to the

convention that Barnes had the unanimous endorsement of the N.E.C. and that was absolutely untrue. The matter had never been considered by the N.E.C. and Haywood and Mrs. O'Hare insisted on putting themselves right on the record. This fact will have to be stated to the membership and the responsibility placed where it belongs. When I told Hillquit to his face that it was a prearranged affair and that he had deceived the convention in saying that Barnes had been endorsed by the N.E.C. he grew very angry and demanded that I retract my words which I positively refused to do. The party is going to be torn into warring factions as things now look and it seems to me almost criminal to have precipitated this upon the party at this time. Hillquit and Spargo both declared that all who are opposed to Barnes are not socialists at all and that the quicker the party gets rid of them the better for the party. Harriman, I am told, went to Barnes and insisted that Barnes must take the place. Berger is in the same boat. It was the official machine that did the business for my benefit and I am going to see to it that every one of them bears the responsibility. It's a little curious, isn't it, that my campaign is always managed by those who did all they could to defeat my nomination.²

By the way, "Push" wrote me an emphatic protest and said the Army workers³ were protesting against Barnes. I made this statement to the members of the board when to my great surprise Simons said that the Appeal had received only five objections to Barnes, conveying the impression that the Appeal Army was entirely satisfied with the Barnes nomination. There is a wide difference between the letter of "Push" and the statement of Simons and one or the other is very seriously mistaken.

Please return enclosed correspondence as soon as you are through with it. I have a very large and a very troubled mail. There are some trying hours ahead, and some disagreeable situations, but we are going to move ahead unflinchingly and win out in the end.

Please find a short article enclosed.

With best love

Yours always
Debs

TLS, CtU, Fred Warren Papers.

1. Debs's statement on the selection of Barnes as manager of his 1912 campaign appeared in the *Appeal* on July 20, 1912. In it Debs said he did not know in advance that Barnes was to be named campaign manager, was not consulted, did not approve it, and blamed Morris Hillquit for making it appear to the convention delegates that Barnes was the choice of the national executive committee and the committee on constitution. Debs then called for "a national referendum of the party" to settle the controversy.

2. In the convention's roll-call vote for nomination of the party's presidential candidate, Hillquit voted for Charles Edward Russell, Berger voted for Emil Seidel, Job Harriman voted for Seidel, Seidel voted for Russell, Barnes voted for Debs, and John Spargo voted for Russell.

3. The men and women who sold subscriptions for the *Appeal* were called the Appeal Army.

EVD to John Spargo

June 19, 1912

[Terre Haute, Indiana]

Dear Comrade:—

At Chicago you and Hillquit declared emphatically that all who opposed you on the Barnes matter were not socialists at all and that the sooner the party was rid of them the better. Enclosed you will find a copy of a letter I want you to answer. I want you to write and tell this old comrade who fought with Liebknecht and who has organized over a dozen locals here in this country why he is not a socialist and why the party must get rid of him and all others like him.

This is only a sample of the letters my mail is loaded with. There is a crying demand from every quarter that Barnes be removed and the matter will undoubtedly go {to} a referendum. The storm is gathering and is going to break in all its fury. I shall issue a statement making my position perfectly clear. Those who are responsible for this situation will have to face it and you are among them and I serve notice on you now that you will be called upon to state your position to the party in general¹ as you have stated it to me in the presence of witnesses at the recent Chicago meeting. It may come to pass that those who dug a grave for me will [be] buried in it themselves. They may think that they have placed me where I must bear the brunt of this scandal alone but they will very suddenly wake up to find themselves mistaken. There are thousands now demanding to know if the party is now committed to free love² and you and Hillquit and a few others will be given full opportunity to answer.

Yours fraternally
E. V. Debs

TLC, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. Spargo's statement on the Barnes Affair, in which he argued that Barnes was "best qualified for the work," appeared in the *National Socialist* on August 3, 1912.

2. The charge of sexual promiscuity, involving Barnes's relationship with a na-

tional-office secretary, Jean Keep, had been among the most serious made against Barnes before his resignation in August 1911.

EVD to Fred D. Warren

June 19, 1912

[Terre Haute, Indiana]

My dear Fred:—

My mail is loaded with threats and protests about the Barnes affair. The storm is gathering and it threatens to be disastrous. Some locals have ordered the payment of dues stopped, others have resolved not to contribute a cent to the campaign and numberless others declare that they will not vote the ticket unless Barnes is removed. The N.E.C. has refused to act on the ground that it had no jurisdiction. I am satisfied the job was put up for my benefit and that Hillquit and the official machine, Berger included, are responsible for it. It is nothing less than a calamity to have the party ripped wide open and disembowel itself on the eve of a campaign. I have thought about it all over day and night and I have concluded to issue a statement and I shall name those who are responsible and make them defend their position before the party. They think they have me bareheaded in the center of this storm of slush and scandal where I must bear the brunt of it but I will show them a thing or two they overlooked. They think my lips are gagged on account of my position but if I permitted the party to be utterly disrupted by my cowardly silence I would be a traitor indeed to the thousands of good comrades who trust me and who have honored me in every way in their power. It is the official machine that is responsible and that machine has got to be smashed if the party is not to be wrecked.

See enclosed letter from an old comrade in Virginia. I sent a copy of this to Spargo and asked him to answer it. You will see what I have written to Spargo and you will understand the reason why when you have read it. Please return this correspondence.

See enclosed pages from the Bulletin. Wish you would return these also. This motion¹ must be supported from five states and by at least 5% of the membership. I think you should publish this motion in the appeal and call on locals to second it in accordance with the constitution which provides that at the time they send in a motion or a second they must state the number of members they have in good standing. This is now the only hope. There is no use to wink at this thing, or ostrich-like to hide our heads in the sand. I am informed

that scores of Catholic priests are going to take the stump against us all over this country on this issue, that all their journals will be filled with it and that they are going to prove that by putting Barnes in charge of our national campaign the Socialist party has committed itself definitely to free love, the disruption of the family and the breaking up of the home. They will put us on the defensive and keep us explaining and put us utterly at a disadvantage for the time being at least which we shall not be able to overcome. I think the Appeal should take its stand without any delay.² The longer this thing is allowed to run the worse it will be for the party. We have got to face it and that without hesitation. We have been forced into this position and we have got to protect the party against the impending calamity. The committee made some dates for me in Maine and Vermont which will take up all next week. I leave here on Friday, the 21st., closing up at St. Louis on the 29th. Will keep in touch with you. Don't use my name in this connection for I shall make my own statement on my return and send you a copy of it for the Appeal. Meantime I think the Appeal in behalf of the Army should demand the referendum since the N.E.B.³ has refused to act. pardon haste. The mail is enormous and most of it is on the Barnes matter.

Your [page torn]
Debs

P.S. In what you say about the Barnes case don't fail to say that Hillquit in nominating him said he had the unanimous endorsement of the national executive board; that Fred Merrick⁴ of Pittsburg interrogated him upon that point and that he repeated it. It afterward proved that it was absolutely false, that it had never been before the N.E.B. at all and at the recent meeting of the N.E.B. Haywood and Mrs. O'Hare proved that it had never been before the N.E.B. and had themselves put upon record accordingly. The convention was tricked and deceived by Hillquit's falsehood and misrepresentation.

TLS, CtU, Fred Warren Papers.

1. In its June issue the party's official paper, *Monthly Bulletin*, printed the call for a referendum to deal with the Barnes affair.

2. Debs's statement on the Barnes affair had already appeared in the *Christian Socialist*, the *Chicago Evening World*, and elsewhere before it finally appeared in the *Appeal* on July 20, 1912.

3. National executive board.

4. Merrick was a delegate from Pennsylvania to the 1912 convention.

Theodore Debs to Edward Ellis Carr

June 21, 1912

[Terre Haute, Indiana]

Dear Comrade:—

Your favor of the 20th. inst. enclosing copy of *Christian Socialist*¹ of April 11th. as requested has been received. Please accept my thanks.

I do not wish to go “into the Barnes case deeply,” and I regret having to go into it at all. You claim to be the Dreyfus in the case; that is what Hillquit and others claim for Barnes.

Personally I think the appointment of Barnes as campaign manager most unfortunate for everybody concerned, especially for the party. Gene made his protest before the board last Sunday but that board (N.E.B.) decided that it has no jurisdiction. The matter will now, as it seems to me, be forced to a referendum. That this should have been precipitated at the opening of a national campaign is unfortunate to put it mildly, and they who are responsible will certainly have to bear the consequences. I have good reason to believe that Barnes himself is not responsible for being campaign manager; Hillquit and Spargo say so. Barnes at first refused to entertain the proposition at all but finally agreed on condition that it was the unanimous request of the convention, or practically so.²

As to the case itself I am not going to pass judgement at this time. I have my own opinion but I have not the time to go into the case in this letter. I want to say to you frankly, however, that neither Gene nor I believe that you dealt with this affair in the Christ spirit. This does not mean that I condone the wrongs committed by the other side. In my opinion neither side is without sin and the party has had to suffer for all. I am just leaving the city to make an Eastern speaking trip with Gene and will not be back here for a couple of weeks.

Thanking you again for your prompt compliance with my request³ and wishing you well in every way I remain

Yours fraternally
[Theodore Debs]

TLC, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. As editor of the *Christian Socialist*, Carr was a leading critic of Barnes's selection as Debs's campaign manager.

2. In his statement on his selection as campaign manager, which appeared in the leading socialist publications during the summer of 1912 (including the *Christian Socialist*, which asked in its July 18 issue, “Does the party want a convicted adulterer as campaign manager?”), Barnes insisted that he had had no wish to be campaign manager and had accepted the position only out of a sense of duty to the party. In

the *Proceedings* of the convention (p. 165) Barnes is quoted as saying, "I don't want the job. I do not need a job, but if I can be of any service to the party in this temporary position I am willing to accept." Barnes was then "elected Campaign Manager by acclamation."

3. In a letter to Theodore Debs on June 20, 1912, Carr enclosed a copy of the April 11, 1912, issue of the *Christian Socialist*, which included an account of the party's investigation of charges of corruption and immorality made against Barnes by Carr, Thomas Morgan, and others in 1911. InTI, Debs Collection.

Fred D. Warren to EVD

June 24, 1912

[Girard, Kansas]

Dear Gene:

In handling the Barnes Matter I am convinced that it will be better and much more effective for my statement to appear in the same issue in which yours is printed.¹ This will concentrate our fire and one big blast should settle the controversy that has sprung up over the appointment of Barnes as campaign manager. I shall therefore await the arrival of your article on this subject.

I have just finished reading the letter from Elliott and the records from the supreme court of California. I am shocked and amazed at these revelations. This with the Barnes affair will bring joy into the camp of our enemies. The situation requires delicate handling. It is fortunate that we had a man like Elliott in Los Angeles to put the Appeal and yourself in possession of the real facts showing Harriman's connection with the McNamaras.² It will not be necessary for us to grope in the dark should it become necessary to refer to the incident in the Appeal.

I quite agree with you, also, that we cannot mince matters in dealing with Barnes. As I wrote to you some days ago I am willing to abide by your judgment and to back up anything you decide to do. While it is strictly against the Appeal's policy to interfere with party matters it appears to be necessary to do so now. Vigorous action at the beginning of the campaign will clear the atmosphere and prevent the campaign from degenerating into a mere mud slinging contest. I am at a loss to understand what could have prompted Hillquit and Spargo to put this over on the party unless it was for the purpose, as you so clearly point out to the latter, of humiliating you and placing you on the defensive throughout the campaign.

Many many thanks for the editorials and the signed article. Know-

ing how busy you must be I can appreciate how much you think of the Appeal to remember us so generously at this time.

Thank Mrs. D. for her fine suggestion on the Father Vaughan edition. I was sorely tempted to follow her advice but at the last moment lost my nerve as it looked like a waste of good white paper. The comrades on the firing line are quite well pleased with the manner in which we handled the Father Vaughan and they are coming back with repeat orders for the edition.

I am returning under separate cover typewritten copy of the speech and the other communications sent to me in your letters of June 10th to June 17th. My absence from Girard all of last week is my excuse for not replying more promptly.

Mrs. W. is improving and the boys are enjoying their vacation. Jake³ presented Max with a goat —!—!!! This is all that need be said on this score. Regards to Theodore. Tell him the only possible way he can save his chickens is to box them up and send them to Girard. I will guarantee their safe return to Terre Haute when a certain distinguished candidate for the presidency arrives in Girard after the campaign.

Fred

TLC, CtU, Fred Warren Papers.

1. As noted above, Debs's statement on the Barnes affair appeared not very prominently on page 3 of the July 20 issue of the *Appeal*. Warren's statement, "Statement by Manager," did not appear until the August 18, 1912, issue of the *Appeal*.

2. Job Harriman, Debs's vice-presidential running mate in 1900, served as an assistant to Darrow in the McNamara case in 1911 and was the Socialist party candidate for mayor of Los Angeles in 1911. The McNamara brothers' confessions on the eve of the election were blamed for Harriman's defeat. Francis Marshall Elliott's correspondence on the issue has not been found.

3. Jacob I. Sheppard (1861-1921) was a socialist lawyer in Fort Scott, Kansas, who secured a dismissal of the charges of printing obscenity in the *Appeal*, lodged against Warren, Wayland, and Phifer in the indictment of November 1911 and tried in May 1912. He was later a founder and secretary of the People's College in Fort Scott.

EVD to Fred D. Warren

July 1, 1912

Terre Haute, Indiana

My dear Fred:—

Have this moment received advance sheet of first page of Appeal of 6th. Am greatly surprised and deeply pained.¹ Sorry indeed that

things are not going better. I supposed that by the way the circulation was increasing according to the weekly reports in the *Appeal* that everything was in fine shape so far as finances were concerned. Please let me know if I can be of any help. Anything that hurts the *Appeal* or you, or weighs upon you, also hurts and weighs upon me. I am just back after an extremely hard and hot and trying trip² and there is a barrel of mail here awaiting me. But my heart is with you and if things go wrong I want to bear my full share. I can hardly think the *Appeal* is going to be allowed to go on the rocks at this time. This appeal of yours will surely bring the Army to its feet and set every worker going to save the day. If danger threatens cut me from the pay list the very first of all.

Cheer up, old man! This is not a darker day than many others you have experienced. The trying hour is perhaps as necessary as the easy one, and if it were not for the dark day, and the trying one, perhaps there would be no bright and happy ones. You are doing God's work and that kind of work has never yet failed, nor has any man engaged in it even though he died crucified between thieves.

Yours always
Gene

TLS, CtU, Fred Warren Papers.

1. In "A Personal Word to the Friends of This Paper" (*Appeal*, July 6, 1912), Warren devoted the entire front page of the paper to a discussion of the "serious losses" being absorbed by the *Appeal* (which claimed 556,813 subscribers for that issue) and a warning that "unless there is a decided increase in the number of subscriptions . . . without delay, the *Appeal* cannot continue more than two months." On the eve of the 1912 election, the *Appeal* (October 26) claimed 1,114,047 subscribers because "the Army has done its work."

2. "Debs Tour in New England" was described in the July 6, 1912, issue of the *Appeal*.

EVD to Fred D. Warren

July 6, 1912

Terre Haute, Indiana

My dear Fred:—

Your special delivery is at hand. It is not necessary that I shall make any reply. We will let the points of difference go, if any remain, and switch the whole business over on to Max's goat. I suppose there are times when we have got to unload a little on somebody and when we have done so we not only feel the better for it but are ready for a

fresh start. By the time this reaches you things will have changed for the better and the skies will be bright once more. At least I believe so. I hate to think about your being in a tight situation, financially speaking, for a single hour. Your load is heavy enough and the grind hard enough when everything is moving along smoothly. When financial difficulties threaten your lot is certainly trying to the last degree. The real trouble is in getting out a paper for forty weeks at 25 cents.¹ The expense is great and the {expenditures} go out in dollars while the receipts come in in pennies.

It is {a} damned good thing that the handling of the finances does not depend upon me. We would not have money enough to meet the first pay roll and on the next we would be dead broke. Talk about high finance if you want to see the Appeal make the fur fly for a short whirl and a swift finish just make me Secretary of the Treasury and I'll promise you a dazzling administration—while it lasts.

You are probably right in attributing the temporary sag to the republican and democratic conventions.² These and Jack Johnson³ have completely had the attention of the country and now that these stunts are off the Appeal will again come in for its share.

Lots of love to you and may the coming week abundantly make up for the past.

Yours always
Gene

TLS, CtU, Fred Warren Papers.

1. The *Appeal*'s subscription rates were "Fifty Cents a Year, Six Months 25 cents, Clubs of Four or More (40 weeks) 25 cents."

2. President Taft was renominated by the Republican party convention in Chicago on June 23, 1912; Woodrow Wilson was nominated by the Democratic party convention in Baltimore on July 3, 1912.

3. Jack Arthur Johnson (1878-1946) was the world heavyweight boxing champion, the first black boxer to win that title. Johnson's private life, including his marriage to a white woman and in 1912 his conviction for violation of the Mann Act, was given broad coverage in the press of the day and was of keen interest to boxing fans, who looked for a "great white hope" to defeat him.

Allan L. Benson to Theodore Debs

July 11, 1912
Yonkers, New York

Dear Theodore:

After the receipt of your letter this morning, I telephoned to the editor of Pearson's,¹ who promised me he would send you today,

either 300 copies of the magazine containing my article about Gene,² or 300 page-proofs of it.

I am indeed glad to know you liked the article. I had heard so many persons here in the east speak of Gene as a "bad man" that I thought it about time the truth were told about him outside of a Socialist publication. Pearson's will give the article a circulation of 200,000, and Hillquit has submitted it to the national campaign committee for publication as a pamphlet. The committee already has two pamphlets of mine scheduled for the campaign and this morning wrote to me for an article about the courts for the campaign book, but I would rather the article about Gene would be circulated than all of the others. Like every other Socialist, I am very fond of him.

Here is something that I should like to have you think over at your leisure:

Gene is worthy of a better biography than has ever been written about him. The place he will have in history entitles him to it. Stevey Reynolds' book is all right as far as it goes, but it does not go far enough.

I should like to write a biography of Gene that would stand. I believe I could do it. I should like to take two or three years to do it. If all of the material could be put into my hands, I would do it.

If this interests you, let me know.

Yours Truly,
Allan L. Benson

TLS, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. Arthur Little.
2. Benson's article, "The Socialist Candidates," appeared in the August 1912 issue of *Pearson's*.

EVD to John Spargo

July 12, 1912
Terre Haute, Indiana

Dear Comrade:—

It seems impossible for me to believe that the man who wrote the letter I have before me under date of July 9th. and bearing your signature is the same man who a few days ago invited me to his home to be entertained by his wife and caressed by his children. You knew at the time, according to your letter, that I was the "ally" of human monsters who "hound" an unfortunate comrade "to his death," and

of "cruel dastards, with the souls of vultures," (beautiful thoughts inspired "amid peaceful hills, surrounded by flowers and ears filled with the music of birdsongs and happy children's laughter mingled") who run down innocent women to fasten upon them the badge of harlotry, and yet you affected to receive me almost with rapture and insisted upon introducing me, cruel, unregenerate and repulsive as you knew me to be, to the bosom of your family and the sanctity of your home. If I had had even the faintest intimation at the time of the malice toward me which lurked in your heart and which now finds expression in your letter, especially between its lines, you may be sure that "ally" though I am in the your eyes to fiends of cruelty and monsters of depravity, I should never have been hypocrite enough to darken the door of your home.

John Spargo, little as you intended it and "old and practiced a controversialist" as you vaunt yourself to be, you have revealed yourself {to me} stark naked, and if I am shocked and pained by the revelation it is on your account and not my own.

When you charge me and my imaginary "allies" with "hounding" a persecuted and suffering comrade and branding innocent women with shame, you outrival the most vulgar falsifier and the meanest detractor that ever attempted to cover my name with the leprosy of slander, and you are entitled to all the solace you can extract from that distinction.

When you sit once more "surrounded by flowers" with your "ears filled with the music of birdsongs and happy children's laughter mingled," please read the following touching and poetic tribute and then ask yourself if you know the author of it and how it happened that he painted the "ally" of fiends and monsters in such glowing colors:

"And Debs has given love for love. How much the outpouring of his love upon the hearts of his comrades has meant to the socialist movement will never be measured. To many a weary fighter in the ranks his word of cheer, vibrant with love and appreciative sympathy, has been as a cooling draught from the deep fountains of life. To many a comrade walking in the dark and silent places his strong handclasp has brought strength and assurance. To many a soul swept from its moorings he has given the anchorage of a new faith. He has mingled his tears with the tears of many of his stricken comrades and borne upon his strong shoulders the burdens which bore too heavily upon them. Debs draws love from a million hearts as a well draws from showers and springs: and like a well he gives it back to all who thirst for love as they cross the desert of life."

No mortal being reading your letter of July 9th. would ever dream

that the writer of it also penned the beautiful lines above quoted; and how you happened to be so cruelly deceived as to mistake an "ally" of fiends and monsters for a demigod, and what reliance may hereafter be placed in your judgment of men and what you write or say about them, may be left for future consideration. For the present John Spargo may stand face to face with himself and contemplate himself at his own leisure.

You have been brutally plain in what you have had to say to me and I shall now be equally so in what I have to say to you. Your letter from first to last is simply a grandstand performance, full of cheap heroics and fit for declamation from a low variety stage, and the publication of it would let the daylight into you at every pore in your epidermis. You are the hero, according to yourself, who pursues the villain and throttles him just as he is about to leap upon the innocent maiden in the play.

The late convention would be in sore straits indeed if it stood in need of the opera bouffe defense you make of it, and if I have "insulted the delegates" and "impeached their integrity" I will answer to them and they will take care of me, but it will require something more substantial than you have offered to convince the rank and file of the Socialist party that when I told the truth to John Spargo and his "allies" so plainly that it made them squirm, I "insulted the delegates" and "impeached the integrity of the convention." You may not be aware of it but the convention consisted of some others besides John Spargo and his official confreres.

You deem it necessary to compare the election of Barnes with my own to my disparagement, and to repeat the comparison with unction, but there is a slight difference you find it convenient to overlook. You and your official "allies" (called by some the machine) did all in your power to elect Barnes—and succeeded; you did all in your power to defeat me—and failed. I owe my nomination and allegiance to the rank and file but I harbor no malice against those who opposed me. On the contrary, I respect each and every one who opposed me openly, believing, as I did myself, that I had had my share, and far more than my share, and that the nomination ought to go to some other comrade.

But some of the opposition was not fair and open and comradely, as you may remember if you recall a certain article you gave to the socialist press shortly before the convention assembled. You felt moved for reasons quite obvious to inform the delegates to the convention and the party members generally that in your extensive travels you had found little "Debs sentiment" and that there was "not much demand for his nomination." You are quite excusable, no doubt, for

not finding what you were not looking for and did not want to find, but a brave and honest man does not strike that way; but if you were so blind with presumption that you could not see what you had so plainly written between the lines you are also excusable, "old and practiced a controversialist" though you be, for having insulted the intelligence of the unofficial members of the party. The subtle stab you aimed at me but wounded yourself. The comrades who called my attention to your sly and depreciatory innuendo changed their opinion of you and not me.

Let us now turn to what you call the "main issue" between us, which you declare to be "bossism and democracy." Precisely! When you stated that issue, Comrade Spargo, you were nearer right than you knew. Upon that issue you have an official standing while I have none but the rank and file.

But when and where and by whom were you told that I ever demanded Barnes' removal as campaign manager? The influence of those birdsongs and flowers which saturated your being as you wrote must also have acted as a powerful stimulant upon your imagination. I never made any such demand and if you are not aware of this you had better consult some of your "allies" and get at the simple truth before making another of your frantic outbursts.

At our very first meeting, after I had told him frankly why I regarded his election as unfortunate for both himself and the party, Barnes said to me, "If you advise my withdrawal I will consider it." I refused to so advise him and he will tell you so; and I have steadily refused ever since. And so it turns out that most of your indignation is over what never happened, and that upon the "main issue," bossism and democracy have in some mysterious way suddenly exchanged places. I can see at a glance where you are trying to place me that you may re-enact the role of St. George, but you will have to try again. The issue, however, still remains, clearly stated by yourself to impale me, but now confronting you and serving notice that an accounting will be demanded when perhaps you least expect it.

In what I had to say at the joint meeting in Chicago I gave my reasons for believing the election of Barnes a mistake which would bring suffering to him and harm to the party. I did not dream of demanding his removal. I must have been a driveling imbecile to imagine that the committee had power to remove him, even had such a thought ever occurred to me. For some reason there happens to be no record of this proceeding but for that I shall not be required to answer.

Now the full extent of my "hounding" of Barnes is that I regarded, and still regard, his present election a misfortune no less to himself

than to the party, and frankly said so, and this has so shocked your sensibilities and so outraged your sense of justice that you are not in the least perturbed when a woman of nearly four score years, white and worn with age and privation suffered in the service of the suffering, is branded in your presence and hearing as a blackmailer and robber. Mother Jones has suffered more in the service of the poor and friendless in a single night than you and Hillquit will ever know how or dare to suffer if you live a thousand years. It was this heroic woman who has starved with the miners months at a time, who has gone to pest-houses and nursed friendless victims of the smallpox and been deported at midnight at the points of bayonets in the hands of corporation thugs for fighting the battle of striking and starving working men and their wives and children—it was this grand old agitator that Hillquit brutally maligned with your muttering approval and when one of these days her worn-out body is laid away you will have the sweet solace of remembering that in her helpless old age you branded her as a blackmailer and robber.

You give yourself credit, in a burst of courage at long range, for having in my presence and hearing uttered the “cry,” “Shame on you, Eugene V. Debs, for thus assailing the integrity and intelligence of the convention which made you the party’s standard bearer,” and I suspect that you are putting these words in record for future use if I allow your assertion to pass unchallenged. There must have been some poppies among those intoxicating flowers which so enlivened your imagination. You never uttered any such words in my hearing. You may think you did and wish you had, but I never saw or heard these words until I read them in your letter.

I cannot help remarking, as I go over your letter, what a pity it is that the influence of those flowers and birdsongs and child laughter did not take the venom out of your heart.

Now a word about the women comrades¹ who were involved in that unfortunate affair at the national office. It may surprise you to know that I have defended their honesty and purity a thousand times, but I have not strutted the vaudeville stage inflated with self-conscious chivalry over it, nor have I deemed it proper to proclaim it from the housetops. I have never permitted a reflection to be cast upon either of the women in question in my presence, and never have I allowed a slighting remark about them to pass unchallenged, and this notwithstanding I had barely a speaking acquaintance with them. I have always believed and still believe them to have been deeply wronged and I have said so in such emphatic terms as to sever some friendly personal relations of many years’ standing. For this I am entitled to no credit, and I make no boast of it now. It was my duty to these

sister-comrades—that is all. And whatever remissness of duty I am chargeable with it can never be laid at my door that I failed of proper respect for womanhood or that I refused aid and comfort to an erring or suffering fellow-being.

When Barnes was in his deepest trouble I wrote him a letter of sympathy and cheer {and when he was here} he gratefully acknowledged it. I never flung a stone at him, nor said a harmful word of him; nor did I set him up as a target to be shot full of holes by his enemies. I pitied him, as I did all the others among the accusers as well as the accused, and if by any personal sacrifice I could have helped him or them, and healed their wounds and set them on their way rejoicing, I would have done it with all my heart.

In closing I have but one request to make of you and that is that if you have allowed others to read your letter to me, so cruelly unjust in its charges and implications, that you also allow them to read this letter to you. I have taken the time out of a very busy day to write you at unusual length but I shall not trespass again upon your time and patience. Wishing you well in all things I remain

Yours fraternally
[Eugene V. Debs]

TLC, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. In its investigation of Barnes's record as national secretary in 1911, the committee heard charges that Barnes had kept for his personal use money budgeted for secretarial salaries in the national office and had had illicit sexual relations with three women—Jean Keep, Mabel Hudson, and Annie Flaherty—who worked in the national office.

EVD to Seymour Stedman

July 12, 1912

Terre Haute, Indiana

Dear Comrade Stedman:—

Last Monday when I showed you a copy of the charges which had been filed with me from Chicago against Comrade Barnes and I asked you in regard to them you said they were untrue. Among these charges there was one to the effect that the woman in the case had given birth to a child, that this child was living, that Barnes was the father of it and that he acknowledged the child as his own. I do not remember the precise wording but this is what is charged in substance. Is this true or is it not true?¹ It is not to satisfy any personal curiosity of my

own (for I have none in such matters) that I desire this information but to know the truth as I shall probably need to know it to prevent possible injustice within the next few days. If you are in position to let me know whether this charge is true or false I shall appreciate it, and if it is false I shall be able to use the denial, I think, to Barnes' advantage.

With kind personal regards and all good wishes to you and Mrs. Stedman I am as ever

Yours sincerely
E. V. Debs

TLC, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. For Stedman's response to this letter, see Seymour Stedman to EVD, July 22, 1912.

EVD to Members of the Socialist Party

[ca. July 20, 1912]

[Terre Haute, Indiana]

To the Members of the Socialist Party,¹
Comrades:

This statement is issued with great reluctance and only after long and serious deliberation. It relates to the selection of Comrade J. Mahlon Barnes as campaign manager. The protests which have come to me from every section of the country and which continue by every mail cannot be ignored without giving rise to serious complications in the impending campaign and threatening grave results to the party.

These protests do not involve the incompetency of Comrade Barnes to serve as campaign manager, but grow entirely out of the charges, with which party members are familiar, which resulted in his retirement as National Secretary.

Concerning the merits of that unfortunate affair I have nothing to say. It is not for me to review the record and pronounce judgment. The proceedings were given wide publicity at the time and members of the party had ample opportunity to hear both sides and form their own conclusions.

But since the selection of Comrade Barnes as campaign manager has revived the whole unpleasant issue with all its attending animosity, setting comrades against each other in bitter strife at the time above all others when they should be working together in union and concord, there is but one safe course to pursue and that is to face the issue

calmly and dispose of it, so far as the party is concerned, with the least possible delay.

It is to the rank and file of the party that I issue this statement and make this appeal. They have always had my unqualified confidence and I go before them now with implicit faith that they will appreciate my position and understand my purpose in claiming their attention at this time.

Since my nomination the time which I should have given to the campaign has been largely occupied with this affair. Some well-meaning comrades have advised me not to attempt to answer all these protesting communications, but I cannot agree with them. I have always made it a rule to answer every communication that comes to me, unless there is good reason for not doing so. When a comrade, or anyone, addresses a proper letter to me it is my duty to answer it.

But it is not possible to settle this matter by personal communication, and the longer it is permitted to continue the more serious and complicated it will become for all concerned.

Some of the protesting comrades and locals are very angry and threatening, declaring that they will contribute no funds to the campaign; others that they will not vote the ticket; still others that they will work and vote against the ticket. There are yet others who demand my withdrawal as a candidate. To all of these communications I have made reply, but I realize how inadequate these replies have been. My time has been consumed, but practically nothing has been done to meet the demands of the campaign, while through it all the cries of protest have steadily increased.

The questions which have been most frequently and insistently pressed upon me and my answers thereto are now given here for the information of the party members and to avoid their endless repetition by personal communication:

First, Did you know that Barnes was to be made campaign manager?
I did not.

Second, Were you consulted about his selection?
I was not.

Third, Do you approve of it?

I do not. I frankly told Barnes so and I stated the reason for my disapproval before the joint meeting of the National Executive Committee and the Campaign Committee, at which meeting Comrades Hillquit and Spargo declared that all those who protested against

Barnes were not socialists at all and the quicker the party was rid of them the better for the party.

I did not question the capability of Comrade Barnes — no one has — I objected to him solely on the ground that the affair which resulted in his official retirement and which provoked the bitterest feeling at the time would be revived and divide the membership into angry and warring elements at the very time the party needed most of all a united and harmonious membership; I objected on account of the party as a whole and because I clearly foresaw the state of angry protest and agitation which has now forced upon me the necessity for issuing this statement.

Fourth, Did the National Executive Board and the Committee on Constitution recommend Barnes' election as campaign manager?

They did not. The matter was never before either committee. The committee on constitution recommended the election of a campaign manager, but the name of Barnes in that connection was not mentioned.

I have the information from members of the National Executive Committee and the Committee on Constitution that not only was Barnes not recommended by these committees, but that his name was not at any time mentioned in any meeting of those committees.

Fifth, Did Hillquit in placing Barnes in nomination for campaign manager state that Barnes was unanimously recommended for that position by the National Executive Board and the Committee on Constitution?

This question being in controversy will have to be answered by the official record of the convention proceedings² which is here quoted as follows:

"The Chairman: We have a motion that has been carried, as I understand it, for the nomination and election of a Campaign Committee of five and a Campaign Manager. In what order shall we take them? Campaign Manager first, if there is no objection.

"Del. Hillquit: I desire to place in nomination for this position Comrade J. Mahlon Barnes. (Seconded) In doing so I wish to state to the comrades that I have been on the National Executive Committee a number of years, and I have had opportunity and occasion to observe the work of Comrade Barnes, and while I have no more personal attachment to Barnes or interest in the matter than any other delegate, I wish to say that my colleagues on the National Executive Committee and on the several committees are unanimous in the opinion that the party has very few men, if any men, as

efficient, as painstaking, as devoted, and, on the whole, as fit for the position as Comrade Barnes. I wish to state also, speaking now personally for myself, and I am very frank in this matter, I think this convention and this party owes a reparation to Comrade Barnes because of the campaign of slander instituted against him and the hunting up of matters dead and buried years ago and their publication in Socialist papers. I think this was one of the most disgraceful things ever suffered in the Socialist party. (Applause.) I think, as far as I myself am concerned—I do not care whether it is wise, whether it is politic—I think every man among us is entitled to justice, and I speak for Comrade Barnes because I know a great injustice has been done him. (Applause.)

“Del. Merrick (Pa.): A point of information. Do I understand that this recommendation is the action of the National Executive Committee?

“Del. Hillquit: It is the nomination of Delegate Hillquit from New York.

“Del. Merrick: The nomination of Barnes; that is what I refer to. Is it the recommendation of the committee, the recommendation of Barnes?

“Del. Hillquit: This comes from the Committee on Constitution and also comes from the National Executive Committee.

“Del. Merrick: With the indorsement of the National Executive Committee?

“Del. Hillquit: A general recommendation, yes.”

After reading this report copied from the official record members will be able to answer this question for themselves.

Now, comrades, there is but one way to remove this obstruction from the track and that is by a national referendum³ of the party. The resignation of Barnes would not overcome the difficulty. He has his partisans as well as his opponents.

Let the party decide the issue and let us all abide by that decision, at least until the close of the campaign. The party is not to blame for this affair, but the party alone can settle it, and the sooner the better. We may indulge in vain regrets but we cannot escape the issue. It will not down and its demoralizing effect is already but too apparent upon the national campaign.

This is a different statement than the one I first intended. Calm reflection and the counsel of comrades have modified what I have had to say. I am not seeking to fix responsibility. That is for the party and not for me. I am endeavoring to keep conscious of the position I occupy as one of the presidential candidates and of the trust that for

the time has been committed to me by the confidence of my comrades. It is not for me to take sides and provoke resentment at this time. I shall be drawn into no controversy. Rather is it for me to use my influence as I may have to clear the way for an understanding and minimize the harm that may be done.

I appeal to the members of the party. Let angry passion subside and calm reason have sway. We have encountered many difficulties and overcome them, and we shall overcome this.

We stand upon the threshold of the greatest campaign in American history. The Socialist party's entrance upon the political stage is the event of this epoch. The supreme opportunity has come for the master stroke. Shall we now permit ourselves to be diverted by a minor issue of personal concern, or shall we rise triumphant to the occasion and vindicate the character and capacity of the Socialist party as the champion of the working class and the hope and promise of the better day?

There is nothing else in the way of unity and success. The campaign committee and the candidates are united and working together as one. Let this matter be adjusted and the road is clear to victory.

I believe that all are agreed, the campaign committee, the campaign manager, and the candidates, that the matter should be settled by a national referendum of the party, and the sooner the better. Several motions are pending at the national office and I am informed that from three to a dozen seconds are being received to these motions by the national secretary every day. As soon as the required number of seconds is received the matter will go to the party membership for settlement. I venture to suggest that all locals favoring a national referendum promptly second the motions now pending at the national office so that the matter may be determined and over with with the least possible delay. In sending in their seconds local secretaries should not fail to state the number of members in good standing. If the necessary number of seconds is not received within the prescribed time the matter goes by default and will drag through and demoralize the entire campaign.

Prompt and decisive action by the party membership will dispose of the matter, silence protest, reunite the comrades, inspire enthusiasm, and insure victory.

Yours fraternally,
EUGENE V. DEBS.

TLc, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. This statement on the Barnes affair was widely reprinted in the socialist press during July and August 1912.

2. *Proceedings of the National Convention of the Socialist Party 1912* (Chicago, 1912), 164-65.

3. The referendum, conducted during August and September 1912, produced a bitter fight within the party between pro- and anti-Barnes factions and, more generally, the conservative and revolutionary wings of the party. The *Monthly Bulletin* for October 1912 published the results: 19,000 to 11,500 in favor of continuing Barnes as campaign manager.

Seymour Stedman to EVD

July 22, 1912
Chicago, Illinois

My Dear Eugene:—

Yours of the 12th inst. has remained unanswered for the reason that I have been out of the City. Returning this morning I hasten to reply thereto. The charge to the effect that Barnes was intimate with Jean Keep, which resulted in the birth of a child is true. The charge that she was employed in the office while he was away for a week under a different name than her own is also true.¹ The other charges, such as being drugged, that she did not know that he was married, that the books of account were not correctly kept are wholly untrue, without a scintilla of evidence to support it, and her own admissions completely refuting the charges. I did not intend to give you the impression that the two statements of fact admitted herein were otherwise than true.

It appears now that Roosevelt will lead the third party² in which event I predict that William Howard Taft will make the best race for last place in the contest.³

With best wishes to Mrs. Debbs, Theodore, Gertrude, Margaret, and the rest, I remain.

Sincerely yours,
Seymour Stedman

TLS, InTI, Debbs Collection.

1. Jean Keep was listed as Jean Sipple in the national party wages account.

2. The Progressive (Bull Moose) Party.

3. Taft ran third behind Wilson and Roosevelt. Debbs ran last but polled 901,873 votes, about 6 percent of the total cast.

EVD to Fred D. Warren

July 23, 1912
Terre Haute, Indiana

PERSONAL.

My dear Fred:—

Your letter of the 20th. has just been read with deep concern. I was prepared to believe that the Coming Nation was losing money but I was shocked when I came upon the figures in your letter covering the last four months. I would very deeply regret to see the C.N. suspend but it would be nothing less than a calamity if the C.N. were permitted to drag the Appeal down with it.¹

I have always told you, as you know, that when it was necessary to retrench, or in the event of a crisis, I wanted to be the first cut from the list, and I now want to make good my word in the crisis in which the Appeal is struggling for its life. I think the only way for me to meet my part in lightening the burden is by tendering my resignation to take effect on receipt of this letter, and this I now do. Of course, you understand that I take this step regretfully and I shall always have the same warm and comradely feeling for you and all of you that I have always had since first we joined hands together. But I am obliged to take this step on my own account as well as on account of the Appeal for the truth is that I cannot get along on less than my present income without giving up my office and parting company with Theodore which I cannot do. I have often felt the need of making more money to meet actual and pressing demands but I cannot get along on less without getting into debt and I have felt the burden of debt too many years to suffer myself to be loaded down again if it can possibly be avoided.

The thing for me to do, and about the only thing I can think of at present, is to go on the lecture platform this fall and winter, after the campaign is over. To do this I shall have to go to Chicago and see the managers of some of the Lyceum bureaus and I shall have to do that soon as it is already somewhat late for the winter booking which is always done long in advance. I will make no more Lyceum engagements than are necessary to secure the income I need and this will not prevent me from lecturing under party auspices nor of being of some service to you and the Appeal, and if at any time you need me and I can be of help to you it will be a pleasure to me to serve you in any way I can.

I only regret that I cannot be of some actual help to you in fighting your present battle. I have not a few troubles of my own just at

present, and my position is anything but an enviable one, but I still wish I could be at Girard to help shoulder the heavy load you are carrying.

With the most earnest wishes that the coming days may bring relief and that you may come out with colors flying as you have so often done before I am with all love and sincerest regards

Your old pard
E. V. Debs

TLS, CtU, Fred Warren Papers.

1. After several months of declining revenues, the *Coming Nation* was moved to Chicago in January 1913 ("On to Bigger Things," *Coming Nation*, January 18, 1913), but it suspended publication in July 1913 and its editor, Algie M. Simons, joined Berger's *Milwaukee Leader*.

George H. Goebel¹ to EVD

July 26, 1912

Newark, New Jersey

Dear Comrade:

I doubt not that you have been receiving some letters lately. There were 1800 letters sent out, all carrying the expression, "write to Debs at Terre Haute"—And so you undoubtedly have some letters. It is a high compliment to the sanity and decency of the rank and file that of all the 1800 supposed to be so much more interested in raising Hell than in working for Socialism, that you should hear from such a small percentage as I am sure heeded the admonition, "Write to Debs"

But let me tell you, Comrade Debs, that there are a host of comrades you have not heard from but will—if only by their silence.

You should know me pretty well by this time. It should be needless to say I have loved you, been for you—and even lied for you, to conceal your failing, instead of shouting it from the housetop, as you would of Barnes. In the Convention of four years ago I worked day and night for your nomination. In the Convention just closed, as Brewer will tell you, I never stopped urging your nomination.² [several words crossed out] no other reason. And yet I have no doubt in the poisoned condition of your mind, you have classed even me as one of the enemies plotting against you.

That is the past. But today I would not be able to feel thus toward you. I have loved you, trusted you—would have sworn by your

integrity and fairness. And you, yourself have knocked it all down, and made of me and others like me, liars. What do I mean? I will tell you. When I canvassed the Delegates I found a majority *against* your nomination—generally not because of anything against you, but because they felt we had abundance of new and fresh material. The argument that I used to convert such was that you were the only man that belonged to all of us, that never stooped to use the power and influence we gave you, to help one faction or the other.

And presently I find that you have done the very thing I boasted you never did. And not only did it, but in as unfair and cowardly manner as anything I have seen since I helped to form this Party. You were elected by the same Convention as Barnes. 40 votes the other way would have defeated you.³ Barnes had every vote but three. And yet you use the power given you by that Convention to unhorse and embarrass in the midst of a critical fight such as we never before faced, the Manager chosen by that same Convention.

Your interference was bad enough, unjust enough—but the manner of it is the worst of all. I tell you, Comrade Debs, I shall never get over it—that you, of all men {should} do as you have. In the first place in using the Appeal to your ends, and particularly to not allow Barnes reply to accompany your letter—and above all, to *deliberately* omit facts that might defeat your purpose. I was Chairman of the Convention that last day. I have a reputation for clearness of speech, and seeing things quickly, and as Chairman I stated distinctly that Hillquit made the Barnes nomination as an individual⁴ and I would not allow the Convention to proceed until I did make that clear. And yet you deliberately stop when you come to that part of the minutes. The only conclusion an honest man can take from the facts is that you knew my statement as Chairman would defeat your purpose of staining the character of a fellow comrade. And the best compliment you could pay to Comrade Barnes and the Delegates of the Convention is that you were afraid to print Barnes statement along with your own.

The International Socialist Review, The Christian Socialist (God save the mark!) The Rebel, the Appeal, all carry one sided⁵ and false impressions to the membership, and before the other side can be heard, the referendum is rushed to a vote. THAT'S THE GAME as it looks to me. A coward's game and one that will come back on every paper and individual who was part[y] to it. I am not an opportunist, I have at times been at odds with Barnes, or Hillquit: but when a game like this is attempted on the Socialist Party I will fight it if it costs me every friendship I have held dear!

The same convention that nominated you elected Barnes. Were

the delegates honest and awake when you were elected, and crooks and asleep when Barnes was elected? What sane man will believe it. And we who were present {know} that the insinuations given out as to rotten work, or delegates not present, etc, are just simply damned lies.

I was a member of the N.E.C. when the Barnes charges came up. No one better than you know I was not on good terms with Barnes, for it was you who decided me not to resign from the N.E.C.—I listened to facts put before the N.E.C.—Nothing in them could be accepted as proven or important against Barnes. It was my motion that the Nat. Com. elect a committee from the membership to investigate the charges. I was present at the hearing. It was unanimous for Barnes acquittal. Its verdict was accepted and endorsed by the Nat. Com.—The membership, despite lurid lies sent out by the slimy Carr, showed they accepted the decision by letting it stand. And now we find this matter given as an excuse for removing the Campaign Manager.

The Review gave away the real game when it said the issue was not Barnes, nor his character or ability, but Hillquitism—in other words, what it means is that the entire Recall campaign is one of false pretense, and not a matter of morals, but of getting at somebody else, and that somebody else's views on tactics. In such a fight I know where I belong. I belong with those who believe in the accepted and winning tactics of the Socialist Party, and do not belong with those who would make of this a Syndicalist, Direct Action, Damm foolism in general organization.⁶

I do not know how this referendum for the Recall of Barnes will turn out. It may succeed—but mark my word, it is only the beginning of the fight. And he who strips and comes down into the arena must expect to receive the blows that come to combatants. Some of us have grown sick of the dirty methods of the Review crowd the last year or so, and we propose to say so. And when the smoke of battle clears away I will stake my {soul} that decency wins out, and that we have a POLITICAL expression of the Working Class that will neither interfere with the economic organization of the Working Class, nor permit that organization to dictate to it—A Party that will not only say it believes in political action, but prove it by throwing out on their heads all those who sneer at political action and seek to hamstring political work, as is the real nigger in the woodpile behind this Barnes recall.

I can only regret that this disrupting element have so worked on your feelings as to make you act in the unfair manner you have.

Now, there's how I feel. You are the last man I ever expected to

have to write {to} in such a manner. But I follow no man. I follow The Cause that is bigger than either you or I.

Goebel

TLS, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. George H. Goebel worked as a carpenter and traveling salesman before becoming a full-time paid lecturer and organizer for the Socialist party. His entry in *American Labor Who's Who* (1925) claimed he had traveled "over half-million miles in service of the Socialist and labor causes on everything from a mule to a dog-sled." Goebel was a delegate from New Jersey at the founding and all subsequent national conventions of the party and served on its national executive committee. In 1917 he led the fund-raising drive for the purchase of People's House in New York, which housed the Rand School and other socialist agencies.

2. Goebel voted for Debs at the 1912 convention.

3. At the 1912 convention Debs received 165 votes, Emil Seidel 56, and Charles Edward Russell 54 for the presidential nomination.

4. In the *Proceedings*, Goebel is quoted as saying, "I believe Comrade Hillquit was trying to make the point that his nomination [of Barnes] was as an individual."

5. The *International Socialist Review* and the *Christian Socialist* both carried Barnes's statement along with Debs's.

6. Among its most controversial and significant acts, the 1912 convention adopted an amendment to the party's constitution that called for the expulsion of members who favored industrial sabotage or syndicalism or who renounced political action.

Vida D. Scudder¹ to EVD

July 27, 1912

Shelburne, New Hampshire

My dear Comrade Debs:

As a dues-paying member of the socialist party, may I protest against the retention of Mr. J. Mahlon Barnes as campaign manager? I try to serve our Cause by a good deal of speaking before Church audiences: I find them more enlightened and well-disposed than ten years ago: I even now meet many party members among Church people. But everywhere I encounter the old dread lest socialism be lax in its sex morals and an enemy to the family. Nothing in my opinion could strengthen this dread more disastrously at this juncture than the retention of Mr. Barnes.

If he continues in office, those of us who are trying to convert the public which believes in marriage will find our task infinitely more difficult and may do well to abandon it for a time. I do not know how ~~our~~ the vote in this coming campaign may be affected: but I do know that a lamentable confusion of thought, which more than any

other one thing prevents the spread of socialism among disinterested people, will be not only continued but enhanced by the appointment of a man recognized as setting conventional morality at defiance. As a mere matter of tactics, Mr. Barnes should not be retained.

Fraternally yours,
Vida D. Scudder

TLS, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. Vida Dutton Scudder (1862-1954) was one of the founders of the College Settlement movement in the United States and a labor activist following her graduation from Smith College in 1884. A member of the English department at Wellesley College for four decades, Scudder seriously jeopardized her position there in 1912 by publicly supporting the Lawrence strikers, whom she addressed in public rallies. Among the best known of her many writings was an autobiography, *On Journey*, published in 1931. At the 1912 convention, Scudder was nominated to serve on the party's committee on industrial education, but she was not elected to the committee.

EVD to Fred D. Warren

July 27, 1912

Terre Haute, Indiana

My dear Fred:—

Yours of the 25th. in regard to the Barnes statement is received. It is alright so far as I am concerned. I agree with you that I do not like to be in such business and that I do not like to put such stuff in the paper but perhaps if we had dealt with this thing earlier it would not now be in the shape it is and threatening the party with disruption. This thing will not down. That is certain. Unless I am greatly mistaken the whole case will come up again {after} the campaign is over, regardless of the result of the referendum. There is a good deal more in it than the mere character and personality of Barnes. I only wanted the Appeal record to be right for future reference. That is all. I have done my part and I am not responsible for the rest. It is for you of course to decide what the Appeal shall print and what it shall not print. You are responsible and not I. On the general principle you advance I am with you but this is an extraordinary case. I have taken care every step of the way to make my record right and to take no unfair advantage of anyone and I am satisfied with my position, bitterly trying as it is.

I must confess my surprise that the Appeal has received but 25 letters of protest. I have received pretty nearly a thousand. Eight or nine hundred anyway. But it was understood from the start that the

protests were {to be} centered on me. If the Appeal workers have no interest in the case it is because they know nothing about it. The party press, controlled almost wholly by officialdom, has freely published one side of the case while everything possible has been done to discredit and smother the other. And this is the thing that is coming out and is bound to come out when the campaign is over. The party members will demand the minutes of the trials¹ which have been withheld from them and when they get the whole truth there will be some official changes in the Socialist party.

You strike the nail on the head when you say that the trouble is due to officialdom. There is more in that than even you realize. Officially speaking the Socialist party is the deadly enemy of the Appeal and doing everything in its power to discredit it and those connected with it. The Appeal has never chirped about party affairs, but possibly once or twice; it has strictly kept hands off and allowed no one connected with it to hold official position in the party, and this is its reward. The whole official machine kicks the Appeal every time it gets a chance and this has been going on for a long time. Not only this, but everybody employed by officialdom must knock the Appeal. It is through some of these that the story is methodically spread over the country that Wayland has gotten to be a millionaire out of the Appeal, that it is a gold mine for the private exploitation of its owner, and that is doing more to make it hard for you to get subs and keep up your circulation than all other causes combined.

That is what officialdom is doing for the Appeal and has been doing right along, and I have information straight from the inside that cannot be questioned. Every lecture[r] and organizer who goes out in the state of Wisconsin, including all the regular staff, are instructed and must agree to knock the Appeal and boost Berger and his papers.

Berger has always used his official position to boom his papers and to exploit himself and he has always used his official power to discredit the Appeal and to knock it in every conceivable way and he and Hillquit and their official crowd who control the party machinery are all one in knocking the Appeal, and every one connected with it, and it is their insistence upon keeping everything under their own thumb and in absolute official control by the machine that is responsible for the Barnes affair. They act together and every man who is chosen or permitted to be chosen for any function must be one of their kind and must be relied upon to do their bidding. And they come pretty nearly having control of the party press. The Appeal has scarcely a friend among its socialist contemporaries and it has done more to set them up and put them on their feet and give them a start than all others put together. Berger and his whole crowd hate the Appeal like

poison and they use all their official power, which is as far reaching as the party, to discredit the Appeal as a privately owned grafting sheet. At the convention at Indianapolis the most damaging stories about the Appeal were circulated among the delegates and visitors, those who did not know better, and they originated in official sources.

A warm personal friend writes me from Wisconsin that four lecturers of the Socialist party in succession who spoke in his town took particular pains to knock the Appeal as a grafting sheet and utterly discredit it, and the fourth and last one he ordered from his home on that account. So you can see that the thing is being methodically done to boom Berger's papers and knock out the Appeal and this is what Berger and his allies are all engaged in and what Berger calls "state autonomy."

Under all this the Appeal has always remained silent but the time is near when the Appeal will have to speak out and tell the truth to the rank and file if the party is to be saved from machine domination as offensive and degrading as any that exists in the old parties. When the campaign is over this is the issue that will confront the Socialist party and I have not the least doubt as to where an overwhelming majority of the rank and file will stand when they know the truth and the facts which the Appeal will be in position to give them and which it will be bound to give then if it expects to maintain their confidence and support.

I have spoken to you freely as I always do and I ask that you treat the contents of this letter confidentially. I am in a position which reminds me constantly that I must be prudent and careful in what I say or do and I would not for my life have any reproach brought upon the party or the party's troubles and distractions made greater on my account.

I have no doubt but that everything will come out alright in the end but we have got to have the good sense, the clear judgment and the fearless courage to make it so, even if we do have to fight bossism and machine rule in our own party.

Hoping your burden is growing less and your anxiety also and that the crisis is safely passed,

Yours as ever
Debs

P.S. I suppose you have seen the sensational article in the N.Y. People² to the effect that "Alexander Irvine of Appeal to Reason fame was exposed as a political, financial and moral degenerate" and that he had to flee from Los Angeles on account of "contributing to the delinquency of a young woman." In the name of heaven, what next!

I am surprised and shocked and it is impossible for me to believe that there is a word of truth in this scandalous report. And yet it will have its evil effects all around and do harm to our propaganda and to our party that it will not be easy to overcome.

TLS, CtU, Fred Warren Papers.

1. The testimony taken by the select committee that dealt with the charges against Barnes was not published. The "Report of the Investigating Committee, Sub-Committee of the National Committee," which exonerated Barnes of all misconduct, was published in the party's *Monthly Bulletin* in February 1911.

2. The official publication of the Socialist Labor party.

W. B. Cullum¹ to EVD

July 28, 1912

Grafton, West Virginia

My Dear Gene,

I have carefully read your statement pertaining to the Barnes matter, and must say I feel greatly disappointed in the stand you have taken. Why should a man who has once fallen, when living in darkness, after receiving new light and inspiration be tramped in the dust? Are we not told that Paul onced stoned the apostles? Why should this so-called "Christian" element² creep into our party and disrupt it? Let it get out, and stay out. This is no Christian party! This element who are raising this trouble are nothing but Christian fanatics. Even God Almighty could not suit them. But underneath it all is the slimey hand of Kerr and his clique who want to turn our grand organization into "blood fest." These people who declare they will work against our ticket. Just because Barnes is campaign manager, never were Socialists. I wish to God they and their kind would get out and stay out. They are a hindrence to the progress of Socialism. I am only one of those lonely workers, who ceasely toil, and give of my megre earnings toward uplifting and emancipating the million of slaves who live without hope.

And it grieves me to see creeping into our movement a controversy that dashes our hope into chaos. How the memory of our past struggles comes to us, and to see our past work, the results of which are fast going, takes the very life out of me. No Comrade, it Paines me to say it, But I believe the stand you have taken is wrong.

I believe time will tell, that Kerr, and Carr and Haywood,³ and that element, iff not eliminated will disrupt the Party.

I am for the ticket, even if all the imps of hell are campaign managers. Because I know the cause is Just.

I am one of the class that Socialism will benefit most, and when a disturbing element can budge me from the path of duty, then I want to shuffle off this mortal coil.

Ever your Comrade, and for all the tickit.

W. B. Cullum.

(National Committeeman for West Va.)

ALS, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. Cullum was a national committeeman from West Virginia but not a delegate to the 1912 convention.

2. As noted, Edward Ellis Carr's *Christian Socialist* was a leading critic of Barnes as campaign manager.

3. As it turned out, William Haywood was eliminated from the executive committee of the party in a recall referendum conducted during January and February 1913. Haywood was charged with being in violation of the party's newly adopted amendments dealing with sabotage and political action (which Haywood believed were aimed directly at him), and the party's *Monthly Bulletin* for March-April 1913 announced his removal from the executive committee.

EVD to W. B. Cullum

July 29, 1912

[Terre Haute, Indiana]

My Dear Comrade:—

Your favor of the 28th. has been received. I note carefully what you say about the Barnes matter. It may be that you are right, but I do not think so. I have nothing to regret in the position I have taken, the position which was forced upon me, and I hope you will never have to pass through what I have in the past two months.

I have as much sympathy for Comrade Barnes as anyone and I would be the very last to throw stones at him, but I have also sympathy for Mother Jones¹ and for the family of the late "Jim" Brower,² and for Jane Keep and her child. I have sympathy for them all and it is not my fault that they being crucified afresh at this time.

You are greatly mistaken if you imagine that the protest is limited to the Christian Socialist element. The protest is of a general character and is not confined to any particular element and it is so widespread and emphatic that it would have been worse than folly, it would have been rank cowardice for me to have attempted to ignore it.

I am now in a position in which I am praised and censured by

comrades I hold equally dear and by comrades who are equally loyal to the party, but I am making no complaint. It was a foregone conclusion when Barnes was made campaign manager that whatever I might say or do, or even if [I said] or did nothing at all, I would be denounced and condemned. This is not a new experience but it is a painful one and I would not wish my bitterest enemy to have it.

It is possible that if you had been in my position you might have a different idea about this matter, but in any event I think none the less of you for your frank criticism and for the comradely spirit in which it is written. If I have made a mistake I shall not shrink in the least from the fullest consequences and my most earnest desire will be to {save} the party from harm. So far as I am personally concerned it is a matter of small consequence and I have no fear on that account. I have taken the position and pursued the course I have according to by best judgment and with the full approval of my conscience and I am perfectly content to await the final verdict of my comrades. There are those who are condemning me to day who will not be doing so in six months from now and perhaps much less.

I am sorry indeed to have the disapproval of comrades I love in such a matter as this but I would far rather have that at whatever cost of pain to me personally than to part company with my self-respect.

With all good wishes to you and your comrades I remain as ever

Yours fraternally
[Eugene V. Debs]

TLc, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. Among the charges against Barnes in 1911 was one made by Thomas Morgan in his weekly paper, the *Provoker*, that Barnes had borrowed money from Mother Jones and refused to repay the loan.

2. James K. Brower (1870-1911) was a delegate to the party's national conventions from Illinois in 1904 and 1908, a paid national lecturer and organizer for the party from 1909 to 1911, and candidate for governor of Illinois in 1910. On October 21, 1911, the *Appeal* announced that Brower had died of typhoid fever on October 7, 1911. Brower testified against Barnes at the hearings in Chicago on August 11, 1911.

EVD to George H. Goebel

July 29, 1912

[Terre Haute, Indiana]

Dear Comrade:—

Your favor of the 26th. has been received. If you will take the time to go over it again I think you will see that you must have been

laboring under some excitement when you wrote it. However that may be, I do not hesitate to confess that it pains me deeply. But this is a matter of little consequence as I have been used to that nearly all my life.

Let me say in the very beginning that if there has ever been in my heart a mean desire to persecute any human being on earth, especially one who has erred, I have never been conscious of it. I think I am quite as capable of sympathizing with Comrade Barnes as you or anyone else, but I am also capable of extending that sympathy to others who suffer, and in this instance these others are Jane Keep and her child, Mother Jones, the late "Jim" Brower, as true a comrade as I have ever known, Miss Flaherty and others, who have also had to suffer and whom I refuse to shut out of my heart. It matters not what anyone says about poor Jane Keep I cannot withhold my compassion from her, however vile she may be painted and however many may join in stoning her.

If I have ever made a cowardly attack upon any man or woman I have no knowledge of it, but if I had, rebuke would come with poor grace from men who put their heels on the neck of an unfortunate woman and paint her black with infamy to vindicate the man who is at least as responsible as herself for destroying her honor and blasting her life.

If you have loved me in the past I take it that it is because you deemed me worthy of that love, and if now you find me unworthy and withdraw that love I shall regret it deeply but I shall go on doing my duty as I understand it to the end.

It was a foregone conclusion from the time that Barnes was nominated that whatever position I might take, whatever I might say or do, or even if I remained silent, I would be denounced and condemned. I am finding no fault and making no complaint. The position I have taken and the course I have pursued are according to my best judgment and with the full approval of my conscience and if I have made a fatal and damning mistake, as you say, there is one thing of which you may be assured and that is that I will not shrink from the fullest responsibility when the final verdict is rendered.

You have no reason for saying "I have no doubt in the poisoned condition of your mind, you have classed even me as one of the enemy plotting against you." If there is such an accusation in your mind then it must be that your mind is poisoned and not mine for I never dreamed of any such thing.

As for the Barnes statement and the Appeal to Reason, as soon as Barnes notified me that he had sent his statement to the Appeal and that it had not appeared I wrote to Warren and urged him to publish

it in full. If I were mean and contemptible enough to take such an advantage of the bitterest enemy who ever assailed me I would forfeit the respect of every man whose respect is worth having. To the extent that it is in my power to control it the statement of Barnes shall have as full and fair a hearing as mine has had and if there is any difference I want it to be in his favor and not mine.

You blame me for not quoting you as chairman in the record on Hillquit. I had no reason to quote you. The point you made was not in question. Hillquit had already stated emphatically that the nomination was his own. That was not in question and is not now. Hillquit was there to speak for himself and had spoken for himself and it was not for you to interpret what he meant. The question was whether he had said that the nomination of Barnes was recommended by the national executive board and the committee on constitution, and upon that question the record plainly speaks for itself.

You are very greatly mistaken, let me inform you, if you think that the protest against Barnes is confined to the elements you refer to in such contemptuous terms. It is a general protest and it is so widespread and emphatic that if I had ignored it, or attempted to ignore it, I would have been guilty of stultifying myself and betraying the party.

I am not asking anyone to share my responsibility and I can patiently wait until the final verdict is rendered.

You are quite right in saying that this matter is not over with and it will not be over with until the rank and file get the evidence of the two trials and judge for themselves as to whether Mother Jones is a blackmailer and a thief and other accusers are the vile and infamous wretches they have been painted.

I shall make no attempt to defend myself against the accusations that are now being publicly made against me. If my character and my record will not defend me then I deserve no defense; and if they will I need none. My sole concern is to discharge with fidelity my duty to the party and I have done and am doing that according to my light in a position as trying as ever fell to my lot, and if I lose the confidence and love of comrades who have been dear to me I shall at least have the consolation of a clean heart and a clear conscience.

If you feel bitterly toward me I do not feel so toward you. I shall gratefully remember every kind word and every loving deed of the past. You have questioned my honesty but I shall not question yours. The time will come when you will realize that a man is not necessarily dishonest because you do not approve his acts. It is the Socialist party

I am responsible to and not to officialdom and at the proper time I will give due account of my stewardship.

Yours fraternally
[Eugene V. Debs]

P.S. The referendum would have been ordered and the bitter feeling which now exists engendered if I had not uttered a word. I shall not permit the responsibility for that to be [put] on my shoulders but that will ultimately go where it properly belongs.

TLc, InTI, Debs Collection.

EVD to Fred D. Warren

July 29, 1912

[Terre Haute, Indiana]

My dear Fred:—

I have your postal and will see that you have the article by the 10th. and as much before that as possible. I am having my hands full and most of it grows out of the Barnes business and I hope you may never know what I have gone through since I left Girard. But I am sure of my position and by the eternal I shall hold my ground if I have got to stand alone. But I shall not have to stand alone for when this campaign is over the rank and file shall know the facts which are now but only partly known to them, and this part not wholly true, and I shall have no fear when the final verdict is rendered.

I received a check for \$50. this morning which I did not expect. Did you not get my letter of resignation? I wrote you fully last week when you wrote me telling me about the heavy financial losses and the threatened disaster, and I tendered my resignation to relieve you of at least that part of the burden. From your letter and from what Ricker told me at Milwaukee I felt duty bound to take this step. At the rate of the losses sustained during the last four months the C.N. and the Appeal would both go down, and if any such fate should overtake the Appeal I do not want it to be at a time when I helped to weigh it down.

In my previous letter I told you what was hardly necessary to tell you, to wit, that the parting with the Appeal would be regretfully made by me, and that the Appeal and you would always have my kindest remembrances and best wishes.

I have always told you that if a crisis came I wanted to be the first

to be stricken from the pay list and I meant it and mean it now. You can make far better use of the money in meeting other demands and I will manage to tide over until after the campaign and then take the Lyceum platform, or make such other arrangements as are possible to do my work and secure an income sufficient to meet demands. To maintain Theodore and myself and our families and our office here and to meet my daily expenses which are necessarily large, I must have an income as large as I have been receiving from the Appeal¹ or I must fall behind. It would not be fair to the Appeal for me to stay on its pay list at this time when I can be of little service to it and then later go on the lecture platform on my own account.

Whatever service I can render you between now and then, or even thereafter, shall be rendered anyway. I would serve you gladly in this crisis and only regret that I am so hard pressed that I cannot be of some actual help to you.

After this year I want to be at home more than I have been in the past. If I am ever to have any home enjoyment I must have it within the next few years and I feel that I have been away from my family so much in the last thirty years that I have got to make some kind of arrangement under which I shall have more time with my wife and family. I think I can make a lecture arrangement with the Lyceum people of this kind, although it is already a little late for the coming season as the booking is done long in advance. In times of campaign I shall of course want to serve the party on the platform to the best of my ability.

I can readily imagine what a struggle you have had and what anxiety you must have suffered under those terrific losses of the last few months. I was perfectly shocked when the full import of it struck me as I read your statement. Had I been able to do so I should gladly have been with you to have borne as best I could my share of the burden.

I shall always pleasantly and gratefully remember my association with you and the Appeal comrades and no matter where I may be if I can ever be of any service to you personally or the Appeal it will always be a pleasure to me to respond in any way in my power.

With the earnest hope that you will pull through triumphantly and save the Coming Nation I am as ever

Yours loyally
E. V. Debs

TLS, CtU, Fred Warren Papers.

1. As noted, Debs received \$100 per week from the *Appeal*.

Fred D. Warren to EVD

July 31, 1912
Girard, Kansas

Dear Gene:—

Your letters of 27th and 29th received. I received also your letter tendering your resignation, and should have written you sooner but have been away for a few days trying to get the kinks in my mind straightened out. I feel better now and the affair is beginning to loom less ominous. Now about the resignation: I simply can't accept it—because the Appeal needs you and you need the Appeal. We are going to have a big fight and the fight will be made against you and the Appeal. Divided we may win but the chances are that one or the other will lose. Suppose we let the matter of your connection with the Appeal rest where it is, with the understanding that you are to make any financial arrangements you see fit with the lyceum bureaus. If next year your time is not fully occupied on the platform, it is quite likely there will be a demand for the Appeal-meetings so insistent that we will be forced to put them on. If you go out for the capitalist lyceum bureau the contrast between the prices charged and results so far as the movement is concerned will be so manifest that the Socialists will see what they are losing by permitting the National office to carry on in a cheap and inefficient way work that the Appeal can do much better. It will give you also the opportunity to recoup your finances, which I feel that you, in justice to yourself, should do. Let me pay you the \$50 per week for such work as you can do for the Appeal. It will help meet campaign expenses, and I want to do that whether you find time to send us any copy or not.

I shall make a brief statement in the Appeal of next week setting forth the fact that I offered to print in the same issue in which your article on the Barnes affair appeared, a statement of equal length by Hilquit.¹ This offer was made to the campaign committee. If Hilquit's friends did not see fit to advise him of this offer by telegraph, and thus take advantage of the opportunity of reaching our 500,000 readers, the responsibility can not be laid at my door for the failure of Hilquit. I can see that a great stir will be made over the Appeal's unfairness in printing one side and not the other. Every member of the committee including Barnes knew that you were to make a statement—they had ample time to have apprised Hilquit and Hilquit could have gotten his communication to us in time for its appearance alongside of your article.

I do not see how any fair minded comrade can blame the Appeal when once he is in possession of these facts.

Affairs in the office are looking up. The C.N.² readers are responding nobly to the call to save the paper, but this sort of circulation pushing is unsatisfactory and a doubtful expedient. I had planned that the C.N. should be one paper in which no mention of sordid dollars and circulation should ever be mentioned. Alas! for our dreams.

Give my love to Mrs. D. and Theodore. Mrs. W. is improving daily and we are now confident she has passed the danger line. Max and the goat send greetings.

Fred.

TLc, CtU, Fred Warren Papers.

1. In "The Appeal's Work" (August 3, 1912), Warren wrote that "to make converts [to socialism] is the mission of the Appeal," that it would not "be dragged into party affairs," and that it could not "straighten out the kinks in the characters" of party members. He returned to the subject in "Don't Worry" (*Appeal*, August 10, 1912), in which he claimed that "the Appeal is making socialists," and was not concerned with "a Socialist whose moral life is not all that could be desired," but in neither article did he mention his offer to Hillquit to print "a statement of equal length by Hillquit."

2. *Coming Nation*.

James M. Reilly¹ to EVD

August 1, 1912

West Hoboken, New Jersey

Dear Comrade Debs:—

Ever since reading your statement on the Barnes matter, I have felt like writing you, but up to now, have been able to resist the temptation. However, the more I have thought over it, the more I have felt that I should write, as it seems to me you have been misinformed regarding the way in which Comrade Barnes was elected Campaign Manager. And probably before I get through, I shall express some of my views on the affair, also.

I want to say in the first place, that Hillquit did not put forth the name of Barnes as the choice of the N.E.C. What he did say was that a majority of his colleagues on the N.E.C. as well as on other Committees, felt that we had few men in the party who were the equal of Barnes in ability and integrity, etc. I think you will agree to this, also.

The protests against Hillquit's language were not against the nom-

ination of Barnes, but against the action of Hillquit in referring to the anti-Barnes campaign of the Christian Socialist, Provoker, et als. If you will consult the stenographic report, you will find that Delegates Prevey² and Strickland³ expressly stated this. Strickland, in fact, afterward obtained the floor and stated that he did not in any way endorse the "campaign of character assassination" carried on by these papers. And he was very emphatic about this. Another of the protestants, Cosgrove⁴ of New Jersey, told Goebel, Barnes and me, after the adjournment of the Convention, that this was his idea in making his protest.

You are laboring under a misapprehension if you believe that the election took place with many of the delegates absent. I should say there were at least 250 in the hall at the time. You must remember that, on the first day of the Convention, we agreed to adjourn sine die not later than midnight Saturday. The result was that most of the delegates made arrangements accordingly, and were still in town on Sunday morning following adjournment. The election of Campaign Manager took place between 3 and 4 in the afternoon, and it was about 6.30 when the Convention adjourned. Not only that, but after the election of Barnes the Convention received reports from several Committees and acted on them.

Neither was Barnes "railroaded through" as Campaign Manager. Everyone who desired had the floor, and under the regular rule, which had obtained all through the Convention, limiting each speaker to five minutes.

I have gone into this detail because I gather from your statement that people have been writing you contrary statements. I was Secretary of the Convention and know what took place. I have been voting our ticket since my first vote eleven years ago, and have been a party member for over ten years. I would not spoil a thus far honorable record by lying to you or to anyone else.

I must confess I am unable to see the basis of your opposition to Barnes. Neither does your statement enlighten me. You expressly say that it is not a question of his character or ability, or the truth of certain allegations against him.

I cannot believe that you are against Barnes because you oppose the famous Section 6.⁵ In the first place, I do not know how you stand on that Section, but even if you oppose it, it is difficult to see what that has to do with the election of a Campaign Manager. I have no sympathy with attempts made on either side to bring such matters in the discussion.

You do not join with the International Socialist Review in raising the issue of "Hillquitism." And, anyway, there is no such issue. Barnes

was not elected because Hillquit favored him. Hillquit opposed your nomination, but you were named just the same. If in nominating you we were unbossed, surely we were equally so in choosing Barnes.

In spite of your seeming complaint that you "were not consulted," I do not believe this is your reason. I do not agree with Berger when he states that you have an "exaggerated ego." I think you know full well that a Socialist Party Convention is competent to elect a Campaign Manager without consulting anybody. If not, you ought to.

My guess is that you feel the selection of Barnes will make for disharmony; that people will be asking about the charges against him, whether he is a free lover, drunkard, etc. But if we were to let such things govern our actions, where would we land? At the Convention of 1908, the element that has assumed the task of guarding our morals were busily engaged in circulating stories about you. It was whispered around that you had a habit of disappointing audiences by not appearing, that Reynolds had to go around with you to keep you straight,⁶ etc. Please do not misunderstand me. I don't refer to these stories to cause you pain. Refer to the stenographic report of that Convention and you will notice some of the hints thrown out when the nominating speeches were made—veiled references to your health, etc. In 1908 we wisely disregarded this element and their stories and forced the nomination on you. And this is what we ought to do in the Barnes case.

Whatever Hillquitism may be, we can deal with it at the proper time. We can also settle our views on question[s] of direct action, sabotage, industrial unionism, etc., in the regular way. To me, it IS a question of Barnes' ability. Unless he can be shown to be incompetent or dishonest, I shall vote against his removal.

If you have any influence with the Appeal to Reason, tell them it was unfair to refuse to publish Barnes' statement. The Appeal has always secured support from Socialists on the score of being a propaganda paper, which did not meddle in Party matters. When they published your statement it was with a view to influencing votes against Barnes. They may try to squirm out of it, but they know that this was their object and so do you. If the Appeal is to take part in party disputes, well and good, but it might at least be fair. To print your statement and refuse to print that of Barnes was in the highest degree reprehensible, and I for one am done with the Appeal until reparation is made.

With heartiest good wishes, I am

Yours fraternally,
James Reilly

1. James M. Reilly was a delegate to the Socialist party conventions in 1904, 1908, and 1912 and a Debs supporter for the presidential nomination at each of them.

2. Marguerite Prevey (1880-1925) was an Akron, Ohio, optometrist who joined the party in 1901 and became a popular lecturer and organizer for the party in Ohio and throughout the nation. She was a delegate to the 1912 convention and to the party's emergency convention in St. Louis in 1917 and was one of Debs's closest allies at the time of his Canton, Ohio, speech in 1918 and during his imprisonment from 1919 to 1921. Prevey nominated Carl D. Thompson of Wisconsin for campaign manager.

3. Frederick Guy Strickland was a delegate to the convention from Ohio. He nominated Seymour Stedman of Illinois for campaign manager.

4. Christopher J. Cosgrove is not described in the *Proceedings* as having participated in the debate over naming the campaign manager.

5. The section of the party constitution that excluded from membership opponents of political action and advocates of "methods of violence."

6. As noted, Debs's Terre Haute friend, Stephen Marion Reynolds, accompanied him on his Red Special campaign in 1908.

EVD to Fred D. Warren

August 2, 1912

Terre Haute, Indiana

My dear Fred;—

The Rev. J. H. Hollingsworth, a fine old minister who gave up his church and the brightest wordly prospects on account of Socialism, and now a member of the Socialist party, and a warm personal friend of mine, has for some time been quietly at work getting an expression of the people of Terre Haute as to my character and standing in the community in which I have lived all my life.¹ I knew nothing of this until the work was completed and placed in my hands. These testimonials have been reduced to eight and these representing the various elements that make up the community and among the oldest, best known and best respected citizens.

One of these is from Hulman and Co., my former employers, one of the largest wholesale grocery establishments in the United States.² Another is from Max Ehrmann, the famous author and poet whose home is here. Another from Prof. Curry,³ professor of literature in the State Normal School which is located here. Another is by Clarence Royse one of the most brilliant young lawyers in this section, and when you have read what he has written,⁴ entirely apart from the personality he treats, you will get a fine idea of the high character of this exceptionally elevated mind and soul. He is one lawyer in ten thousand, one it is a delight to know and some time you and Jake

Sheppard must personally meet him. His personal character is as spotless as that of any man I have ever known and he commands the respect of every one in the community.

Still another is by Viquesney,⁵ of the Viquesney Printing company, successors of Moore and Langen, to whom I paid a printing bill of over \$3,000. owed by the A.R.U. out of lecture proceeds, and this fact is set forth in his statement. There has been a good deal of lying about my having become rich out of my lecture proceeds and this will help to set matters right. This is but one of the many debts of the A.R.U. I paid, aggregating a good many thousands of dollars, and it took me about twelve years and all I earned in that time on the platform and otherwise over and above living expenses to pay these debts and save the A.R.U. free from reproach.

Another is by the oldest physician⁶ in Terre Haute, another by the oldest clothier,⁷ another by a leading manufacturer⁸ who happens also to be my neighbor.

I am reluctant to send you this matter myself but Comrade Hollingsworth felt that I should do so on account of your not knowing him and I did not feel as if I could decline him after his more than kindly interest and his trouble in the matter.

I wish you would take the time to read these over personally so that you may have a better idea of them. They are more than mere testimonials and they are free offerings from non socialists and will, I think, serve to prevent a repetition of a good many of the falsehoods that were put in circulation in the last campaign.

You have perhaps noticed that the Catholic priests are systematically spreading the falsehood that I have accumulated immense riches and that my only interest in the working class is to take advantage of their ignorance and fleece them of their earnings. This is especially true in Pennsylvania where reports of my enormous income are being spread and where it is also being said that my reputation was poor where I was known and that I was without standing among reputable people.

There is considerable of this matter and yet I am inclined to think that it will be worth while to give it space. It is not on my own account that I think this but on account of the harm that will come to the party if the false reports that are being and will continue to be more and more circulated as the campaign proceeds are not met and discounted in advance such as is here effectually done.

If the matter could all be inserted in a single issue it would show up best, especially if it could be done in the Appeal's regular sized type so it would be clear and readable.

In almost every mail we get there is a letter from some comrade

who writes in to say that in his community there is some fellow who is circulating the report that I sold out the A.R.U., or that I have a million dollars deposited in New York, or that I am coining money on my investments, or some other lie, and wanting something to enable him to meet and deny these slanders. For this purpose there could hardly be anything better than the matter that is herein enclosed. I am sure that in almost every town and city this lying is going on and having a certain effect, and if the enclosed matter is published in the Appeal it will enable the Appeal workers and readers to take this issue of the Appeal and put it before these falsifiers and slanderers and effectually silence them.

You will note that I have stricken out some of the lines to reduce it as much as possible.

You are soon to begin to run the ten propaganda numbers of the Appeal and I am wondering if it would not a good idea to run this matter in the issue just preceding these numbers or perhaps in the same number that contains my propaganda article the first in the series. The copy for this, by the way, will be with you on time.

Use your own good judgment in the handling of this matter⁹ and anything you may see fit to do with it will be appreciated by

Yours always
E. V. Debs

TLS, Warren Papers, Schenectady, New York.

1. Hollingsworth's *What Debs' Neighbors Say About Him* was widely distributed as a campaign booklet in the 1912 campaign and again in Debs's congressional race in 1916.

2. The Hulman & Co. testimonial was written by Herman Hulman, Sr. (1831-1913), president of the firm and a longtime friend of Debs's family.

3. Charles Madison Curry (1870-1944) was a native of Whiteland, Indiana, and graduate of Franklin College in Indiana. He was head of the English department at Indiana State Normal School at Terre Haute from 1894 to 1925 and the author or editor of a number of books of poetry and children's literature. His wife, Mabel Dunlap Curry, a prominent feminist lecturer and writer, worked as a volunteer in Debs's Terre Haute office during his imprisonment, by which time, as Debs's letters reveal, a deep bond of affection had grown between them.

4. Debs enclosed a typed copy of the manuscript of *What Debs' Neighbors Say* in this letter to Warren.

5. Bertram L. Viquesney's testimonial described Debs's refusal to "charge it [a \$3,000 printing bill owed by the ARU] off the books," as he was urged to do by the Moore & Langen printing company, and said he made full payment of the debt "from the proceeds of his lectures."

6. Dr. Charles Gerstmeier.

7. Lee Goodman, proprietor of Lee Goodman and Sons in Terre Haute, had operated his clothing store since 1870. In his testimonial he said he had "always found [Debs] on the square, honest, upright, honorable and straightforward."

8. Carl A. Stahl (1868-1940) was the owner of Stahl, Urban & Co. in Terre Haute, which employed 300 workers in the manufacture of work shirts and overalls.

9. Warren decided not to print the *Neighbors* material.

Walter Lanfersiek¹ to EVD

August 7, 1912

Newport, Kentucky

Dear comrade:

This is my first letter to you. I do not write letters on the half-cock. But circumstances are such that I feel impelled to write.

Your letter about the Barnes matter was a most unfortunate step. Comrade Seidel² has taken the right course. Had you simply published a statement that you refused to be drawn into the controversy, in answer to the many letters of protest, it would have been a reply to all.

If you believe that those who threatened withdrawal of support because of Barnes are as good as Hillquit and Spargo, again you are wrong. It has always been my understanding that socialists voted for principles and not for men; it follows that those who refuse to vote for you because of some personal dislike either of you or of the party's campaign manager, are not intelligent socialists, and cannot be considered on a par with those who can ignore personalities and vote for principles.

That you, as a candidate of all the socialists, should permit yourself to strike a loyal comrade, is incomprehensible. You stood by Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone, whether they were innocent or not, and whether it lost us votes or not; you stood by McNamara, whether innocent or not, disregarding its effect on votes; in each case you were right, even though the outcome did not justify your stand in the one case.

But now comes a comrade, who has been tried; a comrade in our ranks, one who is entitled to even more consideration than McNamara; when he is attacked, you lend your influence to his accusers. Notwithstanding this attack is made AFTER his trial, and AFTER he has been found not guilty. He has been indiscreet; but let him who has not been indiscreet cast the first stone.

Roosevelt has been denounced by yourself and all honest men for attempting to prejudice the minds of men against those who were on trial. Have you not done the same thing to Barnes, by showing that you did not want him in his present position? It hurts to think so,

but if I must be charitable to you, I see no reason for not being charitable to Roosevelt. It was natural for him to turn against a member of the working-class. It should be natural for you NOT to turn against one who is not only a member of the working-class, but who is also a socialist, who has been faithful and true as far as we know.

I had the honor of voting for you in the National Convention. You were my choice. No influence was brought to bear to have me vote for you. Neither was there influence brought to make me vote for Barnes. I was sure each of you was the most eligible man for the particular place. I am still sure that Barnes is the right man.

I refuse to consider the silly hypocritical charge of free love, the unproven charge of drunkenness; I consider only the comrade who has tried to redeem himself by work for the working-class, and who has been attacked by as malicious a set as ever howled for the blood of a Garrison or Lovejoy. If you can stand for that, then many of us do not understand you.

You can do nothing less than issue another statement, recalling the other one, and placing yourself in a position of impartiality in this matter.

An answer to this letter is not expected.

Yours fraternally,
Walter Lanfersiek

TLS, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. Walter Lanfersiek was a socialist lawyer in Newport, Kentucky, and state party secretary. As a delegate from Kentucky to the 1912 national convention, he voted for Debs's nomination. In 1913, Lanfersiek was elected national executive secretary of the party.

2. Emil Seidel (1864-1947) served as the socialist mayor of Milwaukee from 1910 to 1912 before being chosen as Debs's vice-presidential running mate in 1912. He was a Milwaukee alderman from 1904 to 1908, 1916 to 1920, and 1932 to 1936 and was the party's unsuccessful candidate for a number of other offices in Wisconsin, including that of governor (1902, 1918) and United States senator (1932).

EVD to James M. Reilly

August 7, 1912
Terre Haute, Indiana

Dear Comrade Reilly:—

Your favor of the 1st. inst. has been received. If you cannot see anything in the present state of affairs that seems unfortunate, to put

it mildly, then it is useless for me to attempt to explain to you why I consider the election of Comrade Barnes as campaign manager, under the circumstances, an unwise one. This state of affairs I clearly foresaw and I believe it could and should have been avoided for the good of all concerned.

I note what you say about the circumstances under which Barnes was elected and I have not the least doubt that you are making a perfectly truthful statement. And yet there are other delegates, and one of them was at my house last night, who flatly contradict you on some of the points in question. But all of this is of comparative unimportance. The election of Barnes meant just what we are facing today and it is this that I would have avoided. They who are responsible for it are now seeking to place that responsibility on my shoulders but in good time the rank and file of the party will know the truth and until then I can bear with patience all the vials of their wrath.

I have not time to write you as fully as I would wish. I know you well enough to know that you want to be right and if I had an hour with you perhaps I could make it clear enough to you why I have taken the position I have and why I could have taken no other without discrediting myself and betraying the party.

They who are trying to have it appear that I am persecuting Barnes and that I have no sympathy for the erring and unfortunate, in their hearts believe nothing of the kind. They dare not come to Terre Haute where I have lived all my life and ask the erring and the unfortunate, even those who are regarded as the lowest of the vilest, if I have ever had ought but sympathy with them and if I ever failed to respond to their appeals or to defend them against those who accused or harshly treated them. If the hearts of men could be tested and their sympathies gauged I would blush if there were not more real sympathy in my heart for Barnes than there is in the hearts of those who are shedding crocodile tears over his persecution to hide their own sinister designs.

I have sympathized deeply with Barnes in his trouble, but I have sympathized more with Jane Keep, the unfortunate woman who has been painted black with infamy by Spargo and others and crucified afresh because of their profound sympathy with the erring and their canting aversion to throwing stones at a poor sinner who is seeking forgiveness.

And I sympathize with all my heart with Mother Jones who has been branded as a blackmailer and thief to vindicate Barnes and to keep their machine intact. If ever there was a brutal outrage perpetrated it was this and the time will come when those who are

responsible will atone for it. Mother Jones who nursed friendless strikers, "ignorant foreigners" afflicted with the smallpox, in their prison cells, who at midnight was torn from her bed and deported by armed thugs of corporations, who month after month fought with the miners, nursed their sick children and comforted their despairing wives, suffered more for the working class in one hour than all the Spargos and Hillquits would ever dare to suffer in a thousand years, and yet she is slandered with brutal malignity, but not a single tear is shed for her sake. Nor one for poor Jane Keep, nor one for Miss Flaherty. "Jim" Brower, one of the ablest and truest comrades the Socialist party ever had was hounded to death and went to his grave with a broken heart but I hear no weeping and no wailing among the tearful defenders of the unfortunate on his account or on account of his wife and children.

I am quite well aware that you heard stories about me at the convention. Some were true and some were false. I know all about the caucuses and whispered conferences. The only difference is that they are now fighting me in the open instead of stabbing me in the dark as they have done in the past.

I did not ask to be consulted about the campaign manager, but do you think it is just by chance that my campaigns are put in practically exclusive control of those who bitterly opposed my nomination?

Four years ago they gave it out that they were my friends but they were opposing me only because I was physically unable to go through the campaign.¹ They knew better. After I was nominated in spite of all they could do to defeat me they took control of my campaign and sent me out over the country for over two months, speaking from five to 20 times a day, without a single day of rest from the opening to the close of the campaign. No man has ever made such a campaign before or since without one single day off and that I did not break down utterly was simply because I had a constitution of iron and a will to match it. That kind of a schedule was prepared for me by those who did not believe I was "physically able" for the campaign, and that is how they tried to prove it.

It is not by chance that all officialdom and practically all who depend upon officialdom directly or indirectly solidly opposed my nomination and solidly supported Barnes. So far as the nomination was concerned I did not want it. In the scores of letters I wrote to inquiring comrades before the convention I told them that if they wished to favor me to nominate some one else. I have submitted to a good many things purely on account of the party and I can submit {to} all that may come to me in my present situation. I have no defense to make. I need none. In due time the rank and file of the party will know that

I have been true to them and have done the best I knew how to serve them, as I have since the day I became a socialist. I have not the least complaint to make. I would not change my position in the least and I thank God that I have the moral strength to stand alone if it is necessary.

A few days ago I received a letter from Comrade Goebel which both surprised and pained me. I have always loved and trusted him but if need be I can give him up and give up all others who now accuse me of having betrayed the party. Some day Goebel will know better and he will be conscientious enough to admit it. I am as certain of this as that I live and until then my patience will not fail me. This is not a new experience and probably not the last one. You and Goebel are near comrades and you can show him this letter if you wish and he can show you my letter to him. There are some points in each not covered in the other.

As to the Appeal to Reason you will see enclosed the advance proof of a statement by Warren² that will appear in the next issue. I have written to Warren several times urging that he give space to Barnes' statement and I have told him that if I had known that only one statement was to appear I would rather it would have been that of Barnes and that mine had been excluded. You will see in the enclosed proof slip what Warren has to say in his own behalf and I think you will admit that he makes a good defense. There were some papers that printed Barnes' statement and Hillquit's statement and Spargo's statement and the statement of employes of the national office that did not print mine but I am making no complaint about it.

These comrades who are now making such a howl about the Appeal's unfairness suffered no qualms when all those papers more or less under the influence of officialdom printed everything during the Barnes trials favorable to Barnes and excluded everything there was against him and then spread broadcast the calumny that Mother Jones was a blackmailer and that the rest of the accusers were falsifiers and slanderers.

You must not imagine that the protest against Barnes is confined {to} the Christian Socialist or to what are contemptuously called "Kerr anarchists." If you were here I could show you some letters that would surprise you. It is charged by comrades whose loyalty to the party cannot be questioned that Barnes was tried by a machine of which he was a part, that the evidence of the trials was never given to the membership, that the national committee never saw it when it approved the verdict, and that from first to last all the power of officialism was used to vindicate him. It is not at all improbable that there will be a lively demand for this evidence before this affair is finally settled.

In closing allow me to say that I appreciate the fair spirit of your inquiry and the candid spirit of your criticism, and I subscribe myself as ever

Yours fraternally
[Eugene V. Debs]

TLC, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. John Spargo was among the 1908 convention delegates reported by the *Proceedings* (pp. 147-50) as being concerned about Debs's health.

2. As noted, Warren's statements did not specifically identify the Barnes controversy but dealt only in a general way with the problems of internal party dissension and the "moral character" of some party members.

Fred D. Warren to EVD

August 8, 1912

[Girard, Kansas]

Dear Gene:

I have your various letters which reached Girard during my absence and I shall try and answer them all in this one communication. Doubtless you have received my letter written from Chicago wherein I announced that I would print Hillquit's statement in the Appeal, or rather where I agreed to print Barnes' statement and at his request we have substituted the Hillquit article. I am very much in hopes that this will settle this controversy so far as the Appeal is concerned. I have not yet ceased puzzling over the positive statement by Barnes that he did not hear me make the offer to print Hillquit's statement in the same edition of the Appeal that yours was to appear. I did not have an opportunity to talk to any one else who attended the meeting. I do not know whether you remember the proposal. I have the feeling now that you did not understand my offer to the other side. I remember you looked at me in rather a peculiar manner and I had the feeling that you were thinking that I had deserted you and gone over to the gang that has been trying to pillory you during all those years. My long experience in the newspaper business has taught this lesson: that a controversy once started in a newspaper never ends and it was because of this knowledge that I made the proposal in the hope that it would be accepted. However it seems that either the members of the committee did not understand what I said or else understanding fully my proposal they have agreed among themselves to stand by

Barnes' statement that I made no such suggestion. However be that as it may I am doing the only thing I can under the circumstances.

I have read carefully all you have to say as to what we should do after the campaign is over. That there may be no misunderstanding of my position I wish to repeat what I have said before: The day the Appeal starts in to try to correct the abuses which I recognize exist in the conduct of our party affairs, that day marks the beginning of the end of the Appeal's career. To make this paper a success one must put back of it all the energy at his command and back of that energy must be the firm conviction that he is right. In any party controversy that may arise one can never be sure that he is on the right side and this doubt makes it impossible for him to carry out a vigorous policy which is the only way to win. Only one proposition and one proposition only of the Socialists of the United States united and that is that capitalism has reached the period of its decline and that Socialism is to succeed it. There are two ways to make the people recognize this state of affairs: First by making the capitalist system as hideous as possible and painting the Co-operative Commonwealth as attractive as possible. To this work I have dedicated what little ability I possess. I am firmly resolved that I shall waste no more of my time fighting Socialists {on} questions of tactics and policy. Nor shall I undertake to clean up the party by attacking any individual within our ranks.

You have on a number of occasions pointed out that I have been inconsistent in attacking Grosscup and Lemon¹ and shielding Barnes and Shoaf. Assuming that Barnes and Shoaf are the bad men they are painted, nevertheless they have been engaged in a good cause, therefore we should consider them our friends. Grosscup and Lemon were proven to be bad men engaged in the work of fastening more firmly upon the people of this nation a bad system; therefore they are our enemies.

I am willing to follow you, dear Gene, to any lengths in fighting capitalism {for a better system}, a job for which you are so eminently qualified, but if you are determined upon the course suggested in your last letters, then we will have to part company. I raise no question as to the necessity of the work you propose to do; I merely want to make it plain to you that I am not cut out for such work. I know my limitations and I know that unless my heart is in the enterprise I have in hand that my efforts will result only in a dismal failure.

I am convinced, however, that there is a way by which we can correct the evils which you so clearly point out existing in our party organizations. By making the conduct of our party affairs thoroughly democratic and applying the principle that {a} one man shall not succeed himself to any office within the gift of the party, we will avoid

repetition of just such controversies as the one which has nearly paralysed the party's activities in the midst of the most important campaign in which we have ever been engaged. The Socialist is after all not much different from other men. Perpetuate him in office and he becomes obsessed with the idea that the office and the movement exists for his own personal glorification and ambition. While there may be underlying the Barnes incident deep and far reaching cause, yet it was the spark that started the conflagration. Had the executive committee been composed of men and women comrades fresh from the ranks of the party, Barnes would not have been nominated for the position of campaign manager. It was because of Hillquit's confidence in his ability to put over the proposition that prompted him to nominate Barnes.

I attended the Roosevelt convention in Chicago. I am impressed with the importance of the 3rd party move. There is something strikingly significant in the gathering together of 14,000 men and women from all parts of the nation to declare that they no longer were republicans, thus severing the political ties of a life time. I sat within twenty feet of Roosevelt and there were times when I could have shut my eyes and readily believed that I was listening to a Socialist soap boxer! In the decorations, red predominated and the red bandana was very much in evidence. My prediction that Roosevelt would steal our platform bodily has been fulfilled.² I am also firmly convinced that he is to be the central figure around which the campaign will be waged this year. His slogan will be that the nation must elect him in order to save the people from Socialism on one hand and predatory wealth on the other. Many of our half baked converts will join in the hue and cry that it is better to have a half loaf than none at all and they will be fooled by his false promises. This movement of Roosevelts will be helped by the differences in our own ranks. It is therefore the duty of every loyal Socialist at this crisis to lay aside petty differences and stand shoulder to shoulder with its comrades who are fighting the real battle for the emancipation of the working class. This is what I am resolved to do and no amount of threats or persuasion will ever again lead me to depart from that policy.

Saturday I addressed an audience variously estimated from five to fifteen thousand.³ As I looked into the faces of those eager men and women on fire with the spirit of revolution, I then realized how petty and insignificant were all of these alleged questions of tactics which is splitting our party in twain. I renewed my resolves to keep my face toward the enemy. On that occasion I talked to hundreds of comrades after the meeting. Not one of who[m] expressed the slightest interest

in the Barnes controversy or the other questions which agitate socialist party officialdom.

It is not necessary for me to tell you Debs, that I love you as no other man on earth and nothing would give me greater pain than to see you dissipate your energy in the hopeless task of keeping the socialist party straight. It would be a tragedy to wreck the later years of your life by attempting the impossible. To me the Socialist movement is everything and the Socialist party but a means to the accomplishment of our ends. From now on there will be no uncertain tone in the columns of the *Appeal* in outlining what we are going to do. I need your co-operation in this work and the millions and more Socialists in this country are looking to you and to the *Appeal*. We cannot fail them in this crisis.

Sincerely yours,
[Fred D. Warren]

TLC, CtU, Fred Warren Papers.

1. Frank H. Lemon was the deputy warden at the Leavenworth penitentiary who was dismissed from his job following the *Appeal* articles charging corruption, brutality, sexual misconduct, etc., at the prison.

2. One of the popular cartoons of the 1912 campaign portrayed Debs in a swimming hole, his clothes, labeled "Socialism," being carried away by Theodore Roosevelt.

3. Warren spoke at a socialist rally in Chicago on August 4, 1912.

Ida and Anabel Callery¹ to EVD

August 9, 1912

Huntington, Arkansas

Dear Comrade:—

I know that nothing we might say would inspire you to greater efforts than you are already making in behalf of our class but this is just a line to tell you that we are loving you more and more every day and will love you so long as you are our dear honest, big hearted Gene. We both wish we might come to Ind. and tell you so personally but that is such a long way off so we are going to ask that you remember it anyway.

Phil is not here but away up in Minn, where he is now working, he is loving you and cussin those who would hurt you. Be of good cheer we are with you and we are going to win because we are right.

Be good to yourself and know that we are wishing that there was something that we might do for you.

Fondly and fraternally,
Ida and Anabel Callery
Phil's wife and baby.

TLS, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. Ida Hayman Callery (1886-1917) was state secretary of the Socialist party in Arkansas, credited with greatly increasing the membership of the party in that state between 1909 and 1912. She was a delegate to the 1912 national convention from Arkansas and a Debs supporter for the presidential nomination. Her husband, Phil Callery, a national lecturer and organizer for the party, made the nominating speech for Debs at the 1908 convention. Debs's "Sad Death of Ida Callery," in which he praised her as "true a one as ever enlisted in the revolutionary movement," appeared in *Social Revolution* (May 1917).

George H. Goebel to EVD

August 11, 1912

Newark, New Jersey

Dear Comrade:

I received yours of the 29th.—The fact that I have waited this long to acknowledge it should be proof that I have studied it, and do not write in haste.

And I say deliberately I still feel, whatever your intentions or motive, that this entire Referendum C matter¹ is a fraud and outrage on Socialist ethics. And the stuff now coming to light about Branon Local² settles it.

No matter what your motive, thousands of comrades have voted for Barnes recall, with only one side before them because they think that you so advised. Dozens of comrades have personally told me this or so written.

I think the expressions you use about Officialdom and stewardship you use in closing your letter to me show your attitude of mind. It was not Barnes, but officialdom that was aimed at. And in the middle of a campaign! And frankly, comrade Debs, I dont like any one to talk to me of "stewardship"—I heard that first from Geo. W. Baer, of the Coal trust³—I did not accept it then and I do not now, even tho it is a loved comrade that assumes the role.

As for what you say about poor comrade Mother Jones, Jean Keep, etc. it does not affect me very much. No one knows better than you, that Mother Jones has nothing but vile language for almost every well

known worker in the movement, particularly the woman comrades. She has for hours so talked to me—at one time, until I protested, trying to tell me that Anna Maley⁴ stole \$35000 from the Call—You know this. And Mother Jones is the only woman I ever purchased whiskey for, and at her request. So her horror at drinking comes at a late day. As for Jean Keep, the court records show the date she was married to Tom Hickey,⁵ and other records show it was the following summer after her marriage that her brother came out charging that Barnes had taken advantage of her innocence. It is to the credit of Barnes that he has said as little, or attacked Jean Keep as little as he has.

Whatever you may say to the contrary it was your position and The Appeal that was responsible for Referendum C. getting enough seconds. These charges had been investigated by a committee of the National Com. and no basis found for them. The comrades were satisfied, and despite the howlings of the Carr animal refused to get excited—When the Convention elected Barnes, the rank and file showed no evidence of excitement, in fact giving its main attention to Sec. 6 and Sabotage. And it was only when the Review in a secret circular, was able to tell that you raised Hell at the N.E.C. meeting over Barnes nomination, that Referendum C. or the others began to get seconds. I doubt if you have ever taken the trouble to yourself read the stenographic report of the committee that investigated the Barnes charges—not in a secret chamber, but with many comrades present as visitors. Those records are in the National office open to all. Carr has falsely said they were suppressed, whereas I have myself seen him reading them over, after he had been expelled from the Party, and had not even the rights you or I have to see them. Only 91 persons, one of them David Goldstein,⁶ sent in orders for printed copies of the proceedings, despite orders being repeatedly solicited in the party press. Where's your sense of justice and fair play, comrade Debs? Think these things over. One thing is sure—the heart has been taken out of the campaign, and the direct Action gang have what they wanted.

in all good will,
Geo. H. Goebel

TLS, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. The party referendum being conducted on the Barnes controversy.

2. In an effort to stop the national referendum the national executive committee ordered an investigation of the Branon, Texas, local whose motion was the basis of the referendum. The *Monthly Bulletin* (September 1912) reported that Charles Edward Russell's investigation of the charges against the Branon local had found them groundless.

3. George Frederick Baer (1842-1914) was president of the Reading railroad and mining interests whose place in American history rests to a large extent on a quotation, attributed to him during the great coal strike in Pennsylvania in 1902, in which Baer declared that "the interests of the laboring men will be protected and cared for—not by the labor agitators, but by the Christian men to whom God in his infinite wisdom has given the control of the property interests of the country."

4. Anna Agnes Maley was a delegate to the 1912 party convention from Washington, and as the party's candidate for governor of that state in 1912 she received 37,000 votes. She had served for about a year (1910-11) as financial secretary of the *New York Call*.

5. The record of the marriage of Jean Keep to Tom Hickey has not been found. A surviving marriage license from McLennan County, Texas, documents his marriage on March 1, 1912, to "Miss Clara Boeer."

6. David Goldstein (1871-1958) was, early in his career, an active socialist writer and the party's candidate for mayor of Boston in 1903. In 1905 he was converted to Catholicism and thereafter became a tireless writer and speaker against socialism.

EVD to Walter Lanfersiek

August 11, 1912

[Terre Haute, Indiana]

Dear Comrade:—

Your favor of the 7th inst. has been received and carefully read. It may be that you are right about the Barnes matter. I have made a great many mistakes in my life and I may be mistaken now. But I do not believe it. I would not change my position nor my course. If I am wrong I will accept full responsibility and not complain.

If Comrade Seidel had received about a thousand letters, or almost that, representing every section of the country and every element of the party's membership it is quite likely that he would have been moved to say something. But whether he would or not I was and I have no apology to make for it.

Perhaps if you had been in my place for the last two months you might have a different idea about the matter. I took the ground that the election of Barnes was unfortunate for all concerned and this has been my crime. I am not responsible for the present situation and when the proper time comes I will see to it that this is made clear to the rank and file of the party.

Your letter is the fourth of its kind I have received, the other three being from comrades for whom I have always had and still have the sincerest regard. I have received a good many quite as emphatic in approval and not a few of them from delegates who attended the convention and who did not there oppose the election of Barnes

because they did not then realize what it meant to the party and the campaign.

You have read a great deal about this affair from those who are friendly to Barnes, I dare say, more than you have read from those who are not. You have doubtless noticed that the socialist papers, most of them, carry a good deal of matter that is favorable to Barnes and very little that is not. The reason for this may not have occurred to you but there is a reason and a good one all the same.

The cry of "sabotage"¹ is now being raised with "anarchy" thrown in, but that is not the issue. That cry is raised to hide the real issue and that issue is whether the socialist party is to be ruled by an official bureaucracy or whether it shall rule itself as a socialist party should. I have not time to go into this matter or perhaps I might have something to offer you might think it proper to consider. The official bureaucracy and all its dependents did everything in their power to defeat me and to elect Barnes. I do not object so far as I am concerned. I only state the fact. I did not seek the nomination. I have no penchant for running for office and no desire to hold office. But there are those in the Socialist party who have held high office since they have been in the party, and as many as they could, and who have come to think that it is their duty to run the party and to denounce all those as traitors and anarchists who venture to disagree with them. All of these are deadly opposed to me and have been for years for reasons not necessary to discuss here. The only difference is that in the present situation they have come out openly instead [of] stabbing me by innuendo and under cover as they have done in the past.

Although extremely busy I have written you at some length notwithstanding you were considerate enough to say that you expected no reply. When a comrade who has trusted me honestly feels that I have proved unworthy of his confidence, or disappointed, or betrayed him, it is a matter of great concern to me. I cannot lightly dismiss it. I would better endure the attacks of a thousand of the enemy. I may in fact be unworthy of the confidence he reposed in me and if so I can bear the loss in silence but I do not wish him to lose confidence in me when if he knew the whole truth and all the facts that confidence in me would be strengthened. I am certain there is much in this case and behind it and around it of which you know little or nothing. Some day you may and I hope you will know the whole truth. I am secure enough in my own conscience and in the rectitude of my purpose to believe that in a year from now you will think differently than you now do.

I wish you to have the patience to read the two letters enclosed written to two good comrades who look upon this matter much as

you do. I send these to you so that I shall not have to write at greater length with the limited time and because the points made by them and you are to some extent the same. Will you kindly return these letters when you have read them.

I remain

Yours fraternally
[Eugene V. Debs]

TLC, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. It was suggested by Berger, Spargo, and others (*National Socialist*, August 3, 1912) that the opposition to Barnes was in fact a retaliation by those who had opposed the antisabotage amendment to the party constitution.

EVD to Fred D. Warren

August 12, 1912

Terre Haute, Indiana

My dear Fred:—

If matters were as they might be I would say a hearty yes to the enclosed proposition. I believe it would be a good thing. But I could not do it under the circumstances without consulting the campaign committee and if I did that it would be turned down as everything else has that I have suggested since this trouble has become acute. Let me suggest that you write to Long and suggest to him that as the campaign committee has charge of my campaign he should address his proposition to that body.

Say, Fred, those two Walker cartoons in the current Appeal and C.N. are the greatest,¹ or at least among the greatest Walker or any other cartoonist has ever done. They are both true masterpieces of genius. I am perfectly thrilled and delighted with them. There is a striking originality, a marvelous power, and a most withering sarcasm expressed here that will strike fire as far as these papers are circulated.

Your Roosevelt article² at first glance makes a hit. The opening of it is especially felicitous and striking. Do not doubt in the least that you have done a big piece of writing here to fit that great Walker cartoon. {Will take it home with me & read it carefully by lamplight this evening.}

I see with pleasure that this week's Appeal shows an increase instead of a loss in the circulation.³ The losses have been steady for some weeks and have cut deep into the Appeal's pocket as well as otherwise. There is something wrong with the policy of the paper or its make-

up or with the stuff that is in it as long as these sinking spells are possible, and to seek out that something and to correct it so as to counteract this downward tendency is the real job you and the Appeal have before you. If every issue of the Appeal were a high grade number in contents, in fire and force, and clarity and dignity combined, these sinking spells would never come.

There is one thing that you have got to stop in some way if you expect to win out with the Appeal and that is the steady, continuous, sometimes openly but mostly covert attacks upon the Appeal by the national administration, in other words, the Berger-Hillquit-Spargo machine. As long as that powerful opposition continues to spread over the country unchecked you will be engaged in your Sisyphean *attack* {task} of rolling the stone up the hill to have it come rolling down again. It is your ability and time and ingenuity against their machine whose ramifications spread over the country and whose power is reflected in most of the socialist papers. They are nearly all the enemies of the Appeal because the machine is its enemy and because of the principle of economic determinism. You will never put an end to that hostility by a policy of silence. Hit that machine and its several heads a straight crack or two between the eyes and you will soon stop it and you will never stop it in any other way. As long as the Appeal writes Berger up and his Milwaukee with a Chinese wall around it {glowingly} while he is applying the leather to its posterior and spitting in its face every chance he gets, he and his gang will hold it in contempt—and ought to. You will not have much controversy on your hands after you have struck about two or three solar plexus blows at the machine. The rank and file will cheer you all over the country and rally to you and stand by you to a finish.

Yours always
Debs

TLS, CtU, Fred Warren Papers.

1. Ryan Walker's cartoon, "Can the Leopard Change His Spots?" nearly filled the front page of the *Appeal* (August 17, 1912). It portrayed Theodore Roosevelt as a leopard covered with alleged past indiscretions and "scandals," announcing, "I'm the Progressive Party." Debs's assessment of the importance of political cartooning to the socialist cause appeared in "The Cartoonist and the Social Revolution" (*Coming Nation*, June 7, 1913).

2. Warren's editorial on Roosevelt, "Make No Mistake—This Is a Real Fight" (*Appeal*, August 17, 1912), portrayed TR as "America's Bismark."

3. The paper claimed a subscription increase of 650 in the August 17 issue.

EVD to George H. Goebel

August 13, 1912

Terre Haute, Indiana

Dear Comrade:—

If I did not believe in your character and integrity and think much of you personally the letter just received from you would remain unanswered. If your name were not attached to this letter I should never guess that it had been written by Goebel, at least the Goebel I know, or knew, or thought I knew. It is so weak and evasive and the spirit of it so ugly that in six months from now you will be ashamed to have written it.

A large bulk of mail came this morning and the writer of every letter, two of them state secretaries, who touched upon the Barnes case, and nearly all of them did, heartily sustained my position. In the same mail that brought your letter there came one from a delegate to the Indianapolis convention who admitted that he had voted against me but that since the Barnes matter has come up and he has read my statement and the attacks made upon me he wished he could change his vote. And that from now on I could count on him to the end.

Up to date I have received, including yours, just four letters criticising or condemning my course and one of these, Comrade Reilly's, was qualified, and so perfectly fair in spirit that it cannot be classed with those condemning me. I will not tell you how many I received to the contrary. I am quite well aware that all those who are criticising and condemning me are not writing to me but I think I understand fairly well the spirit and temper of the rank and file of the party in this matter, and I can with perfect calmness and serenity await the final judgment.

If you were as certain of your position, Comrade Goebel, and in the calm mental state in which a man always is when he is sure he [is] right, and has the full approval of his conscience, you would never have written me the two letters which I have received from you.

It is somewhat amazing to hear you say that the comrades only heard one side of the Barnes case. Can you really be in earnest? You must feel yourself growing exceedingly weak to fall back upon such a baseless pretext. The Barnes side have used ten columns to our [one] from the very start. I receive all the principle papers and they will show for themselves. Look at this week's National Socialist and the issue of last week, given over almost wholly to Barnes and what there is behind Barnes and these issues have been spread by thousands

of copies all over the United States. Look at the Chicago World and St. Louis Labor,¹ copying and reproducing each other to multiply the circulation of their stories, and nearly all the rest of the papers which have handled the case at all, and then tell me that comrades have heard but one side and I must conclude that you are in desperate straits to make such a statement. Hardly nothing has appeared in the socialist press against Barnes and now comes the Appeal to Reason and published the Barnes statement which I insisted from the beginning should be done, so that every paper that published my statement also published that of Barnes and nearly all [of] them also published those of Hillquit and the continued series of Spargo and a good many others which are appearing in every issue. Many of these papers published articles written in defense of Barnes and in support of his case that did not print my statement at all. And in the face of all this you dare to tell me that the comrades have heard but one side of the case. They have literally flooded the membership and called for funds to make it a deluge, while the other side has remained almost entirely silent, trusting to the righteousness of its position to plead its cause.

But perhaps you meant it was only the Barnes side that was spread over the country, as it was {only} the Barnes side that was given out and handled by the party press, except a very small section of it, of the trials which resulted in his resignation and in blackening with infamy all his accusers. There is a reason for this and the reason for this is the real reason for the Barnes case. Do not imagine, Comrade Goebel, that you and those who are with you are going to very long deceive the membership about this being a case of "sabotage." Among the thousands who are protesting against Barnes and who have been told they had better get out of the party for the party's good, fully two-thirds and I believe three-fourths are of the conservative elements of the party. The National Socialist is not publishing all the letters it is receiving. I have the copy of one in my mail this morning it will not publish.

In your previous letter you told me that when you went to the convention you found a majority of the delegates against me and that you set to work with the result that a majority was turned in my favor. You could not have failed to notice that all of those who constitute the official administration, with one exception, were opposed to me and so bitterly, some of them, that they almost flew into a spasm at the mention of my name. You knew also that all those, or practically all those, who are dependent upon the N.E.C. and the official power, all the staff and clerks of the national office, were solidly against me. You know of the nightly caucuses that were held, or at least I imagine you know after the thorough canvass you made of the delegates and

the situation, and of the secret conferences, and of those delegates who were known to be favorable to me, to be invited in casually, and then in an informal manner to be told, as if it just happened so, that my nomination would show that there was but one presidential candidate in the party, etc. etc. and that while I was alright and personally a fine fellow the time had come to nominate some one else. If you do not know it I do know it from enough delegates of unquestioned veracity to believe it to be true. It was this official machine—to call it by its right name—that did all in its power to defeat me and it was this same machine that did all in its power to elect Barnes, and when it came time for this machine to elect a campaign committee, Comrade Reynolds² who was known to be my friend received one vote and Comrade Hogan³ who put me in nomination received none at all.

I need not tell you that I did not seek the nomination. I am not afflicted with officitis. I wrote scores of letters to inquiring comrades before the convention begging them to nominate some one else. I dare anyone to show a letter written by me or my brother who attends to most of my correspondence, to the contrary.

I suppose you think it is pure chance, or would have me think it is pure chance, that each and every one who makes up this official power was against me and for Barnes.

I know exactly why this machine is against me and I know exactly when and for what reason it turned against me, and when the proper time comes I will see to it that the rank and file of the party know and when they do know there will no longer be any mystery about the present development of the Barnes case, nor will there be any doubt or confusion as to where the responsibility properly belongs. Meantime they can continue to pour out their tirade of misrepresentation and I can go on doing my campaign work as best I can in the extremely trying circumstances in which I have been placed.

You intimate strongly that in my statement I attacked Barnes and demanded his removal. That is absolutely untrue and I emphatically deny it. I have been sharply criticised for not doing so. I simply answered the questions that were being put to me by the comrades and I answered them in a public way so that my time would not all be occupied and the party cheated out of my services answering them privately. The comrades who asked me these questions had a right to expect them to be answered and if in answering the questions of the rank and file I have offended the machine I have no apology to make and in due time the members of the party, to whom alone I am responsible, will decide whether I have fulfilled my duty or committed a crime.

You say that "whatever you may say to the contrary it was your position and the Appeal that was responsible for referendum C getting enough seconds." That statement is untrue and you ought to know that it is untrue; but if you do not know it I will prove to you that it is untrue. I did not issue my statement until two months after the trouble had broken out, as I knew it would, and was spreading over the country, and in my statement I said: "I believe that all are agreed, the campaign committee, the campaign manager, and the candidates, that the matter should be settled by a national referendum of the party, and the sooner the better. Several motions are pending at the national office and I am informed that from three to a dozen seconds are being received to these motions by the national secretary every day."

Did Barnes, or you, or any of your friends take exception to that statement when it was issued? Does not Barnes here favor the referendum because he sees it inevitable? But let me clinch the matter. It was Comrade Work himself who told me in his office in Chicago and furnished me with a written statement of the fact, that from three to a dozen seconds to the referendum were being received every day and that there was no question but that a referendum would be ordered, and this was when I was attending the meeting of the campaign committee at Chicago on July 8th. and there told them that I proposed issuing a statement, and this was several days before my statement was written and given to Barnes to send out with his own. But wait another moment. At this same meeting of the campaign committee the impending referendum was discussed by the members and Barnes himself, standing at the head of the table, said frankly that there was no question but that enough seconds would be received and that the referendum would be ordered. This was fully ten days before my statement was issued and given to the party.

Let me again quote from my statement: "I venture to suggest that all locals favoring a national referendum promptly second the motions now pending at the national office so that the matter may be determined and over with with the least possible delay. . . if the necessary number of seconds is not received within the prescribed time the matter goes by default and will drag through and demoralize the entire campaign."

My object was, seeing that the referendum was inevitable, to have it over with as soon as possible so it would not drag its blighting length through the whole campaign and utterly disgust and paralyze the energies of the party.

The referendum would have been ordered if I had never uttered

a word and the locals and comrades who ordered it will stand up and say so when the time comes for them to be heard.

Now then, comrade, if you are the Goebel I have always believed you to be and still want to believe you to be, you will retract this false statement and you will send the retraction as far as you have sent the statement.

You do not like the term "stewardship" used in my letter and make an indirect and invidious comparison between myself and Baer of the coal trust. That is a very small matter and you have been a good deal smaller in your use of it than I would have ever believed you to be, and I can only conclude that you are hedging and at least dubious about your position and in a sorry plight for material to sustain you when that thought came to you and that paragraph was penned.

But the very worst of all in your letter is the following: "As for what you say about poor Mother Jones, Jean Keep etc. it does not affect me very much." If that is true, Comrade Goebel, then I pity you. It does not matter to me that Mother Jones has used vile language and that you have bought whisky for her, she has spent weeks and months in the bleak hills of West Virginia, Pennsylvania and other states, where the official machine that maligned her dared not go, standing on the firing line, face to face with guns and bayonets, fighting the battles of the workers; she has been in jail all over this country and again and again enjoined by the courts; she has gone to prison where strikers were locked up, "ignorant foreigners," afflicted with the smallpox and nursed them as tenderly as if they had been children; she has been routed out of her bed at midnight by armed ruffians, corporation murderers, and made to leave a coal camp alone at that hour; she has been surrounded by soldiers and prodded with bayonets and insulted because of her loyalty to striking miners, her heroism in serving them and her refusal to desert them, and if you bought her whisky you need never to be ashamed of it.

The Hillquits and Spargos and their like never would have the nerve to go where she has gone a thousand times to serve the workers in the actual fight on the battlefield when bullets were flying, flesh was being ripped open, and blood shed as the price of loyalty to the working class, but they have the nerve to beslime this grand old woman to keep their own power intact and perpetuate their own machine rule in the party. I do not mind telling you that I would a thousand times rather be a drunken Mother Jones than a sober Spargo.

Any man who can stand in public and shed great tears in quoting Christ and showing what mercy he had for an erring woman and then, figuratively speaking, seize such an unfortunate woman by the hair of the head, to illustrate his lecture, and inadvertantly reveal

himself, and put her in the public pillory, paint her black with infamy, and tear open her bleeding wounds to "vindicate" the man who ruined her, is not the kind of a man who will command the respect and confidence of socialists when they come to penetrate his mask of hypocrisy and see him in the repulsive nakedness in which he has presented himself in this affair.

It matters not to me how low or how vile Jean Keep may be depicted to me, she is still a woman, and I am not forgetting that she was not alone in the work of ruin and disgrace of which she is the victim. I am not throwing any stones at Barnes. I am not against him. I am a better friend to him than the machine politicians who have put him where he is today to serve their own ends.

When Barnes was in his deepest trouble he had a letter from me which he has not forgotten. I can sympathize with those who err and those who sin for I am guilty of my full share of both and I have never pretended to be better than those who are unfortunate. I have always sympathized with them and tried to help them and I would have prevented Barnes from having to pass through another ordeal of humiliation and pain, and if this is a crime I stand ready to plead guilty and take the consequences.

In the four years that I was city clerk of this city I had hundreds of women of the underworld who were brought into the city court across the hall from my office released or paid their fines myself if they had to be paid. I never entered the court because I could not bear to see those poor creatures in their sad plight but they knew who it was that sympathized with them and those of them who are still living have not forgotten it to this day. That I should be charged today by those who call themselves my comrades with the heartless persecution of a comrade who has erred and has been unfortunate is so false and slanderous in the light of my life-long record that I cannot but believe that they who make this charge know in their own hearts that they are guilty of falsehood and defamation.

That is all I have to say to you upon this matter. You may know from the time I have taken out of these extremely busy hours to write you at such length that I have enough interest in you and regard for you to wish to see you have all the facts and know all the truth so that your course may be such that the future will bring you no regrets. Whatever your position may be I shall always think kindly of you and Mrs. Goebel and I shall always wish you well.

Yours fraternally
Eugene V. Debs

1. The *Chicago Evening World* (August 10, 1912) and the *St. Louis Labor* (August 3, 1912) both defended Barnes's selection as campaign manager.

2. Debs's Terre Haute friend Stephen Marion Reynolds was a delegate to the 1912 convention from Indiana.

3. Dan Hogan was a delegate from Arkansas to the party's national conventions in 1908, 1912, and 1917 and Arkansas state secretary from 1906 to 1910. An attorney and publisher of the party's paper in Arkansas, Hogan was a candidate for governor of Arkansas in three campaigns, in the last of which in 1914 he polled more than 10,000 votes, more than Debs had gotten in the state in 1912. A member of the national executive committee for two years, Hogan was a lecturer and paid organizer for the party.

Theodore Debs to Frank X. Holl

August 14, 1912

Terre Haute, Indiana

Dear Comrade Holl:—

Your letter is received. We will be compelled to abide by local arrangements.¹ If these are unfortunate it is beyond Gene's power to help it. Let me suggest that things are not so bad, perhaps, as you imagine. All persons who live together in common law marriage are not vicious or prostitutes, any more than all who are legally married are pure and virtuous. The greatest prostitution exists within the legal marriage relation and many perfectly pure in heart utterly reject it.

Let us remember that we are all the products of capitalism and that we all need charity. I know of cases where practically the same charges were made against a woman as you now make and where the woman is now one of the best of comrades. Kindness will do more than anything else where that is possible. If the woman is vile and vicious, as you say, then she will certainly find her level and the comrades will certainly find her out. If a majority of the comrades have chosen her to preside it is hard to believe that she is utterly depraved and anyway I am going to believe the best of her and hope that like the rest of us she may overcome her faults and measure up to that standard of moral integrity that we are all trying to attain to.

Pardon me if I do not write you any more on this matter. We are rushed almost out of our wits and I think if you knew what troubles we have here you would realize that yours is only a small pink tea affair. We all have to meet these troubles the best we can and not grow weak and despondent on account of them. The right somehow

finally comes out on top; let us do our duty, the best we can and let it go at that. We are not the custodians of other people's morals and we cannot undertake to regulate domestic affairs. I am satisfied if I can carry myself straight and I do not always find that easy in the world as it is now. I am slow to condemn others because their private affairs don't conform to my ideas of what they should be. There is altogether too much prying into and meddling {with} the family affairs of others that makes trouble for some people. If Comrade Saddler² and his wife are living together contentedly and are not bothering anybody else I see no reason why this should give rise to concern to other people. If they are talked about they are no exception for so are all other people talked about by the busy tongues that seek nasty things in people as food for gossip.

We thank you a thousand times for your kind invitation to visit at your home. I need not tell you how happy we would be as your guest but I fear there will be no chance. Gene has often told me how delightfully you are situated and how comfortable you made him at your home. The trip will be a very swift one and strenuous with mighty little time for personal visiting.

You have no fear that anything is going to happen at the meeting. It will be a big and successful meeting as all the rest will be and no petty dissension will mar it.

Yours fraternally
Theodore Debs

TLS, TxArU.

1. Holl had moved from the Minneapolis area to Seattle, where Debs was to speak on September 1, 1912.

2. Both Samuel and Kate Sadler were delegates from Washington to the 1912 convention and both supported Debs's nomination. Sam Sadler was on the editorial boards of the *Seattle Daily Call* and the *Union Record*; Kate was on the party's national committee in 1913 and 1914 and was a delegate to the emergency convention in St. Louis in 1917.

EVD to Bertha Maily¹

September 11, 1912
Houston, Texas

My dear Mrs. Maily,

I have just heard of the death of your husband and our beloved comrade, and I beg to tender my deepest sympathy in your great bereavement.

I was shocked and pained beyond words when the news came to me and I can not even now realize that dear Will Mailly has passed from among us. A thousand pities that he could not have lived to complete the great work he spent all his years preparing for and for which he was so richly dowered and so eminently fitted!

Believe me, my dear Comrade Mailly, that my heart is with you in this sad hour. I loved Will as my very brother and never can I forget his sweet and generous nature, his personal loyalty, and devotion, his fidelity to the great cause, and his pure, unselfish, unstained life.

Almost twenty years have passed since I first came to know William Mailly and in all those years of trial, such as few men have known, he was ever the same true friend, the same loyal comrade, the same strong and gentle and manly man.

The many friends and comrades whose privilege it was to know your beloved husband will all be with you in this hour of sorrow and they will cherish the memory of their well-loved comrade through all the years to come.

I am in all loving sympathy,

Faithfully yours,
E. V. Debs

ALS, NNU Tam, Mailly Papers.

1. Bertha Howell Mailly (1879-1960) was a graduate of Cornell University who married William Mailly in 1903. She was for many years the executive secretary of the Rand School in New York, a member of the women's national committee of the Socialist party, and the driving force behind the Camp Tamiment project, which provided a vacation home for workers in the Pennsylvania Poconos.

Theodore Debs to J. Mahlon Barnes

October 14, 1912

Terre Haute, Indiana

Dear Comrade Barnes:—

As per your request of Sept. 26th. I am enclosing you the expense account of the Debs trip for the balance of the month of September. This report shows balance of collections and expenses from Sept. 19th. to 30th. inclusive as follows;

Balance on hand as per last report	\$238.00
Collections as per statement enclosed	<u>675.00</u>
Total Disbursements.	\$913.00

Railroad fare	\$245.85
Hotel, Dining Cars etc.	132.00
Typewriting, Telg. and Incidentals	11.99
Autos, Cabs	25.00
Draft enclosed	<u>498.16</u>
Total	\$913.00

You will observe that this statement of expense includes the expense of our entire party, Eugene V. Debs, Ellis B. Harris¹ and myself. We were a day getting home from Bay City and leaving latter part of afternoon for Atlanta. Every second we have been home has been crowded to the limit² and I have no chance to make separate expense accounts. You can divide this account and make the report to correspond with the form in which you desire to have the reports for filing.

I am also sending you check for \$100. on Indianapolis bank {for which credit our account for October.} This will still leave us enough cash to start on and sufficient in case we should fail to make collection at any point.

Fraternally yours
Theodore Debs

TLc, InTI, Debs Collection.

1. Ellis B. Harris accompanied Debs throughout the 1912 campaign tour and wrote a weekly account of the tour for the *Appeal* and other socialist papers. A poet and songwriter, Ellis wrote "Follow Brave Debs to the End," a song that was copyrighted in 1897 and for many years was played and sung at Debs rallies.

2. Debs's 1912 campaign rivaled, in miles traveled and crowds attracted, the Red Special campaign of 1908. Starting from St. Louis late in June, Debs's campaign tour attracted large crowds in the Southwest, the West Coast, the Midwest, the Old South, and the industrial states of the Northeast, where the largest crowd of the campaign, 15,000 people, paid fifteen cents to a dollar each for admission to New York's Madison Square Garden.

EVD to Grace D. Brewer

November 1912

[Terre Haute, Indiana?]

Dear Comrade Brewer:—

Will you please thank George and Ricker and Wilson¹ for that fine telegram they sent me, so full of kindness, on the 7th.² inst. I should have acknowledged this days ago if it had not been for illness, pressing

demands, and finally the shock and sorrow following Wayland's death.³ Hearty congratulations upon the great victory in carrying Crawford County.⁴ I read of it with ecstasies of joy. George made a magnificent race.⁵ Came up to the very breastworks of the enemy. I would have given much for his election. The next time he will go in on a landslide. He must be the candidate in 1914. He can't lose. George is peculiarly fitted to stir things in congress and make a red record in that black body. Please congratulate Ben Wilson⁶ on his election. Ben will make good abundantly and we have this at least to rejoice for. Love to you all.

E. V. Debs

TLS, MiDW, Archives of Labor History and Urban Affairs, Brewer Collection.

1. George D. Brewer, Allen W. Ricker, and Benjamin F. Wilson, all at the *Appeal*.

2. Debs ran fourth in the 1912 election behind Wilson, Roosevelt, and Taft, in that order. He received 901,873 votes, just under 6 percent of the total 15,000,000 votes cast, more than double the number he had received in 1908.

3. J. A. Wayland committed suicide in Girard on November 10, 1912. He had been, said the *Appeal* (November 16, 1912), "hounded to his death by the relentless dogs of capitalism." At the time of his death, the federal government's case against him and Warren and Lincoln Phifer for mailing obscene materials (in the *Appeal*) was still pending.

4. Debs carried Crawford County (Girard), Kansas, in the 1912 election. The county also elected a state senator and representatives and almost its entire slate of county officers.

5. In the congressional race in Kansas's Third District, George D. Brewer carried Crawford County but lost to the Republican candidate.

6. Wilson was elected to the state legislature.

Fred D. Warren to EVD

[November 15?], 1912
[Girard, Kansas]

Dear Gene:

Your telegram and Theodore's letter both received. Your words of sympathy and encouragement were very helpful to us in this hour of our sorrow. The children desire me to thank you and Mrs. Debs and your brother for your sympathy.

I seem too dazed to think of much else aside from the terrible tragedy, but the problem of the *Appeal* and its future is one that will not wait and so this morning we assume our duties after a ~~absence~~

of nearly {speaking tour of} two months, winding up in a week of events that have crowded so closely upon each other that I have scarce had time to eat and sleep.

There will be no change in the conduct of the Appeal, other than the changes we can make to improve and strengthen the paper.

Plans to maintain and increase the circulation demand our immediate attention and for that reason I would like to know as soon as you can advise me what your plans with reference to the Appeal may be. I find a great demand everywhere I go for the Appeal's subscription lectures and we shall have no trouble in making as many dates as you care to fill.

You recall that when we discussed this matter sometime ago I suggested that this arrangement with the Appeal need not interfere with arrangements you might desire to make with the chatauqua, the only question for you to decide would be how many dates and how much time you would desire to give to the Appeal.

It is not likely that I shall have an opportunity of seeing you soon as I shall be very closely confined at the office, unless you should care to make the journey to Girard later on.

I shall be glad to have a letter from you telling me frankly just what you desire to do.

Sincerely yours,
Fred

TLc, CtU, Fred Warren Papers.

EVD to Fred D. Warren

November 19, 1912
Terre Haute, Indiana

My dear Fred:—

Yours of the 14th. has just been read. Have been trying to write you for some days but have not been able to get to it and put together what I want to say to you. Fact is that since the election I have been walled in with accumulations resulting from my long absence and besieged by callers and by the telegraph and telephone and every other agency, and to cap it all old man Lumbago was right on the job and it is only by a miracle that I have contrived to keep out of the devil's net he had spread for me. But it was a great battle and until the news of the tragedy came from Girard I was never in more bouyant spirits in spite of everything else. When that came I was in

bed and as Mrs. Debs read the message to me I was so stunned that I could not believe my own senses, and I have not yet entirely recovered from it. Wayland is about the last man I would have expected to take the short cut into the unknown by his own hand. How his heart must have been wrung with agony and his soul torn with despair and desperation before he reached that fatal conclusion! But he had reached the farthest limit of his capacity to endure and while we all pity him with all our hearts not one of us may breathe the breath of blame upon him.

But I am not now to go into this matter as my heart would have me do. Other pressing matters concerning which you write must have attention and when we personally meet we will have a heart to heart communion over the tragic end of our dear Wayland.

I am somewhat in doubt as to plans for the future but if there is anything I can do for you and the Appeal in this hour of need and trouble I want you to command me. I do not know what the financial situation is but if I am in the least a burden cut me off at once and lighten the load to that extent.

I appreciate fully your having continued to send me a weekly check during the campaign when I could not do much active work for the paper and I wish to thank you for this and to have you know that it was and is fully appreciated.

As to the lecture business I do not think it would work to have me fill engagements for the Appeal¹ and also make others on my own account as you suggested sometime since. This arrangement would bring about conflicting situations, in my opinion. It would have to be wholly the one thing or the other.

Then again, if the Appeal reorganized its lecture bureau at this time it will be regarded as an unfriendly act to the Lyceum Bureau of the party and the claim will be made that the Appeal agreed to surrender the field to the party and now re-enters it in violation of its pledged faith. Of course I know what can be said in answer but I am pretty well satisfied that the question will be raised and that the party machinery and press will as far as possible be used from the national headquarters to interfere with the successful operation of the Appeal's bureau.

But this and other phases of the matter need going into more fully than is possible by letter and I propose at a later time to go out to Girard that I may go over the matter fully with you unless in the meantime you should take a trip this way. For the present I propose to do some writing for the Appeal from here and I think I can send you some articles and other matter that will help in some measure to make the Appeal strong and virile at this particular time when the

battle is over and there is a general letting down for a breathing spell. If there is anything special you want me to write about or anything you have to suggest you can of course drop me a line at anytime.

During the next two or three days I shall try to clear things up here and I shall then be able to send you for each issue all the matter you care to have from me. And then at a later time I shall arrange to see you personally that we may go over the situation together and find out just what the plans for the future are to be.

I notice by a press dispatch from Washington that the death of Wayland is not to interfere with the plan of the government to prosecute the Appeal to the finish. I suppose this includes me along with you and Phifer and Jake Sheppard.² If you are to be prosecuted I certainly do not want to be left out. From Lovejoy's affidavit³ I take it that they are after us all and I am hoping they will cut loose without delay. I have made up my mind that if I am indicted in pursuance of the plot revealed by Lovejoy that I am going to cut loose with a series of articles that will literally scorch the hides from the putrid carcasses of the whole gang. I am satisfied the United Press will handle them and that they can be made to reach the millions and stir them to revolt against the whole damned system.

I cannot believe that that poor corporation lackey, rightly named Bone, is proceeding in these cases on his own initiative after butting his bone head into a stone wall as often as he has done. He is no doubt being prodded vigorously from the rear. It is clear enough to me just what the object is, and ought to be to every one, and if I am indicted and put on trial I think I shall make my own speech and if I don't raise the roof I'll miss my guess.

By the way, Theodore tells me that Gus Conzman,⁴ the banker from here who was in Leavenworth (you remember he used to be my schoolmate and I introduced him to you when we were there) was a witness to the killing of that boy by that brute Lemon,⁵ the deputy warden. Conzman is now at liberty and his testimony might perhaps be of some help in some phase of the trial.

Have read with intense satisfaction the reports of your tremendous meetings out on the western coast. You did certainly whoop 'em up in great shape and those grand meetings and your stirring appeals are yet to be heard from in their more permanent and substantial results. Every since the storm broke loose at Monett when you raised your voice I knew that you were destined to make the elements roar and you certainly have given a good exhibition of your power on your western trip.

Remember us to Mrs. Warren and the boys lovingly and hoping this finds you strong in body and spirit I am as ever

Your old pard,
E. V. Debs

TLS, CtU, Fred Warren Papers.

1. On February 1, 1913, the *Appeal* announced that Debs would resume his speaking tours for the Appeal lecture bureau and would be "routed to the Northwest," but a week later the paper announced that the tour would be "postponed to the future."

2. The case against Warren, Wayland, and Phifer for sending obscene material through the mails was dismissed in November 1912, but a new charge of attempted bribery of a witness in the obscenity case was lodged against Warren; Jake Sheppard, the Fort Scott attorney for the *Appeal*; and Debs. Debs, who was charged with handling the funds (\$250) allegedly intended to remove a witness from the Kansas federal court's jurisdiction, insisted that the payment was for services rendered to the *Appeal* and a humane gesture on the *Appeal*'s part to help the man "start a new life" in California. Debs was arrested in Terre Haute on January 24, 1913, and released on bond; the case was finally dismissed by the *Appeal*'s old enemy, Judge Pollock, in May 1913.

3. On November 16, 1912, the *Appeal* published an affidavit by A. W. Lovejoy of Girard, who claimed that he had been given money by U.S. District Attorney Harry Bone to provide the federal government with information on Sheppard, Warren, and Debs for the purpose of "putting them behind bars for a long term of years" and at the same time "launching an attack on the Socialist and radical press."

4. Gustave A. Conzman was cashier of the Vigo County National Bank in Terre Haute. The revelation of his embezzlement of \$60,000 from the bank in 1905 to pay gambling debts led to his conviction and imprisonment at Leavenworth and to one of Terre Haute's periodic antigambling crusades.

5. In "A Prisoner Testifies—The Horrors of Leavenworth" (*Appeal*, July 15, 1911), a former prisoner, Gus Parker, charged that Deputy Warden Frank H. Lemon regularly sodomized young prisoners, "made savage thrusts with a two-foot iron bar" at "insane prisoners," and "beat to death . . . one sixteen year old boy." In its issue of May 20, 1911, the *Appeal* charged that in May 1907, Lemon had murdered "a poor boy prisoner" named Clarence Maitland. Lemon was exonerated of the charges by a grand jury in Leavenworth but, as has been noted, was dismissed as deputy warden following the Leavenworth series in the *Appeal*.

EVD to Fred D. Warren

November 25, 1912
Terre Haute, Indiana

My dear Fred:—

Just received yours of 23rd. with check. *De*—lighted! Don't fail to bring Mrs. Warren with you. Mrs. Debs and her mother and Boydie

will take special pleasure in making her feel at home on her first visit to Terre Haute.

Note with keen interest what you say about Jake's performance anent the demurrer.¹ Would like to have had a box seat to see the fur as it flew. There will not be much left of the hide of that polecat with a Bone head when it gets through with us.

Attempted to deliver that love swat behind Theodore's left aural attachment but it touched off something unexpectedly and now both of us are ripe for a pension.

The papers here are full about our arrest in general and my indictment in particular. Yesterday morning's papers² carried a press dispatch from Ft. Scott, another from Girard, another from Chicago, another from Milwaukee, explaining what Seidel had to say about it, covering about a column and a half and pretty sensational. You have no doubt seen all this.³ The Terre Haute papers had my picture at the head and one of them had an editorial very complimentary personally and assuring that I was "not a lawbreaker;" etc. That is, the editorial was meant to be complimentary but that is questionable when one considers the great lawbreakers of history and how easy it is for any nincompoop to be a law abiding gentleman, that is to say a nonentity, under capitalism. I expect to live long enough to help bust all the fundamental laws of capitalism wide open and knock all the fragments so high that men will be free and the earth civilized before they come down again.

Am expecting to be arrested today or tomorrow.⁴ A press dispatch announces that the U.S. marshal,⁵ who is located at Indianapolis, does not expect to receive the warrant before Tuesday or Wednesday and that it will likely come by mail. I had a damned strong notion in the first place to refuse to give bail and to tell them to go to hell from the tap of the bell. But I have concluded it best to change in this particular. You and I and Jake ought to make a trio of fighters perfectly suited to each other and so multiplying each other that each of us can strike a blow equal to the most accomplished jackass that ever stood flatfooted on the earth and kicked out the stars.

I let go my first shot yesterday. On telegraphic request from the N.Y. Call and the Chicago World I sent them about four hundred words. The same thing will appear in the evening's Terre Haute Post, and probably in all the Scripps papers.⁶ It is a stiff jolt and will make the Bonehead jawbone rattle hard enough to put out his lights.

The dispatch {announcing our arrest} created a great sensation here. It reached Terre Haute about 8 Saturday evening and from that hour until 4 o'clock Sunday morning the telephone, door-bell,

long distance and telegraph kept us all busy at Theodore's house and my own. We got to bed finally about daybreak on Sunday morning pretty tired but satisfied that we would have backing enough in the fight to make Bone and his backers wish until their last day that they had tackled some other crowd.

Love to you all and give Jake a good stiff round of abuse for me.

Yours always
Debs

TLS, CtU, Fred Warren Papers.

1. In "Our Fate in Judge Pollock's Hands" (*Appeal*, November 30, 1912), Warren described Jake Sheppard's "masterly presentation of the demurrer to the indictment" in the obscenity case heard at Topeka on November 22, 1912. As noted, the charges were dismissed.

2. The *Terre Haute Post* and *Tribune* both carried front-page stories on Debs's indictment.

3. Most of the socialist and a good part of the nonsocialist press (quoted in the *Appeal*) expressed outrage at Debs's indictment, or at least sympathy for Debs, in the attempted-bribery case. The best summary of the case is in Algie M. Simons, "An Incredible Story," *Coming Nation*, November 30, 1912.

4. As noted, Debs was not arrested until January 24, 1913, and was released on bail.

5. Thomas E. Martin, United States marshal for Indiana.

6. In "Debs Comments on the Great Plot" (*Appeal*, December 7, 1912, and widely reprinted), Debs said "the indictment is based on a made-to-order lie," an attempt by the federal government to "punish the *Appeal* for exposing the corruption of capitalism." The *Terre Haute Post* was part of the Scripps chain.

Theodore Debs to Adolph F. Germer

December 11, 1912

Terre Haute, Indiana

My dear Comrade Adolph:—

Your card is just received. You appear to be up against a pretty stiff proposition.¹ But this is not entirely new to you. The infernal thugs and sleuths will make your work hard but they will also increase your stamina and temper all your staying qualities. If it were not for the great ideals we are working for and for the ten thousand noble influences that are sustaining us it would hardly be worth while. But the great cause is worth it all. You are being tried but you will win out. All the forces of history are behind you and will sweep the thugs

and cutthroats into hell where they belong. Our hearts are with you, be assured in every hour of trial. Best regards to Comrade O'Neill.²

Yours to the very last
Theodore Debs

TLS, WHI, Germer Papers.

1. In October 1912, the UMW appointed Germer international organizer in southern Colorado, which was dominated by the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, a Rockefeller interest whose bitter resistance to unionization of the mines was described by Germer in the union's *Journal* on February 13 and April 10, 1913.

2. Probably John M. O'Neill, editor of *Miners' Magazine*, which was published in Denver.

EVD to Fred D. Warren

December 13, 1912

[Terre Haute, Indiana]

My dear Fred:—

Here are a couple of articles. They are both hot and both center shots. They both have a bearing on our indictment, even if indirect, and they tend to disclose the sources of the Appeal's persecution. The article on "Jesuitism and Capitalism" goes straight to the mark. It is vital. It establishes the connection between Wall street and the Appeal, and also the connection between Wall street and the hierarchy. You can if you wish publish {this} over my name.¹ There is no use trying any longer to evade this thing. We stand face to face with it. They have planted themselves like the lion in our path and by god we have got to fight and slay the beast or tuck tail like cowards and retreat in defeat and disgrace. It is this Roman machine we stand face to face with and we have got to call it by its right name and strip it of its religious mask and expose it as the rottenest political machine that ever stole the livery of heaven in which to play Pompey to the devil.

I am getting this to you by special delivery in the hope that it will reach you in time for the next issue. The other article on the police² is not a bit too hot and it shows up the character of capitalism by the character {of} those who wield its chubs and rob the helpless creatures they are paid to protect.

Yours always
Debs

TLS, CtU, Fred Warren Papers.

1. Debs's attack on the hierarchy was apparently too strong to suit Warren, who did not publish the article. In the December 28, 1912, *Appeal*, Warren denied that J. A. Wayland or the *Appeal* owned the *Menace*, a rabidly anti-Catholic paper published in Aurora, Missouri.

2. In "Putrescent Police" (*Appeal*, December 28, 1912), Debs described as "lower than maggots" the New York City police, who were accused of extortion and blackmail in their dealings with the city's prostitutes.

EVD to Fred D. Warren

December 20, 1912

[Terre Haute, Indiana]

My dear Fred:—

Have just had a long interview with Mr. Harper¹ of Cincinnati, manager of all the Scripps papers. He has just left the office. He feels very friendly and says his papers will give all the publicity they can to our case. I am to advise him at once of any developments. On the other hand we can help the Post here and the other papers of the Scripps League and I have assured him that we would do this.

Please see enclosed letter. There is a suggestion in it that there may be somebody in the Appeal office tampering with the mailing lists or preventing corrections and changes etc. which may have something in it. This same complaint could also be made for Terre Haute. For a long time there has been more or less trouble here on this account and it has been so bad at times that the comrades have refused to get any more subs. The principal postal clerk lives next door to Theodore and has told him repeatedly that the Appeal mailing department must be in a sad state of incompetency or demoralization. He says the Appeal office pays no attention whatever to notices to stop the paper or changes of addresses and that every week he throws a large bunch of Appeals into the waste basket. In my own case for a long time, almost weekly, for a while, my paper had on the label of it two addresses. Of course the other fellow got no paper but whenever I noticed it I mailed him one from here. If there is any way to change this it will be the biggest and best thing that can be done for the Appeal. I am satisfied and have been for a long time that here is a fatally weak spot that sadly needs strengthening and that until this is done getting subs for the Appeal is much like pouring water in a sieve. Many a good worker for subs is discouraged and disgusted and simply quits getting subs as is the case with this Peoria complainant and has been frequently the complaint here. Of course

it is unnecessary to say to you that if subs do not get their paper all kinds of trouble results and all at the expense of the paper.

It has just occurred to me that we ought to reproduce what Hiram Johnson² said about Otis side by side with what Otis said about the quiet movement that would result in the quiet disappearance of agitators. You remember both of these do you not? Johnson is now governor and his terrific castigation of Otis should by all means be put into the coming special edition along with the articles by Otis above suggested.³

Both of these have been published in the *Appeal*, two or three times over, I think, but long ago, and they will be new to the present generation. Can you not have one of the girls run through the files and find these two articles, the one an extract of a speech by Johnson denouncing Otis as a thief, grafter, and corruptionist, and the other an editorial by Otis saying that a movement was on foot to take care of agitators and that they would quietly disappear and send them to me to put into shape with suitable comments added? These two side by side in boxes with a dozen lines of comment below them will be a corking rejoinder to Otis and the *Times*.

Added to the two above articles should be the stinging comment of Brann⁴ on Otis. This has also appeared in the *Appeal*. If you could have these three dug up for me and send them to me I am sure that I could put them in shape to make them crash like red thunderbolts into Otis' rotten works.

Enclosed you will find an editorial. We want to hammer hell out of Otis now⁵ that he has started this fight and show to the *Appeal* readers all the reasons why this scabby scoundrel has attempted the life of the *Appeal*. I also enclose another article over my name which may help a bit.

Yours always
Debs

TLS, CtU, Fred Warren Papers.

1. Jacob Chandler Harper (1858-1939) was for many years a leader of the reform movement in Cincinnati politics and general counsel for the Scripps-McRae newspaper chain, which was based in Cincinnati.

2. Hiram Warren Johnson (1866-1945) won election as a reform candidate for governor of California in 1910 and was reelected in 1914. He was Theodore Roosevelt's vice-presidential running mate in 1912 and United States senator from California from 1917 to 1945. In the *Appeal* of January 4, 1913, Johnson was quoted as describing Harrison Gray Otis as "the vilest of creatures" in a Los Angeles speech, and the *Appeal* added that Gray's "own neighbors endorsed the sentiment with thunderous applause."

3. Otis was the target of the *Appeal*'s attack in a number of issues in January and February 1913; he was called "the arch enemy of union labor," "a liar," "a journalistic

buzzard," and "an exploiting buccaneer," among other things. The immediate cause of the *Appeal's* wrath was Otis's publication of a special edition of the *Los Angeles Times* (called the *Los Angeles Rattery* by the *Appeal*) that featured the government's charges of witness-bribery against Debs, Warren, and Sheppard.

4. W. C. Brann was editor of the *Iconoclast*, a Texas paper whose material was frequently reprinted in the *Appeal*. In "Look Out, Otis" (*Appeal*, January 4, 1913), Brann was quoted as describing Otis as "the incarnation of human degeneracy . . . whom hell would spew forth when he reached his final destination."

5. In "Otis Half Truths" (*Appeal*, January 4, 1913), Debs wrote that Otis's charge in the *Times* that the "*Appeal* paid Debs \$100.00 a week" was a half-truth because the \$100 salary was used to pay Theodore Debs's salary, office rent, etc., in Debs's Terre Haute office and for other party-related expenses.

EVD to Fred D. Warren

December 23, 1912

Terre Haute, Indiana

My dear Fred:—

You have doubtless read the two articles ~~produced~~ written by the Scripps representative after his visit to you at Girard.¹ There is some good stuff in them both. The point I wish to call to your attention is {in} the second article in the interview with Bone. The ~~scribe~~ reporter calls Bone's attention to the fact that Pollock dismissed these cases in the contempt proceedings and that there cannot be a second trial upon the same issue. He said Bone looked up sharply and answered: "BUT THAT DOES NOT APPLY TO DEBS." This clearly means that the cases may be dismissed against you and Jake beause you cannot be placed in jeopardy twice on the same charge but that it will not hold as to me and that I will have to stand trial. Bone also says very properly that he regards me as the principal in the transaction upon which the indictment is based. He then admits that McDonough² is his sole informant and his sole witness and now I want to call your attention to the interview McDonough {the ex-convict} had with the K.C. Journal the day following his gun play³ at Girard or the day following that. You remember that interview, do you not? I think you have it in your scrap book or in your files. Please see if you cannot find it, if it is not too much trouble In this interview you remember that ~~McDonough~~ {the ex-convict} said, referring to me, substantially, that I was white and honest from the crown of my head to my foot soles. Now if I am to be tried I should think this would be important. Not that I care a damn about it personally but for the sake of the Appeal and the cause we have got to prove every point we can against

our accusers and on the other hand show them beyond doubt our own rectitude and blamelessness.

In one breath McDonough {the government witness} held me up as the most honest of men and in the next he is having me indicted for attempting to commit a low and despicable crime. This would completely discredit him before any jury on earth. The interview could no doubt be verified by putting the reporter on the witness stand. If you cannot find the clipping we can go to the Journal office and get a copy of it. Please ask Jake about this and see if it is not a good point to make. I would want nothing better before a jury. I hope they do dismiss the case against you and Jake and leave it up to me. I would like to try my hand against Bone before a jury on this issue.

Enclosed find an editorial.⁴ Other matter will follow.

Wishing you all, including Max and the goat, lots of Christmas joy
I am

Yours as ever
Debs

TLS, Warren Papers, Schenectady, New York.

1. The articles, written by Albert F. Ferguson, were titled "Are U.S. Courts Being Used to Persecute Debs and the Appeal?" and "Federal Agents Spy on Socialists." The former appeared on December 19, the latter on December 20, 1912, in the *Terre Haute Post*, a Scripps paper.

2. Julius M. McDonough, a former prisoner at Leavenworth, had given the *Appeal* information on conditions there that was used in the paper's series of articles on the prison. Debs claimed that the \$250 he gave McDonough (which was the basis of the bribery charge) was for such services to the *Appeal* and, as has been noted, to help McDonough get back on his feet. Debs's account of the issue is in "The Story of the Indictment" (*Appeal*, January 18, 1913).

3. Debs claimed that in demanding money from the *Appeal* in the Girard offices McDonough brandished a gun.

4. "The Socialist Party—What It Stands For" (*Appeal*, January 4, 1913).

EVD to Fred D. Warren

December 26, 1912
Terre Haute, Indiana

My dear Fred:—

Enclosed please find some editorial matter.

See enclosed clipping in regard to decision of supreme court in West Virginia. You will note that Judge Robinson rendered a dis-

senting opinion.¹ Let me suggest that you write or telegraph to Comrade Harold Houston,² attorney at law, Charleston, W. Va. or to some other comrade or person to at once send you a copy of this dissenting opinion. I have a suspicion that there is something vital in it that may some bearing on our case. Anyway this W. Va. fight is just now the most important industrial fight going on in the whole country and this phase of it has national interest and ought to be exploited by the Appeal. Will write you more later.

Yours always
Debs

TLS, CtU, Fred Warren Papers.

1. In December 1912 the West Virginia Supreme Court handed down an opinion approving the governor's imposition of martial law and the power of a military commission to sentence striking miners and their leaders to prison if they were found guilty of using violence in connection with the bloody strike in that state. In his dissenting opinion, reprinted in full in the *Appeal* on June 7, 1913, Judge Ira Ellsworth Robinson (1869-1951) wrote that the majority opinion "made the military power absolute, independent, and dominant in West Virginia." The subsequent imprisonment of Mother Jones and other UMW and socialist organizers in West Virginia led to a special Socialist party investigation committee on which Debs served and whose report embroiled him in a bitter party controversy.

2. Harold W. Houston (1873-1947) was a socialist attorney and UMW counsel from Charleston, West Virginia. He was a delegate to the party's national convention in 1908 and its candidate for a number of state and local offices in West Virginia.

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A Note on the Editor

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Publication of this work was supported in part by grants from the National Historical Publication and Records Commission of the National Archives and the National Endowment for the Humanities.

Also of interest

Winner of the Bancroft Prize and the John H. Dunning Prize of the American Historical Association

EUGENE V. DEBS

Citizen and Socialist

NICK SALVATORE

From the book

EVD to Jean Daniel Debs

January 14, 1895
Woodstock, Illinois

My dearest Father:

Your letter filled with kindness and cheer, characteristic of the stock, especially when the times are on that "try men's souls," is with me. I have immense satisfaction in knowing that you and mother, notwithstanding your years, are as proud, heroic and defiant as the rest of us and even our enemies admit that we have the courage of our convictions. My imprisonment is doing much to arouse the public conscience. No disgrace attaches to the family. You need not blush. In good time the right will prevail and then reward and vindication will come. A steady stream of letters is pouring in here from all parts of the country. No one can imagine what a wave of indignation is rising. Judge Woods is not so much at ease as [I am?]. My jail quarters are large, airy, clean and comfortable and I am perfectly at home with the sheriff's family whose residence adjoins the jail. Sunday Charley Gould was here and we spent the afternoon in the Sheriff's parlors, regaling ourselves (after a good dinner of stuffed roast chicken) with a musical concert. Saturday Governor Waite of Colorado was with us from 11 till 2, taking dinner with us. He is a fine old man of about your age. He is chock full of fight and don't care what the plutocratic press say about him. We may get out pending the decision of our case by the U.S. Supreme Court and in that event I will see you before the close of the week. The signs of the times are all hopeful and the future is full of cheer. You and mother must carry yourselves like the Spartans of old. This is not the time for sighs or tears but for heroic fortitude which does not waver, no matter how trying [the?] ordeal. If the night is dark the dawn is near. Our day is coming. Just a little patience and we will celebrate our jubilee with becoming *éclat*.

My heart is with you always. Kisses to you both and to Eugenie. The jail but makes our attachment the stronger.

Your devoted son
Eugene